

Divine Diagrams

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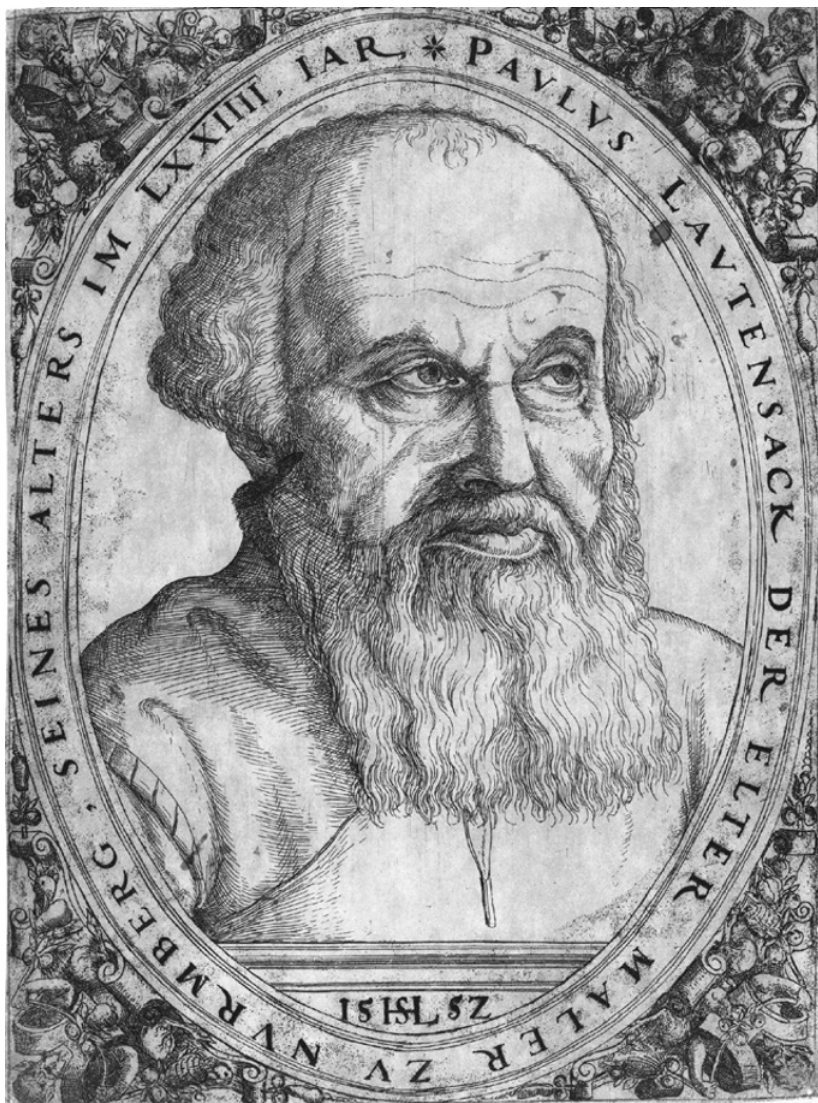
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Hans Lautensack: Portrait of Paul Lautensack, 1552 (Bartsch IX.209.2).
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Divine Diagrams

The Manuscripts and Drawings of Paul Lautensack
(1477/78–1558)

By
Berthold Kress



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Cover illustration: Paul Lautensack: Diagram from the manuscript Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4°Cod. 91, 7v, dated 1535 (in this study tract 5a:A7v). This is a detail of a diagram showing connections between the Three Celestial Bodies sun, star and moon, letters of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin alphabets and the *Spirit, Person and Word* of God – terms that play a special role in Lautensack's theology. For an image of the complete page and more detailed explanations see Fig. 20.

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To my Parents and in Memory of my Grandparents

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LIST OF LAUTENSACK'S MANUSCRIPTS AND TRACTS

Lautensack's works survive in a considerable number of manuscripts: few of them are autographs, the majority copies made ca. 1600. Most of them contain several different units, which are here called tracts, and in turn copies of the same tract (or slightly different versions of it) may be found in several manuscripts. For more information on how manuscripts and tracts are named in this study, and how references to individual pages are made, see pp. 6–7. The catalogue given on the following pages is only a brief list that should mainly help to identify individual items; a detailed catalogue of the manuscripts can be found in the appendix (pp. 301–92), and a catalogue of tracts is included in my PhD thesis.¹

Manuscripts and Printed Editions

Autograph Drawings

D Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 842–73, 1033–34

Autograph Manuscripts

A Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4^oCod. 91
K Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Hs. 79 C 4
L London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings,
 inv. 1923,0712.2
N Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 3,147

Manuscripts Containing Primarily Copies of Lautensack Tracts

B Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, RB.Msc. 166
E Erfurt, Bibliothek des Evangelischen Ministeriums im
 Augustinerkloster Erfurt, Msc. 13
H Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, theol. 1,231
 (missing)

¹ Berthold Kress, "The Religious Manuscripts and Drawings by Paul Lautensack (1477/78–1558) and His Followers" (Ph. D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2007), 308–475. Since the completion of my thesis I have been able to identify more material, and I plan to make an updated version of this catalogue accessible in electronic format.

Q	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. fol. 1,179
R	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. VCQ 44
S	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. fol. 519
T	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. quart. 1,957
U/V	Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 23 B 11 (1) and 23 B 11 (2)
W	London, The Warburg Institute, FHH 198

Copies of Meffert's Edition of Lautensack (-m)

Bm	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, RB.Msc. 167
Cm	Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, R292 (lost)
Km	København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 40 2 ^o
Lm	Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Theol. Germ. 98
Mm	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 4,416-18
Vm	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cpv 12,608
Wm	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 35 Blank.

Manuscripts Containing Copies of Meffert's Comments on Lautensack (-n)

Rn	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. VCQ 1, fols. 64v-70r
Wn	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 778 Helmst., fols. 12r-21v

Copy of Paul Kaym's Tract on Lautensack (-k)

Kk	København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 39 2 ^o
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Manuscripts Containing an Anonymous Tract Inspired by Lautensack (-b)

Hb	Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, theol. 1,235
Sb	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. fol. 1070

Manuscript Notes about Lautensack (-s)

Ns	Nürnberg, Stadtarchiv, Rep. E 1 / 931
Zs	Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Car I 262, fols. 68r-76r

Manuscripts Containing Texts Misattributed to Lautensack (-x)

- Hx Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, theol. 1,892,
pp. 607–99
- Kx Kassel, Hessische Landesbibliothek, 4^o Ms. Chem. 72,
fol. 302v–6r

Printed Editions

- o/t/g/a Offenbahrung Jesu Christi: | Das ist: | Ein Beweiß durch den |
Titul vber das creutz Jesu Christi / | vnd die drey Alphabeth / als
Hebreisch / Græ|gisch / vnd Lateinisch / wie auch etliche |
wunderbahre Figu|ren. | ... Durch den Gottsäligen Paulum
Lautensack Mah|leren vnd Organisten weilandt in Nürnberg.
Vber | welche vmb völligers Verstandes willen die Außle|gung
M.V. Weigelij herzu gesetzt | worden. ... Franckfurt am Mayn:
Jennis, 1619, 4^o.

Complete copies of this edition contain four sections, each with its own title-page and pagination:

- o Not paginated, containing the title-page quoted above and two prefaces from 1619
- t *Tractatvs* | Des Gottseligen / from|men / Hoherleuchten / vnd Geist|reichen Mannes gottselger | Gedächtnuß / | Pauli Lautensacks / deß ältern / Mah|lers vnd Bürgers in Nürnberg ...
- g Ein Anzeigung mit Schrift / | Was in der Erbar Frawen Gundel|fingerin Behausung am spitzen Berg / daselb|sten in jhrem Soller vor gemähle ist angestellt ...
- a Ander Theil /. | Darinn begrieffen die | Erklerung mit Figuren vnd Sprü|chen Heyliger Schrift vber vorgehende Bü|cherlein Pauli Lautensacci ... ge|stellet von | *M. V. Weigelio* gewesenen Pfarher|ren zu Zschopaw. ...
- u “Paul Lautensacks Schrift / ex MSto,” ed. David Ehinger, *Unschuldige Nachrichten von alten und neuen Theologischen Sachen* (Leipzig: Braun, 1711), 587–96.

Tracts

The primary purpose of the following list is to show which of Lautensack's tracts are found in which manuscripts. Tracts are identified by their titles, if they have any, or otherwise by a short (and, given the similarity of many tracts, often vague) description. The dates indicated do not necessarily appear in all copies of the tracts, and especially dates in later copies are not always trustworthy. The remark "Liber" points to the numbering the tracts have in some later copies (cf. p. 4 n. 9).

Dated and Datable Tracts from the 1530s and Related Works

- 1 Drawings on the Pater noster and the Credo combined with diagrams of the 22 chapters of Revelation:
 - 1a (drawings only, probably 1531–35): D850–73
 - 1b (1535): L22r–45v
 - 1c (diagrams only): K, appendix, p. 1 (first pagination) – p. 11 (second pagination)
 - 1d (1535): A38r–61v, K36v–59v
 - 1e (diagrams only): V270v–81r
- 2 Series of Coats of Arms (1535): L19v–21v
- 3 Long Diagram of Rev. 1–3 / 12–14 and parallel texts (1535):
 - 3a: L4r–19r
 - 3b: A22r–37v, K20r–35v
- 4 Introductory Diagrams in the Autograph Manuscripts (1535):
 - 4a: K, appendix, first double leaf
 - 4b: L1r–3v
 - 4c: A19r–21v, K17r–19v
- 5 Further introductory diagrams in manuscripts A and K (1535):
 - 5a: A1r–18v
 - 5b: K, title-page–K16v
- 6 Unfinished drawings (similar to tracts 1b/d and 2): U26v–27v
- 7 Text linking the *Aspects* of the Trinity to the four parts of a day and other quadripartite structures (1538):
 - 7a: N1r–6v
 - 7b (*Liber IX*): U32r–41v
- 8 *Verzeichniß / was des Buchs Offenbahrung Jnnhalt sey* (similar to 7): u588–92
- 9 Introductory text, focusing on celestial prodigies (1535):
 - 9a: N7r–14v
 - 9b: U44r–56v

- 10** Tract with a long autobiographical and polemical introduction followed by diagrams, primarily from Revelation (1538):
10a: N15r–61r
10b: U57r–97r (incomplete)
- 11** *Ein Anzeigung mit Schrifft / | Was in der Erborn Frawen Gundel|fingerin Behausung am spitzen Berg / daselb|sten in jhrem Soller vor gemähle ist angestellt* (Explanation of the paintings for the Gundelfingerin, 1538): Vm46r–55v, g3–50
- 12** Tract with Diagrams primarily from Revelation, John and Luke (in parts very similar to **10**): B13r–60r (beginning incomplete), S17r–59v (beginning incomplete), T77r–126v, V124v–206v, W2r–50r, probably also in the missing manuscript H; excerpts in Q4v–16r and T171r–v / upper halves of 172v–73r / 174r
- 13** *Eine anzeigung / wie die nachfolgende zwey bilder* (1538):
13a: B106r–15r
13b (*Liber I*): U8r–18r
- 14** Letter, probably to Lautensack's mother-in-law (probably ca. 1539, *Liber *III*): V13r–30v

Undated Tracts Probably Belonging to the 1530s

- 15** Diagram showing the Apostles, Ancestors and Books, authenticity doubtful: B60v–61r, S60v–61r, T127v–28r, W50v–51r, probably also in the missing manuscript H
- 16** Sketch of a diagram: notice glued to B64r, v, R91r
- 17** Collection of (mostly complex) diagrams and short texts, probably excerpted from lost tracts. Most of them probably come from the 1530s, whilst some may be later (*Liber XI*): U104r–51r
- 18** Series of 13-Part Diagrams: U164r–72v
- 19** Text on 1 John: U176r–77r
- 20** Genesis and Revelation divided into paragraphs (*Liber XV*): V237r–42v
- 21** Paragraph incipits of the Pauline letters and other Books (*Liber XVII*): V259v–70r

Dated and Datable Tracts from the Early 1540s and Related Works

These tracts show some innovative features that did not occur in the autographs (such as diagrams with the four letters of *GOTT*), but they do not yet contain the concept of the Four Ages.

- 22 *Apocalypsis Jesu Christi* (1541): B116r–22v, R107v–18v
- 23 Explanation of 15 diagrams (which are not shown):
 23a (in one manuscript dated to 1541): Lm9r–48v, Mm, title-page–26r, Hb2r–11r, Sb1r–10r (incomplete)
 23b (1552, longer, *Liber XII*): W56r–69r (incomplete)
- 24 Series of images beginning with the copy of a broadsheet (1545, *Liber III*): B62r–63v, S62r–63v, T133r–34v, V31v–36r, probably also in the missing manuscript H
- 25 Series of diagrams including a large coat of arms (probably second half of the 1540s): B64r–68v, S64r–68v, T135r–38r. V37r–45v, W75r–78r (incomplete), probably also in the missing manuscript H
- 26 Tract dedicated to Oswald Ruland (probably 1544–46): B69r–102r, S69r–102r, T138v–69r, V45v–119r, W78v–108r, probably also in the missing manuscript H
- 27 Large cruciform diagram with explanations (similar to a diagram in 26):
 27a: B: double-leaf glued to B43r (no text), Q2r–3r
 27b: B102v–4r, S102v–4v
- 28 Additions to tracts 26 and 27: B104r–v, S104v–5r

Undated Tracts Probably Belonging to the Early 1540s

- 29 Drawings of images of Rev. 1 and 12 with explanations focusing on numbers: B154v–64r, R37v–52r
- 30 *Cabalistica | pauli Lautensacks Organistæ vnd Ma|lers zu Nurnbergk*:
 30a: B202r–15v
 30b: W109v–18v
- 31 Long Text on Revelation: U178r–272r
- 32 Text similar to the introduction of tract 31: u592–96
- 33 Text with lengthy Biblical Quotations. It is not clear if the first page belongs wholly to tract 42 or partially to this tract (in the latter case, the date 1554 would belong to tract 33, which would therefore be considerably older than it appears to be): B190v [or 191r]–95v, R92 [or 93r]–93v / 94r–100r
- 34 Series of complex, chiefly quadripartite, diagrams, probably copied from lost tracts: U152v–56v

Dated Tracts from 1545 or Later and Related Works

- 35 *Tractatvs | Des Gottseligen / from|men / Hoherleuchten / vnd Geist|reichen Mannes gottseliger | Gedächtnuß / | Pauli Lautensacks* (1545): B132ar–48v/150r–54r, R1r–28v/31r–37v, Vm56r–71v, t3–70
- 36 Text, beginning with the Title of the Cross (1547 or later): B196v–200r, R101r–7v
- 37 Series of complex drawings (1552): W53r–55r / 69v–73v, U19v–26r
- 38 Tract for Heinrich Lautensack (fragment, similar to the much longer tract 39 that is dated to 1553, probably an earlier version of this text): B127r–v, R127r–28v, V283r–84r
- 39 Tract for Heinrich Lautensack (1553): B165r–80v, R53v–81v
- 40 Cross-in-Circle diagram with explanations (1554): B125r–v, R123r–24r, V281v–82v
- 41 Short entries between tracts 40 and 38: B126r–v, R125r–26r
- 42 *Ein einiges Hauptbuch welches sich dann selbst ist anzeigen mit Namen* (possibly from 1554, although this date may refer to the beginning of tract 33 rather than to the end of this tract): B181r–90v, R83r–90v / 91v–92v
- 43 Tract showing the limbs of Christ (at least in parts from 1554, *Liber XVI*): V245r–58v
- 44 Diagram with the limbs of Christ and the last Psalms (similar to tract 43): B130r–31v, R131r–v
- 45 Diagrams contained in manuscript E (a collection of diagrams probably copied from several lost tracts, some diagrams dated to 1553 and 1554): E4r–35v
- 46 Three texts, with references to the years 1555 and 1600 (probably from 1554–55): V220v–30r

Undated Texts from the Late 1540s and the 1550s

- 47 Sketch of a diagram: notice glued to B64r, r, R93v
- 48 Drawings in shape of a book: B128r–29v, R129r–30v
- 49 Diagram of the Manifestations of the Trinity, with an explanation: B164r–v, R52v–53v
- 50 *Anzeigung der viesierung*: B216r–21v
- 51 Tract for Paul Lautensack the Younger: V211v–20r

Texts by Other Authors in Manuscripts with Authentic Lautensack Tracts

- α Diagram of a book with the planets as seals: B104v
 β Index for manuscript B: B105r–105h, r
 γ Letters from Luther and Melanchthon to Lautensack (1533): B149r, R29r–v
 δ Tract with Magic Squares: B222r–24r
 ε Valentin Weigel: *Directorivm Sev Informatorivm Theologicvm* (1576, cf. Valentin Weigel, *Sämtliche Schriften: Neue Edition*, ed. Horst Pfefferl, 14 vols. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstadt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1996–), 11:1–131): T1r–42r
 ζ Series of notices and diagrams, some inspired by tract λλ, others unrelated to Lautensack: T50r–65r
 η List of definitions, primarily on Natural Philosophy: T66r–72r
 θ Large cruciform diagrams, possibly variations of lost originals by Lautensack: T132r–v
 ι Two short introductions into Lautensack's theology: T172v–73r (lower halves) / 173v
 κ Various comments on Lautensack (1595): T175v
 λ Text on Daniel's prophecies and the Fifth Monarchy: T178r–83v
 μ Comments on the value of the Hamburg manuscript, etc. H207–214 (missing)
 ν Title-page of manuscript W: W1r
 ξ Variations of Lautensack diagrams, perhaps showing a Catholic influence: W52r–v
 ο Fragment of a letter by Abraham Meffert: W74r
 π Postscript: admonition to take only one book and to understand it well: W108v
 ρ Pastiche, partially with Lautensackian elements: W109r
 σ Title-pages to UV: UIIr, VIIIr
 τ Text on the meaning of the numbers 1–20: U18v–19r
 υ Drawing of Revelation 4/5: loose leaf after U221v
 φ Tract freely based on Lautensack (1599 or earlier): φa (longer): U273v–85r
 φb: Hb11r–17r, Lm239r–43v (incomplete), Mmu18v–24r (incomplete), Sb10v–20v
 χ Miscellaneous notices in Latin and German: U286r / 287r–88r / 291v–92r / 296r–98v
 ψ Pseudo-Weigel: *Azot et Ignis* (cf. Valentin Weigel, *M. Valentin Weigelii | Himmlisch Manna, | Azoth et Ignis, | das ist: | gülden*

- Kleinod*, | *handelnde von dem köstlichen Eckstein der Natur*
(Amsterdam: n.p., 1787), 37–42): U289v–90v, Sb21r–22v
- ω Additions to the *Azot et Ignis* (1599 or earlier):
ωa: U290v / 285v
ωb: Sb22v–23r, Hb17r
ωc: B224v–25v
- αα Alphabetic tables: V11r–v
- ββ Diagram of opposites: V12v
- γγ Question on Lautensack by a Johann Röber with a reply (1595):
V120r–21r
- δδ Unfinished circular diagram: V207r
- εε Summary of Jacopo Brocardo's Commentary on the Song of
Songs (cf. Jacobus Brocardus, *In Canticvm | Canticorvm |*
Salomonis. | Quod est typus Christi & Ecclesiae | Expositio Mystica
(Bremæ: Gluichstein, 1585, *VD 16 B 8,347*), C7r–C8r): V207v–8r
- ζζ Short comment on Lautensack: V208v
- ηη Names of Christ and of the Holy Ghost (*Liber XIV*): V209r–11r
- θθ Drawings based on Lautensackian motifs: Q1r / 16v–17v
- ιι Pseudo-Weigel: *Apocalypsis. Der wahre kurtze wegw zu lernen*
Apocalypsim, followed by a poem: Q30r–35v

Later Tracts Explaining Lautensack or Using His Material

- κκ Biographical notes on Lautensack: Bm3v–6v, Cm2v–? (lost, end
on Cm6v or before), Km1–3, Lm1r–7r, Mm125r–27r, Vm1r–v,
Wm1–5
- λλ Lautensack's *Apocalypsis Ihesv Christi* brought into an order and
explained by Meffert (supposedly 1587, but probably later):
λλa: Bm1r / 6v–193r, Km, title-page / Km3–146, Vm2r–45v
(not illustrated), Wm, title-page / Wm5–310
λλb: Cm6v–158v (lost), Lm8r / 49r–238r (only one illustration
executed on Lm8r, beginning missing), Mm27r–118v
(not illustrated, beginning missing)
- μμ A statement attributed to Paracelsus, supposedly about
Lautensack: Cm1r–? (lost, end on Cm2v or before)
- νν Diagrams that may or may not have belonged to λλb: Cm159v–
160v (? , lost)
- ξξ Dedication of Wm: Wm, dedication fascicle
- οο *Sententia* on Lautensack, attributed to Abraham Meffert (1587):
Rn64v–70r, Wn12r–18v / 20r–21r

ππ	Calendar dates with religious terms: Wn21v
ρρ	Paul Kaym: <i>Drey Vnderschiedliche Tractat</i> (first tract from 1620, second tract from 1624, third tract undated): Kk1v–289v
σσ	Prefaces to the 1619 edition (1619): o (unpaginated, six leaves), title-page only also on E3r
ττ	Title-page of a
υυ	First section of the <i>Ander Theil</i> (possibly from 1588): a3–12
φφ	<i>Von dem Fall</i> : a13–15
χχ	<i>Super Divam Apocalypsin</i> (1592): a17–57
ψψ	<i>Tractatus vom Opere Mirabili</i> (1588): a59–100
ωω	<i>Gnothi Seavton</i> (possibly from 1587): a101–32
ααα	<i>De Arcano omnium Arcanorum</i> (1588): a133–49
βββ	<i>Wehe denen, die Böses Guth und Gutes Böß heißen</i> : a151–66
γγγ	<i>Von der Offenbahrung Jesu Christi</i> : a166–69
δδδ	<i>Von der Huren und grossen Hurerey und Grewel</i> (1586): a170–73
εεε	Historical notices on Lautensack (probably compiled between 1711 and 1716): Ns318–29
ζζζ	Index to the 1619 edition: Zs68r–76r

Tracts Wrongly Attributed to Lautensack

ηηη	<i>Schlüssel In die Offenbahrung</i> : Hx607–99
θθθ	Alchemical Recipe (supposedly from 1527): Kx302v–6

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ABBREVIATIONS

Works frequently cited are identified by the following abbreviations:

Bartsch	Adam Bartsch. <i>Le Peintre Graveur</i> . 21 vols. New edition. Leipzig: Barth, 1854–70.
Briquet	Charles-Moïse Briquet. <i>Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600</i> . 4 vols. Paris: Picard, 1907.
Geisberg	Max Geisberg. <i>The German Single-Leaf Woodcut: 1500–1550</i> . Edited by Walter Strauss. 4 vols. New York: Hacker, 1974.
GW	<i>Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke</i> . 11 vols. to date. Leipzig (later Stuttgart): Hiersemann: 1925–.
Harms	Wolfgang Harms and Michael Schilling. <i>Deutsche Illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts</i> . 6 vols. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1980–2005.
Hollstein	F.W.H. Hollstein. <i>German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, ca. 1400–1700</i> . 78 vols. to date. Amsterdam: Hertzberger [and other publishers], 1954–.
<i>Illustrated Bartsch</i>	<i>The Illustrated Bartsch</i> . 103 vols. New York: Abaris, 1978–98.
Luther WA	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe</i> . 73 vols. in the main series, 12 vols. <i>Bibel</i> , 18 vols. <i>Briefwechsel</i> , 6 vols. <i>Tischreden</i> . Weimar: Böhlau, 1883–2009.
Pietsch	Paul Pietsch. <i>D. Martin Luthers Deutsche Bibel, 1522–1546</i> . vol. 2. <i>Bibliographie der Drucke der Lutherbibel, 1522–1546</i> . Weimar: Böhlau, 1909.
Schramm	Albert Schramm. <i>Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke</i> . 23 vols. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1920–43.
Schreiber	Wilhelm Ludwig Schreiber. <i>Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des 15. Jahrhunderts</i> . 8 vols. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1926–30.

- VD 16 *Verzeichnis der im Deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts. VD 16. Part 1: Verfasser – Körperschaften – Autoren.* Stuttgart: Hierseemann, 1983–95. [Both this printed version and the online database, which contains more library holdings and additional entries, were consulted]
- VD 17 *Verzeichnis der im Deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts.* [Online database]

INTRODUCTION

The name of Paul Lautensack (1477/78–1558) is hardly familiar today, and only specialists of early 16th-century painting in Southern Germany will be aware of the rich but – as far as it survives – very conventional output of his workshop in the Franconian Cathedral City of Bamberg during the first quarter of the 16th century.¹ This study deals, however, not with the panels and sculptures that helped him to gain considerable wealth and respect but with the products of the religious speculation he engaged in after his move to Nuremberg in 1527–28. Lautensack's attempts to spread his revelations about the true meaning of the Bible were failures in every respect. Occasionally he found patrons willing to commission works of art from him, but several of them were so puzzled by the results that they refused to accept them. He sent Luther a draft for an illustrated tract asking for an endorsing preface, but the Reformer politely warned about the prohibitive costs of printing. The Nuremberg town council was less tactful: it commanded Lautensack to keep his “follies” to himself but did not take him seriously enough to try him for heresy.

Likewise, scholarly comments on the numerous drawings and manuscripts Lautensack produced in these more than thirty years – probably one of the largest corpora of as yet unedited Reformation writing – have been scarce and damning.

The relatively benevolent Christian Becman, probably the first scholar to comment on one of Lautensack's manuscripts, wondered about the “*miris allegoriis*,” which did not really help to understand the Bible,² whereas Gustav Georg Zeltner, whose 1716 book is up to now the only

¹ For some brief comments and bibliographical references to Lautensack's Bamberg period, see Chapter 1.

² Christian Becman, *Exercitationes Theologicae* (Amstelodami: Apud Joannem Janssonium, 1643), 345b. On 367a he adds: “Ut verò oblectare hæc talia aliquos solent: ita ad explicandum scripturæ textum perparum, immo ad probandum nihil faciunt;” further comments are on p. 362b. Most other Baroque references to Lautensack are vague entries in lists of heretics that (erroneously) call him a main source of inspiration for Valentin Weigel, e.g. “Pictor, & Organetes Noribergensis erat Paulus Lautensack / cui quod junctissimâ harmoniâ Noctua illa Weigelius accinat” (Paulus Ulricus, *Anatomia | Sive | Exente|ratio Draco|nis Fanatici: | Hoc est | Index | & | Judex | Errorum nouiter enatorum, qui abominan|da μαθαιολογίας confluge Corpus fermè Christianæ Ortho|doxias Totummodo contaminârunt virulentissimo* (Argentorati: Andreae, 1623), A4v).

printed monograph on the painter, concluded that Lautensack probably “non intellexisse, quid scriberet.”³ Modern authors reacted in a similar way – Hans-Ulrich Hofmann, who introduced Lautensack into his study on Luther and the Apocalypse, called the diagrams “sinnlose Spielerei,”⁴ and Frank Muller, who published many drawings by the master together with brief notes, suggested that Lautensack might have suffered from mental illness.⁵

Indeed, Lautensack’s tracts cannot but puzzle the reader. At first, highly complex diagrams catch the eye, but it soon becomes obvious that they present again and again the same seemingly random lists of quotations, words, letters and small signs that have apparently no connection with each other. When looking for help in the accompanying texts one encounters bold claims that the diagrams contain the complete truth revealed by God and fierce polemics against academic theologians who would not believe them but little comprehensible explanation. Indeed, while one soon understands that Lautensack was primarily interested in the nature of the Triune God and the incarnated Christ, it is often not possible to pin down his doctrinal positions, and it is doubtful whether he was ever able to consistently formulate his theology. As a painter, Lautensack had only limited formal education and apparently he read very little theology besides the Bible and the catechism; therefore he simply might not have known how to structure an argument. As far as his doctrinal claims are comprehensible, they undermine much of what had been consensus since

³ Gustavus Georgius Zeltner, *Q. D. B. V. | De | Pavlli | Lautensack / | Fanatici Noribergensis, | Fatis et Placitis | Schediasma Historico-Theologicum. | Cui accessit | Ioannis Schvvanhavseri, | Praeconis Evangelii Bamberg. & Norimberg. | ad eundem Lautensackium | Epistola | de Sacra Caena & Majestate Christi* (Altorphii: Kohlesius, 1716), 49. Zeltner added that, even if Lautensack had understood his own tracts, only a thousandth of the potential readers would be able to do so. He established some aspects on Lautensack’s biography, partially based on now lost documents but did not know any of his manuscripts or drawings besides the 1619 printed edition.

⁴ Hans-Ulrich Hofmann, *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse, dargestellt im Rahmen der Auslegungsgeschichte des letzten Buches der Bibel und im Zusammenhang der theologischen Entwicklung des Reformators* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1982), 563. His chapter on Lautensack covers pp. 551–66.

⁵ Frank Muller, *Artistes dissidents dans l’Allemagne du seizième siècle: Lautensack – Vogtherr – Weiditz* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 2001), 14. Muller doubted Lautensack’s sanity primarily because of the fragmentary state of many tracts – but this is the fault of his later copyists. Muller first published Lautensack’s drawings to the Creed (Frank Muller, “Une vision eschatologique à l’époque de la Réforme: le Credo de Paul Lautensack,” in *Pensée, image et communication en Europe médiévale: A propos des stalles de Saint-Claude* (Besançon: Asprodic, 1993), 225–35) and later a wide selection of images from manuscripts associated with him (Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 11–124).

the time of the early church fathers, but Lautensack never tried to found a separatist congregation; he sharply contradicted some of Luther's positions but always maintained respect for the founding figure of the German Reformation, and throughout his later life he remained a loyal citizen of moderately Lutheran Nuremberg.

Whilst Lautensack neither made important contributions to the development of Reformation theology nor inspired any major dissenting movement, it is exactly his idiosyncrasy and lack of learning that make him a fascinating and unique object for study. Paradoxically, he is relevant for the modern scholar both because he was typical and because he was highly eccentric. In the 16th century many vernacular books – from astrological calendars to Reformation propaganda – were aimed at an audience of literate yet not highly educated urban craftsmen, and the support of this group was crucial for the success of the Reformation in the cities. However, few members of this class left written testimonies, so we know little about how they dealt with the information presented to them. Lautensack's tracts that happily juxtapose Biblical quotations with images from astrological broadsheets therefore provide a rare glimpse into a culture that otherwise remains mute.

Another factor that makes Lautensack's hardly comprehensible tracts so special is that they are in several respects the work of a painter. Lautensack believed that he had been chosen to be God's tool in revealing the full truth of the Scriptures because he was trained as a painter and therefore more qualified than a text-focused theologian to deal with the grand visionary images of the Bible. Furthermore, he did not proceed in the normal way of developing a theological argument in writing and then devising images that would make it easier to understand and to remember. Rather, composing diagrams was his way of theological 'study,' and most of the accompanying texts are only secondary meditations on what could be seen in the diagrams. Lastly, the concept of the "bild" was crucial for his theology, and Lautensack was in his time the only Northern artist besides Albrecht Dürer who wrote about painting. Worried by the Iconoclasm, he tried to develop his own theology of the image. It shows an awareness of many of the arguments circulating in the public debate of the 1520s but is ultimately based on an understanding of images as places of a numinous divine presence. This belief must have been the basis for much of the popular cult of images but was hardly ever formulated explicitly.

The principal outcome of Lautensack's feverish activity to spread his revelations is a series of religious tracts that survive partially as autographs, partially as later manuscript copies, and partially in printed

form.⁶ He probably became interested in the Bible soon after the beginning of the German Reformation in 1517, but his earliest speculative drawings cannot have been made before 1531. His first dated manuscript comes from 1535 and the last from 1554, shortly before his death.⁷

The first challenge in the study of Lautensack's work is to understand the transmission of his tracts. Up to now⁸ nearly 30 manuscripts and two printed editions that contain material related to the painter have been identified. A small group of autograph manuscripts contain Lautensack's earliest works, whereas his later tracts only survive in printed and manuscript collections from the late 16th and early 17th centuries – some in as many as five manuscripts, others only once. Probably, many other tracts have been lost.⁹

As far as the surviving material allows us to determine, Lautensack began with several series of complex single-leaf drawings that increasingly came to include short, primarily biblical, texts, theological terms and single letters so that the pictorial elements eventually became harnessed into sections of grid-like diagrams.¹⁰ Soon the painter moved to the format of the book. At the beginning he merely copied the contents of individual drawings on consecutive pages, but he quickly grasped the advantages of the new format that allowed him to contrast elements on opposite pages and to add title-pages and introductory texts or diagrams intended to make the material more palpable to the reader. Different stages of this development can be seen in sections of three autograph manuscripts, all dated to 1535 (here abbreviated A, K and L). Soon afterwards the balance between texts and diagrams shifted drastically, and Lautensack developed the format of a stand-alone tract that can contain the following elements: a (sometimes illustrated) title-page, the dedication to a specific addressee,¹¹ an introduction going over several pages, a core section with a series of

⁶ Lautensack also produced canvasses and probably also panel paintings that visualized his theological concepts, but virtually all of them are lost – for the only exception see p. 36.

⁷ Lautensack's life and the chronology of his works will be introduced in Chapter 1.

⁸ Whereas most German research libraries have produced detailed catalogues of their medieval manuscripts, in many places the early modern holdings have been given little attention. Some of the most interesting manuscripts discussed in this study (E and U/V) were found by chance in libraries that had not published catalogues of their early modern manuscripts, and more such discoveries can be expected.

⁹ Tracts 12 and 26, for instance, are copied in the manuscripts B, S, T, V and W. Some manuscripts (U, V and W) assign the word "Liber" and a number from I to XVII to individual tracts – but only ten texts are marked in this way. The others are either lost or survive in other manuscripts without these numbers.

¹⁰ All known single-leaf drawings by Lautensack are in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin.

¹¹ Despite these dedications most tracts were probably aimed at a general audience, cf. p. 29 n. 91.

diagrams (some only filling one page, others covering several openings) alternating with texts meditating over them, and a conclusion ending with a prayer.¹² These tracts can be as long as fifty folia in quarto, but there are also shorter examples, which merely discuss one or two diagrams.¹³ Most of Lautensack's tracts were illustrated, with exception of some short general introductions¹⁴ and texts that should be studied together with images in other media, such as wall-paintings or canvases.¹⁵ The earliest examples of fully-developed tracts appear in a manuscript from 1538 (here abbreviated N) that presents three self-contained texts.¹⁶ By coincidence, this is Lautensack's last known autograph. The great majority of his tracts only survive in later copies – we have only four manuscripts by his hand, the largest comprising 61 folia, yet about 25 volumes, some with hundreds of pages, that contain later collections of his tracts or works inspired by them. Nothing about the source of these copies is known – either the exemplars came from Lautensack's estate and were kept by his descendants, or the painter sold or gave to one or several of his contemporaries larger groups of his manuscripts, which were passed on later.

Apparently, many of the tracts were copied in their entirety, but some scribes reproduced the text without the images,¹⁷ and others produced series of diagrams without texts.¹⁸ Empty pages at the end of a long tract are sometimes filled with isolated diagrams (taken from an otherwise lost work or from a loose leaf) with or without a few lines of text, or merely with some quickly made notes.¹⁹ Apart from these mutilations there are hardly any signs of editorial interference.²⁰ However, some manuscripts place authentic texts next to tracts that use Lautensackian motifs but clearly do not go back to him;²¹ and some sections have nothing to do with

¹² E.g. tract 26 (without a title-page).

¹³ E.g. tract 13a, which fills only 10 folia.

¹⁴ E.g. tract 9.

¹⁵ Tract 11 explains wall-paintings, 39 was sent together with a Tüchlein.

¹⁶ The development of the form of Lautensack's diagrams is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

¹⁷ This is largely the case with tracts 23 and 35. The former text keeps referring to diagrams, the latter is hard to comprehend because of the lack of them. Unfortunately, no illustrated version of any of these texts survives.

¹⁸ Good examples are tracts 45 and several tracts surviving in U (17, 18, 34); its title-page (σ:Ullr) explicitly calls it a compilation of diagrams ("Visierungen") by Lautensack taken out of their original contexts.

¹⁹ E.g. the diagram called here tract 44.

²⁰ Signs of authenticity are Lautensack's awkward syntax and quotes taken from short-lived Bible translations from the 1520s (cf. pp. 120–25) that would hardly have been available to Baroque scholars.

²¹ This is the case with tracts like φ and texts that used to be attributed to Valentin Weigel (cf. pp. 279–83). Many of these texts are written in a pretentious language with numerous Latinisms.

the Nuremberg painter at all. Some texts appear in different versions – either because Lautensack reworked his diagrams or because of the vicissitudes of transmission.

Already the early copyists of Lautensack's tracts tried to systematize the chaotic state of the transmission. Several manuscripts show an early numbering of tracts,²² and two authors made Lautensack's ideas more accessible through lengthy and relatively clear new tracts.²³

Ideally, research on Lautensack would begin with a critical edition of all his tracts. However, such a publication would comprise several volumes, and since many of Lautensack's texts are (as will be shown in the next pages) very much secondary to his diagrams, and more often than not repetitive and hardly comprehensible, this does not seem a promising enterprise. Therefore, this study identifies a text or a diagram by pointing to its manuscript source. These references consist of two parts. The first section (in bold) gives the number of the tract, the second indicates a manuscript page where it can be found. Here, the term 'tract' is used in a somewhat arbitrary manner, denoting any unit that appears to be separate from the material before and after it – this can be a lengthy self-contained text that is preserved in full, a series of diagrams in early autographs that seem to belong together, a collection of a number of diagrams taken from unknown sources, or merely a set of notices scribbled on a blank page. Tracts that are regarded as authentic works by Lautensack are numbered with Arabic numerals (1–51) in roughly chronological order, other tracts with Greek letters.²⁴ Latin letters denote different versions (e.g. **1e**, **λa**). After a colon, the manuscript is indicated by one or two letters,²⁵ followed by the folio or page number (e.g. K20r, Wm152).²⁶ To give an example, the

²² Cf. p. 4 n. 9.

²³ They were the physician Abraham Meffert († 1617), whose explanations of Lautensack (tracts **xx** and **λa/b**) appear in the manuscripts Bm, Km, Lm, Mm, Vm, Wm and the lost Cm, and the tax collector Paul Kaym (1571/72–1633), whose more detailed interpretation forms part of his tract **pp** (in manuscript Kk).

²⁴ Amongst them, tracts **α–u** are (in most cases short) texts by other authors that appear in the manuscripts between authentic tracts by Lautensack, **xx–zzz** are reworkings of or comments on Lautensack's works, and finally **ηηη–θθθ** texts incorrectly attributed to the painter.

²⁵ Manuscripts comprising primarily works by Lautensack are denoted by one capital letter (besides the autographs A, K, L and N manuscripts B, E, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W), others by a capital and a lower-case letter (e.g. –m for Meffert's edition). Printed editions have one small letter – for practical reasons each separately paginated section is treated as a separate entity (e.g. g, t, u).

²⁶ The autograph drawings in Berlin have D followed by the inventory number, e.g. D873 for KdZ 873.

entry 12:B55v denotes a passage of tract 12 that can be found on fol. 55v of manuscript B (but perhaps also in several other places). As far as possible, references were made to pages reproduced here or available in digital format. An overview of the manuscripts and tracts can be found at the beginning of this study, and a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts is in the appendix.

The greatest methodological problem that occurs in an examination of Lautensack's tracts is the role of diagrams. It is not the presence of these graphical elements that confuses – diagrams are very common in late medieval manuscripts, especially in didactic works.²⁷ However, most of them merely summarize a structured text and so facilitate memorizing it; the modern reader who does not understand the contents of a diagram will often find answers in the text it illustrates. This rule does, however, not apply for Lautensack's tracts because there the diagrams play a radically different role. Their author believed that he was chosen by God because of his training as a painter and hence his ability to deal with images, and for this reason the visual signs in the diagrams played a pivotal role in his theology. The content of his revelation was not a specific doctrine but rather a radically new method of doing Theology, a method that should replace the traditional collecting and weighing of Biblical and patristic quotes speaking for or against a hypothesis. Lautensack, who probably knew of academic theology only through some references in sermons, denounced this way of proceeding as product of human arrogance; he was convinced that all knowledge necessary for salvation was already contained in the Bible and in God's creation. However, it had been hidden until the end of time, when God revealed to none other than Lautensack the key to the proper reading of Scripture and nature.²⁸ This key was a system of selecting, subdividing, permuting and combining different elements of divine revelation (ranging from Bible quotations to images of comets God had displayed in the sky) so that they could explain each other. This process took place in the diagrams that are therefore not

²⁷ These diagrams are studied in great detail in Karl-August Wirth, "Von mittelalterlichen Bildern und Lehrfiguren im Dienste der Schule und des Unterrichts," in *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 256–370, and (for the Rotae) Ulrich Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunser-Erklärungen des Mittelalters* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1994).

²⁸ E.g. 11:g44 has: "euch ein solch werck Gottes angezeygt vnd gemahlt / welches inhalt nie geoffenbart ist worden / wie gehört vnd angezeygt ist / aber sölches nicht durch meinen verstand geschehen / sondern durch Christum selbs" [having shown and painted for you such a work of God, the content of which had never been revealed as is heard and shown. But this did not happen through my intelligence but through Christ Himself].

illustrations of written arguments but both primary tools of theological enquiry and the most convincing means of presenting its results. Lautensack was sure that anyone studying them with an open mind would inevitably see the truth they contain. Unfortunately, he never commented on why he chose certain arrangements. Probably, he tried out many different combinations and permutations of his material and included those into his tracts that gave him new insights. Therefore his method may have been akin to that of an experimental scientist who tests many sets of conditions in order to determine when certain reactions could happen. Since Lautensack's "arguing" consists in the arrangement of texts and other elements in diagrams, his criteria were very formal – frequently he was less interested in the content of a given passage than in the number of units (such as chapters) it was subdivided into, or the number of occurrences of certain key-words.

Despite the complexity of some of his arrangements, Lautensack remained naïve in his use of sources. He believed, for instance, that the partial Bible editions he owned reflected in every respect – from the number and order of Biblical Books to the subdivision of the text into paragraphs – the true nature of 'the' Bible and was shocked when Luther decided to exclude several Books from his Old Testament. Likewise, the Latin alphabet was for Lautensack hallowed through its use on the Title of the Cross but he used versions of it that contain several abbreviations and graphical variants as he had probably learned at school. In most cases the numerical coincidences – as absurd as they seem to the modern beholder – did really occur in his sources. However, and this may come from his training as a painter rather than as a scholar, Lautensack was in some cases satisfied with arrangements that 'looked' convincing, but where the desired numbers had been reached by cunningly adding or omitting some elements – sometimes only a detailed description will reveal these 'tricks.'

Any student of Lautensack's works has to take these peculiarities of his diagrams into account. Most importantly, it is impossible to rely on the text as a guide. As mentioned, the diagrams are not illustrations of the text, rather many of the texts that directly accompany the diagrams are rambling meditations on new insights revealed in them. In contrast, the introductory sections of many tracts are somewhat clearer as far as they underline Lautensack's claims to authority and attack established theologians. The information they give about his method of uncovering God's hidden revelation are again less helpful – many topics are not mentioned (probably because the painter regarded them as obvious to

anyone), and some sections are marred by confusing syntax and the lack of a clear terminology – the word “Geist” [Spirit], for instance, can denote three different entities: the traditional Holy Ghost (contrasting with the Father and the Son), the *Spirit* of God (contrasting with the *Word* and *Person* of God) and the Spirit of a letter, a noun frequently associated with it.²⁹ The only promising way of understanding his tracts is therefore a systematic and detailed examination of all of Lautensack’s diagrams. The numerous parallels between them allow us to reconstruct some of the methods he commonly used. Naturally, these reconstructions are purely hypothetical – but a re-reading of some passages of the text with them in mind sheds light on some formerly cryptic passages and suggests that the reconstructions do indeed reflect Lautensack’s intentions. However, his reasons for proceeding as he did and not otherwise cannot be determined in this way, and therefore the chapters analyzing his diagrams can often only describe his use of certain elements, identify potential sources, and point to contemporary parallels. This approach may seem reductionist and mechanical, but it appears to be the only way to understand at least some aspects of Lautensack’s highly unusual work.

This study is divided into six chapters. The first introduces Lautensack’s biography; after brief remarks on his long, successful and unexciting career in Bamberg, it will focus on the last decades of his life spent in Nuremberg, during which he produced his speculative tracts. Apart from establishing a historical framework and surveying his extant and documented works, it will furthermore introduce his patrons and examine how the civic authorities of Nuremberg reacted to his attempts to spread his religious ideas.

Lautensack’s justification for writing his tracts shall be examined in the second chapter. After surveying religious tracts composed by craftsmen in Reformation Germany, it looks at Lautensack’s claims to authority and specifically at the importance of his profession as a painter for his theological argument. Since the concept of the image was central to his doctrine, his views on the legitimacy of images in churches shall be explained in the context of the Reformation debate on Iconoclasm.

Chapter 3 will introduce Lautensack’s speculative diagrams. Its aim is to familiarize the reader with both their “vocabulary” and their “grammar.” It

²⁹ Some examples of Lautensack’s vocabulary are explained on pp. 153–54.

will demonstrate which Biblical quotations, lists of names, theological terms, letters and small images appear in these diagrams, and how Lautensack arranged and permuted them. Most examples are taken from tracts of his 'Middle Period' in the late 1530s, which belong to his least complex compositions both in their contents and in their simple, normally grid-like, form.

Armed with this knowledge, the reader will be able to explore in the fourth chapter Lautensack's earliest and arguably most complex works (produced 1531–35), which combine these elements with rich pictorial compositions that make use of biblical, catechetical and polemical motifs. Because several versions of this material survive in a number of autograph drawings and manuscripts, it was possible to study the development of these diagrams and Lautensack's working methods in close detail.

The great majority of Lautensack's works were compiled after 1538 and only survive in a more or less mutilated form in later copies. Most of them were the product of enthusiasts rather than skilled craftsmen, and therefore they are visually much less attractive than the autographs. However, because they show many innovations both in the choice of the "vocabulary" and in the new, even more unusual ways of presentation, Chapter 5 is dedicated to this rich material.

Whereas Lautensack had been virtually ignored during his lifetime, his name regularly features in mystical Protestant and "Rosicrucian" literature of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. In most cases, this reception hardly went beyond counting him amongst enlightened dissidents of the past, but some enthusiasts copied, commented and re-interpreted his tracts – some of his concepts were still reflected in 18th-century mystical tracts and even in ceiling paintings in a Lutheran church. A brief introduction to this broad topic shall be given in the last chapter.

The Appendix contains detailed codicological descriptions of all known manuscripts containing tracts by Lautensack.

CHAPTER ONE

PAUL LAUTENSACK'S LIFE AND WORK

I. Bamberg¹

Lautensack was born in 1477 or 1478,² and he must have received the usual schooling for craftsmen – writing and basic mathematics, but no Latin.³ Nothing is known about his apprenticeship; most likely he was at some point associated with the workshop of the Master of the Hersbruck Altarpiece (Meister des Hersbrucker Altares), probably based in Bamberg, and maybe also with the emerging Danube School.⁴ By 1501 he had established his workshop in Bamberg, a small yet prosperous town dominated by a cathedral and several monasteries, which provided reliable patronage for artists. From this year until 1514 he undertook large commissions for the church of the short-lived pilgrimage in Grimmerthal near Meiningen (today in Thuringia).⁵ In addition, between 1506 and 1521 he received regular payments for works (in most cases small-scale decorative

¹ Lautensack's Bamberg period was studied in Renate Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, "Bamberger Plastik von 1479 bis 1520," 104. *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* (1968): 53–65, 107–21, 223–37, 315–21, 349. I discovered some new material on this period, which I intend to publish separately.

² According to an etching by Hans Lautensack (Frontispiece) Paul was 74 years old in 1552.

³ In an autograph manuscript Lautensack quoted the Vulgate version of John 19:37 as "videbund in quem tranß fixerunt," thus spelling the Latin phonetically according to the Franconian dialect with softened *ts* (9a:N8r).

⁴ Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, "Bamberger Plastik," 235.

⁵ The still definitive history of this pilgrimage is Georg Brückner, "Grimmenthal als Wallfahrtsort und Hospital," in *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte Deutschen Alterthums*, vol. 1 (Meiningen: Brückner & Renner, 1858), 99–311 (pp. 115–27 deal with the church and its decoration), some corrections appear in the introduction to Johannes Mötsch, *Die Wallfahrt zu Grimmerthal: Urkunden, Rechnungen, Mirakelbuch* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004). Accounts related to Lautensack's works are edited in Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, "Bamberger Plastik," 315–20, A73–74, 76–79, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95, and again in Mötsch, *Wallfahrt zu Grimmerthal*, 219–66, R6–7, 10–13, 18–20. Lautensack also worked at the nearby chapel of St Wolfgang in Hermannsfeld; see Hermann Pusch, "Die Wallfahrt zum heiligen Wolfgang bei Hermannsfeld," *Henneberger Blätter: Sonntagsbeilage der Dorfzeitung Hildburghausen* 7–10 (1921/24): 25–49 [published 1922/23]; Johannes Mötsch, "Die Wallfahrt St. Wolfgang bei Hermannsfeld," in *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Matthias Werner zum 65. Geburtstag* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007), 673–700.

painting) done for the Prince Bishops of Bamberg.⁶ As a wealthy and respected citizen he lived in one of the most prosperous parts of Bamberg, and by 1520 he had become both Gassenhauptmann [alderman] and churchwarden. His first son, Paul, who later like his father moved to Nuremberg and eventually was appointed organist of St Sebald, was born in 1506.⁷ Another son, Heinrich, who became a goldsmith in Frankfurt, was born in 1522 as the son of Lautensack and Barbara Graffin, and two more sons, Michael and Hans, the well-known etcher, were probably born around this time, too.⁸

No extant paintings by Lautensack can be linked to the documented commissions – the church in Grimmenthal fell into decay after the Reformation, and the only surviving elements of its furnishing are reliefs which Lautensack must have subcontracted.⁹ It is unclear if he had any role in their design,¹⁰ or if he collaborated regularly with their (unknown) sculptor.¹¹ A signed panel painting allows us to identify parts of five

⁶ Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, “Bamberger Plastik,” 317–21, A80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96–98.

⁷ This date appears in a horoscope (Stadtbibliothek Nuremberg, Nor. H. 1,006, see Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 7 vols. (London: Warburg Institute, and Leiden: Brill, 1967–97), 3:696). Since there are more than 10 years between Paul's birth and that of his siblings his mother was probably not Barbara Graffin but an earlier wife, probably the wife who collected payments for her husband in 1514 (Mötsch, *Wallfahrt zu Grimmenthal*, 265, R20).

⁸ Documents about Lautensack's children are collected in Annegrit Schmitt, *Hans Lautensack* (Nuremberg: Edelmann, 1957).

⁹ These are reliefs with scenes from the Passion that probably come from one large altarpiece (a precise reconstruction is difficult), and which are now part of the Baroque altar of the parish church of Gräfontonna, see Herbert von Hintzenstern, *Der Kreuzaltar von Gräfontonna: ein unbekanntes Meisterwerk* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, [1957]) and, for color photographs, Peter Denner, *Peter und Paul-Kirche zu Gräfontonna* (Gräfontonna: Evangelische Kirchengemeinde, [1992]). A large relief with the mystical Unicorn Hunt, a common devotional scene, is now in the Herzogliches Museum in Gotha (Allmuth Schuttwolf, *Sammlung der Plastik: Schloßmuseum Gotha* (Gotha: Gothaer Kultur- und Fremdenverkehrsbetrieb, 1995), 58–61).

¹⁰ Their style has nothing in common with that of Lautensack's paintings (Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, “Bamberger Plastik,” 231), but parts of the Gräfontonna altarpiece as well as some panels by Lautensack borrow scenes from Hans Schüpflein's *Speculum Passionis* (see the analysis in von Hintzenstern, *Kreuzaltar von Gräfontonna*), therefore Lautensack and the sculptor may have shared models (cf. p. 13 n. 12).

¹¹ They also collaborated for the altar at Nankendorf, completed in 1515. Several sculptures by the same master, probably fragments of altarpieces, survive. They are sometimes called products of the ‘Lautensack workshop’ but we do not know if Lautensack was involved in the production of these altarpieces. Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, “Bamberger Plastik,” 116–20, describes the altarpiece in Nankendorf and two statues in Bad Königshofen im Grabfeld; *Sculptures allemandes de la fin du Moyen Âge: dans les collections publiques françaises, 1400–1530*, exh. cat. Paris, Louvre, 1991 (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1991), 235–37 no. 66, a relief in Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, inv. P 482; Annette Faber,

altarpieces as his work.¹² Most of their compositions closely follow prints – primarily by Martin Schongauer, Albrecht Dürer and Hans Schäufelein – and many architectural details stand in the local tradition of the Hersbruck

“Mit Paul Lautensack unterwegs: Werke seiner Bamberger Werkstatt in Thüringen,” *Heimat Bamberger Land* 18 (2006): 75–78, a third statue in Königshofen and parts of an altarpiece in Ostheim vor der Rhön. An isolated crucifix is in Jutta Minor, “Zur Restaurierung eines spätgotischen Kruzifixes der Lautensack-Werkstatt aus Weichenwasserlos,” *Heimat Bamberger Land* 6 (1994): 13–15. Small busts in Burgellern, attributed to the master in Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, “Bamberger Plastik,” 116–17, are similar but their quality is higher. The numerous attributions to this workshop made in Alexa von Aufsess, *Die Altarwerkstatt des Paul Lautensack unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Verbindung zur Werkstatt des Pulkauer Altars* (Baden-Baden: Heitz, 1963), are overly optimistic.

¹² The Historisches Museum in Frankfurt owns all painted parts of a large altarpiece, which show primarily scenes of the Passion and the Life of St John Baptist (inv. B. 891–902, 910–12, see Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, “Bamberger Plastik,” 232–36; Alfred Stange, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der deutschen Tafelbilder vor Dürer*, vol. 3 (Munich: Bruckmann, 1978), 121; reproductions of individual panels in R.P. Wescher, “Ein weiterer Altar Paul Lautensacks d.Ä.,” *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt* 58 (new ser., 34) (1922/23): 476; Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, vol. 9, *Franken, Böhmen und Thüringen-Sachsen in der Zeit von 1400 bis 1500* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1958), figs. 216–17; von Aufsess, *Altarwerkstatt*, 7 fig. 1; Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, “Bamberger Plastik,” fig. 48). For this altarpiece Lautensack only copied prints by Schongauer and not yet works by Dürer, therefore it was probably made early, soon after 1500.

Renate Baumgärtel-Fleischmann convincingly identified a number of panels in the possession of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich as fragments of three altarpieces. One was probably similar to the Frankfurt altarpiece (although taller), but one of its panels shows the creation of Eve and therefore the outer wings probably contained a typological program (München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. R 36, R 37, R 631, R 633, all currently on loan to the Staatgalerie in Bamberg, in Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, “Bamberger Plastik,” 229–30, as *Altarpiece II*). Since it copies elements of Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* and Schäufelein's *Speculum passionis* it cannot predate 1507.

Two further panels that borrow from the same sources probably belonged to a roughly contemporary Passion altarpiece (ibid., inv. R 13 and MA 2,805, currently on loan to the Fränkische Galerie Kronach, Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, “Bamberger Plastik,” 230, *Altarpiece III*).

More mature is Lautensack's only signed and dated work, from 1511, which showed the Passion and the Life of the Virgin, its principal sources are Schongauer and Dürer (ibid., R 55, R 56, R 603, currently on loan to Bamberg, and R 592, currently in Kronach; two more panels appear in the sales catalogue of the collection of the painter Eduard von Grützner (Adolf Feulner, *Die Sammlung Eduard v. Grützner, München* [Catalogue of an auction at Hugo Helbing, 24 June 1930] (Munich: [Helbing, 1930]) 28 no. 231, one of them is now in the Winnipeg Gallery of Art, LG-53-1, see Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, “Bamberger Plastik,” 225–28, *Altarpiece I*. Photographs of some of these paintings are in Karl Voll, Heinz Braune and Hans Buchheit, *Katalog der Gemälde des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums* (Munich: Verlag des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums, 1908), unnumbered plate nos. 389/392; Otto Zoff, “Der Radierer und Holzschneider Hans Sebald Lautensack,” *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Künste, Beilage der 'Graphischen Künste'* 15 (1917): 3, 5; Feulner, *Sammlung Eduard v. Grützner*, plate 4; von Aufsess, *Altarwerkstatt*, after p. 10 fig. 2, and *Selected Works from The Winnipeg Art Gallery Collection* (n.p., 1971), 56.

The outer sides of the wings of the former high altar in Nankendorf show Lautensack's most monumental composition, the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand after Dürer's woodcut Bartsch VII.140.117. They are in a severely damaged state and on deposit in the Diözesanmuseum in Bamberg.

Master (Figs. 1, 2).¹³ Lautensack added some narrative elements as if he were afraid of leaving parts of the story untold,¹⁴ including landscapes in the style of the Danube school and bizarre decorative details, especially on suits of armor. He also showed an interest in Hebrew letters, which may already point to his later obsession with alphabets.¹⁵ None of the principal scenes is really unconventional in its iconography, although some typological elements surprise in the otherwise purely narrative context.¹⁶ However, a fragment of a highly eccentric composition is hidden at the back of one of his panels (Fig. 3).¹⁷ Its surviving part shows, beneath decorated leaf-work populated with putti,¹⁸ three crests, the escutcheon that would have been beneath is lost. The left crest is a Crown of Thorns, from which emerges Christ as Man of Sorrows showing His wounds, standing in front of the Instruments of the Passion; the right is a crown with Mary as Mother of Sorrows, pierced by five swords.¹⁹ In the center a crown

¹³ These sources are identified in von Aufsess, *Altarwerkstatt*, 84–85, and in Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, “Bamberger Plastik,” 225–30.

¹⁴ The Frankfurt Carrying of the Cross (B. 912) shows how a ladder is transported to Golgotha, and in the Death of the Virgin several shoes are placed outside her bedroom (B. 891).

¹⁵ In contrast to some other painters Lautensack displays the Hebrew letters in correct shape, yet the ‘words’ do not make sense.

¹⁶ The Pentecost scene from the Munich *Altarpiece III* (MA 2,805) adds a bust of Moses with the Tablets of the Law – the standard typological reference works of the late Middle Ages, the *Biblia pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, regard the Giving of the Law as a type for the Coming of the Spirit (e.g. *Speculum*, ch. 34, ll. 81–88; Jules Lutz and Paul Perdrizet, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis: Texte critique, Traduction inédite de Jean Mielot* (1448), vol. 1 (Mulhouse: Meininger, 1907), 71). *Altarpiece II* has a Creation of Eve (R 633) that was probably the type for a scene from the Life of Mary, the new Eve, or for Christ’s side pierced by the lance.

¹⁷ München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. R 592, currently in the Fränkische Galerie Kronach. In her reconstruction, Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, “Bamberger Plastik,” 226–27, suggested convincingly that this panel formed part of a fixed wing so that the coat of arms and the inscription, which commemorates the completion of this altarpiece (transcribed in Voll, Braune and Buchheit, *Katalog der Gemälde*, 120 no. 390 (XXV)), were always at the back side of the altar.

¹⁸ They derive from Lucas Cranach’s last page of the Wittenberg Heiltumsbuch of 1509 (*Dye zaigung des hochlobwirdigen hailigthums der Stifft | kirchen aller hailigen zu | wittenburg* (Wittenbergk: [Reinhart], 1509, VD 16 Z 250), L4v), which in turn goes back to the first woodcut of Bernhardus de Breydenbach, [Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam] (Cuius Moguntina: Reüwich, 1486, *GW* 5,075), see Friedrich Winkler, “Ein Titelblatt und seine Wandlungen,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 15 (1961): 150 fig. 1, and 158 fig. 9. I am grateful to Dr. Hess, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg, and to the late Dr. Baumgärtel, for drawing my attention to these sources.

¹⁹ According to Stephan Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1909), 405–12, around 1500 the veneration of the Five Sorrows of the Virgin was replaced by that of the Seven Sorrows. Besides some northeast German altarpieces (ibid., 405 n. 6) Mary pierced with five swords appears in woodcuts by Erhard Schoen (Bartsch VII.479.22) and Hans Springinklee (*Hortulus*

supports an orb. Before the orb is the Dove of the Holy Ghost, above which we see God the Father supported by two angels. The iconography of this scene is straightforward, Mary and Christ interceding with the Father, yet it is probably unique to depict this in the worldly language of heraldry – and it is likewise unusual to introduce a narrative into a coat of arms. As a painter Lautensack was naturally familiar with heraldic commissions, he had, for instance, painted banners for the Prince Bishops of Bamberg.²⁰ We will encounter similar schemes, with a heterodox content, in some of his manuscripts.²¹ However, whilst this composition shows an artist who tried to innovate by adopting common pictorial formulae to new contents, most of the works that helped him to accumulate considerable wealth were highly conventional paintings.

Lautensack may have first encountered the new ideas of the Reformation through his friend Johannes Schwanhauser (or Schwanhausen / Schwanhäuser), Custos of St Gangolf in Bamberg, who tried in vain to introduce the new faith in his city and was banished in 1524.²² Lautensack probably began to study the Bible under Schwanhauser's influence,²³ but

animae | cum horis beate virginis (Nuremberg: Peypus for Koberger, 1519, VD 16 H 5,067), 76r, confusingly illustrating a prayer already dedicated to the Seven Sorrows, Bartsch VII.324.12). More examples are in Hans Gerhard Meyer, "Die fünf Schmerzen Marias: Zur Ikonographie der Mater dolorosa im Altarbild des Gert van Lon im Mindener Dom," *Mindener Heimatblätter: Mitteilungen des Mindener Geschichtsvereins* 54 (1982): 113–23. Erich Wimmer, *Maria im Leid: Die Mater dolorosa, insbesondere in der deutschen Literatur und Frömmigkeit des Mittelalters* (Würzburg: n.p., 1968), 89–94, suggests that both conventions coexisted for a considerable time but that the image of Mary pierced by five swords was an adoption of an earlier seven sword scheme (p. 97 n. 1).

²⁰ Lautensack's invoice from 27 January 1513 was published in Franz Friedrich Leitschuh, *Studien und Quellen zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte des XV.–XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg (Schweiz): Gschwend, 1912), 46 no. VI, from the Staatsarchiv Bamberg but was subsequently lost.

²¹ Cf. pp. 222–27.

²² Schwanhauser's biography is discussed in Otto Erhard, "Johannes Schwanhausen, der Reformator Bambergs," *Beiträge zur Bayerischen Kirchengeschichte* 3 (1897): 1–23, 55–74. Karl Schornbaum, "Zum Aufenthalte Joh. Polianders und Joh. Schwanhausens in Nürnberg," *Beiträge zur Bayerischen Kirchengeschichte* 6 (1900): 216–28, deals with his sojourn in Nuremberg. A recent edition of his works is Johannes Schwanhauser, *Schriften und Predigten*, ed. Horst Weigelt (Nuremberg: Verein für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte, 2010). He is further discussed in Lothar Michel, *Der Gang der Reformation in Franken* (Erlangen: Palm & Enke, 1930), 22–25; Hans Paschke, *St. Gangolf zu Bamberg* (Bamberg: n.p., 1959), 11–12; Hans-Christoph Rublack, *Gescheiterte Reformation: Frühreformatorische und protestantische Bewegungen in süd- und westdeutschen geistlichen Residenzen* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978), 82–83; Horst Weigelt, "Die frühreformatorische Bewegung in Bamberg und Johann Schwanhauser," 134. *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* (1998): 113–27. According to Erhard, "Johannes Schwanhausen," 2, Schwanhauser was godfather to one of Lautensack's children.

²³ Most Bible editions used in Lautensack's later tracts come from 1522–26, cf. pp. 120–25.

the Lutheran preacher was certainly not responsible for his later unorthodox ideas.²⁴ In accordance with the Lutheran position concerning the priesthood of all believers, Lautensack challenged clerical privileges in 1523.²⁵ He played a part in a civic uprising against the Prince Bishop in early 1525 and was subject to questioning afterwards, but apparently he managed to avoid any harsh punishment.²⁶

Nevertheless Lautensack, already about 50 years old, decided eventually to leave his life in Bamberg behind him. His move to Nuremberg may have had religious reasons. Nothing suggests that he already harbored any radical religious views,²⁷ but in the years after the failed uprising the Bishop's rule over Bamberg was strengthened, and sympathizers with Luther found increasingly less leniency, so that several of them emigrated.²⁸ It is equally possible that the collapse of commissions for church

²⁴ His last tract, *Vom abentmal | Christi*. (Schwanhauser, *Schriften und Predigten*, 147–205), was conceived as a letter to Lautensack that should persuade him to abandon Zwinglian views of the Eucharist, views that were commonly held in Southern Germany by the *Sakramentierer* (Arnd Müller, “Zensurpolitik der Reichsstadt Nürnberg: Von der Einführung der Buchdruckerkunst bis zum Ende der Reichsstadtzeit,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 49 (1959): 86; Günther Bauer, *Anfänge täuferischer Gemeindebildungen in Franken* (Nuremberg: Verein für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte, 1966), 125–26; Gottfried Seebass, “Dissent und Konfessionalisierung: Zur Geschichte des ‘linken Flügels der Reformation’ in Nürnberg,” in: Martin Walser, *Das Sauspiel* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1978), 382). However, according to a postscript Schwanhauser had eventually learned that Lautensack was no longer (or had never been) a *Sakramentierer* so that he did not need this admonition. In fact, Lautensack's later drawings show a Catholic understanding of the Eucharist, cf. pp. 201–6.

²⁵ On 24 November the Cathedral Chapter reprimanded him for summoning priests to guard duties, StA Bamberg, Rep. B 86, no. 3a, 130r; Johann Looshorn, *Die Geschichte des Bistums Bamberg*, vol. 4, *Das Bistum Bamberg von 1440–1556* (Bamberg: Handels-Druckerei, 1900), 673.

²⁶ For this uprising see Anton Chroust, *Chroniken der Stadt Bamberg*, vol. 2, *Chroniken zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges und der Markgrafenfehde in Bamberg* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1910); Looshorn, *Geschichte des Bistums Bamberg*, 4:567–77; Wilhelm Stolze, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg: Untersuchungen über seine Entstehung und seinen Verlauf* (Halle an der Saale: Niemeyer, 1907), 172–89; Rudolf Endres, “Probleme des Bauernkriegs im Hochstift Bamberg,” *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 31 (1971): 124–33; Werner Zeißner, *Altkirchliche Kräfte in Bamberg unter Bischof Weigand von Redwitz (1522–1556)* (Bamberg: Historischer Verein, 1975). Documents on Lautensack's role are StA Bamberg, Rep. B 48, no. 2, prod. 65, *ibid.*, no. 11, prod. 3, 5r–6r (= 13r–14r of the file) and no. 11, prod. 17, 8v (=286v of the file, edited in Chroust, *Chroniken*, 260).

²⁷ This was suggested in Franz von Soden, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Reformation und der Sitten jener Zeit mit besonderem Hinblick auf Christoph Scheurl II* (Nuremberg: Bauer & Raspe, 1855), 397; G. Freiherr von Imhof, “Hans Sebald Lautensacks Ansichten von Nürnberg,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 2 (1880): 164.

²⁸ Rudolf Schmitt, “Die Reformation im Bistum Bamberg von 1522–1556” (Ph. D. diss., Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen, 1953), 116; Endres, “Probleme des Bauernkrieges,” 136–37; *id.*, “Der Bauernkrieg in Franken,” *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 109 (1973): 64. Some supporters of the new faith had already left Bamberg in 1525 (Stolze, *Der deutsche*

furnishings after the Reformation and the economic problems Bamberg encountered after the Peasants' War had made his workshop unsustainable – whilst Nuremberg, despite the Reformation, had remained an artistic center. Since Lautensack's son Paul married in Nuremberg a few weeks before his father was admitted as a citizen,²⁹ the family might have had earlier connections to the neighboring town. Also Lautensack's friend Johannes Schwanhauser had been offered a preachership in Nuremberg after his expulsion from Bamberg in 1524. His family lived there after his death in 1528³⁰ and possibly maintained close connections with the Lautensacks – a Paul Lautensack, father or son, eventually became guardian of Schwanhauser's daughter Ursula.³¹

Bauernkrieg, 158). Johann Schöner, a canon of St Stephen who had come under attack for concubinage, took up a teaching position in Nuremberg in 1526 (Kurt Pilz, *600 Jahre Astronomie in Nürnberg* (Nuremberg: Carl, 1977), 177). The bishop's chaplain, Ulrich Burchardi, fled from Bamberg to Leipzig after Ingolstadt University had condemned a book by him as heretical (Karl Schottenloher, *Die Buchdruckertätigkeit Georg Erlingers in Bamberg von 1522 bis 1541* (1543) (Leipzig: Haupt, 1907), 35–36; Dieter J. Weiß, *Das exempte Bistum Bamberg*, vol. 3, *Die Bischofsreihe von 1522–1693* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 115). The last canon with Lutheran sympathies resigned in late 1528 (Weiß, *Bistum Bamberg*, 111); more cases in Rublack, *Gescheiterte Reformation*, 81.

²⁹ Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg, Pfarrei Nürnberg, St. Sebald, Traubuch S20, 169v, edited in Karl Schornbaum, *Das älteste Ehebuch der Pfarrei St. Sebald in Nürnberg, 1524–1543: Das älteste Ehebuch der ev.-luth. Kirche Deutschlands* (Nuremberg: Die Egge, 1949), 116 no. 3,919. In the literature this marriage is incorrectly connected with Paul Lautensack the Elder.

³⁰ Schornbaum, "Zum Aufenthalte Johann Polianders," 218–22. Schwanhauser's activity in a convent is reflected in the tract *Ein Christen|liche kurtze vndterrich|tung / auß grund heyliger Göt|licher schriefft gezogen / Ob | das Closter leben / wie das | biß|here gehalten / christen|lich sey* (Schwanhauser, *Schriften und Predigten*, 119–44), a tract that should persuade nuns to abandon their vows. In contrast to earlier research Weigelt, *Frühreformatorenische Bewegung*, 125, and Barbara Steinke, *Paradiesgarten oder Gefängnis? Das Nürnberger Katharinenkloster zwischen Klosterreform und Reformation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 220–22, suggested that this nunnery was none other than St Catherine's in Nuremberg – and this explains why the town council later felt responsible for Schwanhauser's family (see beneath, n. 31). Paschke, *St. Gangolf*, 12, assumes that Schwanhauser died in Weikersheim (close to Mergentheim) because a man from this village sold Schwanhauser's Bamberg house in 1530 (correct date *ibid.*, 116).

³¹ Several weeks after Schwanhauser's death the Nuremberg town council discussed the situation of his family and decided to search a guardian for his child (StA Nürnberg, Rep. 60a (Ratsverlässe), RV 763 (1528/29, VIII), 16v (19 November 1528), see Weigelt, *Frühreformatorenische Bewegung*, 126). Lautensack and a (not further identified) Gabriel Lang appear as guardians in contract from September 1530 (StadtA Nürnberg, Rep. 14/I, no. 44, 230r–v). In StA Nürnberg, Rep. 60a, RV 948 (1542/43, VII), 1r (28 September 1542), they are asked to hand over the orphan's possessions to her friends. Interestingly a Duke Ernst of Saxony (perhaps Johann Ernst, Duke of Saxony-Coburg from 1542 to 1553) was behind this request, but there is no documentation of official correspondence with him on this matter (StA Nürnberg, Rep. 61a: Briefbücher, no. 128). An Apolonia [*sic*] Schwanhauserin, who married 25 November 1539 in Nuremberg (Schornbaum, *Das älteste Ehebuch*, 65 no. 2,075) may have been another relative of the preacher.

Lautensack paid his emigration tax from Bamberg in May 1528,³² in July the Nuremberg city council decided to grant him – by then apparently still an affluent man – citizenship,³³ and several months later he received payments from the sale of his Bamberg house.³⁴ If his son Heinrich was not mistaken, the actual move had, however, already taken place in 1527.³⁵

II. Nuremberg, 1528–37

Nuremberg was where Lautensack spent most of the three last decades of his life, and here he compiled the speculative tracts that are the focus of this study.

Like Bamberg, the town had seen severe changes in the mid-1520s, but with very different proceedings and outcomes.³⁶ Owing to its trade

³² StadtA Bamberg, Rep. B 7, no. 78, 164r, edited in Hans Paschke, *Unter Unserer Lieben Frauen Pfarre zu Bamberg* (Bamberg: n.p., 1967), 60, and *ibid.*, Rep. B 7, no. 40, 1528/29, 21r–Lautensack paid 17lb 10d. Kurt Degen, *Die Bamberger Malerei des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Straßburg: Heitz, 1931), 58, discovered this notice. A neighboring entry allows to date this payment to 23 May 1528 (not May 19, as mentioned in the literature; Dr. Robert Zink, Stadtarchiv Bamberg, kindly clarified the date).

³³ StA Nürnberg, Rep. 60a, RV 759 (1528/29, IV), 5v (5 July 1528), edited in Theodor Hampe, *Nürnberger Ratsverlässe über Kunst und Künstler* (Vienna: Graeser, 1904), 242–43 no. 1,619. Lautensack's name is missing from the principal register of new citizens – particularly wealthy persons were recorded on a separate list that is lost for the corresponding years, see Werner Schultheiß, “Das Bürgerrecht der Königs- und Reichsstadt Nürnberg: Beiträge zur Verfassungsgeschichte der deutschen Städte,” in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971*, vol. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 190 and n. 137.

³⁴ StadtA Nürnberg, B 14/II (Libri Conservatorii), no. 27, 130r and 165r, and no. 31, 211r, contain acknowledgments that the buyer, the tailor Hans Querck (or Querck), had paid installments of 50, 200 and 150 fl. The first entry must come from 7–9 December 1528, the second from 5–6 March 1529, the third from 23–24 May 1532.

³⁵ This date appears in Heinrich's curriculum vitae in Frankfurt / Main, Historisches Museum inv. X 25 2,011, *Meisterbuch der Goldschmiede*, not foliated (transcribed, with a minor omission, in Schmitt, *Hans Lautensack*, 49 no. XXXII).

³⁶ Especially helpful amongst the numerous studies of the Nuremberg Reformation is the edition of sources in Gerhard Pfeiffer, *Quellen zur Nürnberger Reformationsgeschichte: Von der Duldung liturgischer Änderungen bis zur Ausübung des Kirchenregiments durch den Rat (Juni 1524 – Juni 1525)* (Nuremberg: Verein für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte, 1968). Amongst secondary sources, Jann Whitehead Gates, “The Formulation of City Council Policy and the Introduction of the Protestant Reformation in Nuremberg, 1524–25” (Ph. D. diss., Ohio State University, 1975), traces the decision process in the council. Broader overviews are Adolf Engelhardt, “Die Reformation in Nürnberg,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 33 (1936): 4–258 and 34 (1937): 3–402, and Günter Vogler, *Nürnberg, 1524/25: Studien zur Geschichte der reformatorischen und sozialen Bewegung in*

connections Nuremberg had come into contact with Reformation propaganda at an early date. This movement quickly won the sympathies of a large part of the population and, more importantly, of the town council. As Nuremberg was a Freie Reichsstadt, a free town within the Holy Roman Empire, and as the council was already controlling most appointments at the parish churches, it enjoyed a more or less free rein in introducing the Reformation. However, loyalty to the Catholic Emperor was of paramount political importance. For several years the council officially maintained the old faith whilst tolerating Lutheran developments, culminating in liturgical changes in the summer of 1524. Religious statements that seemed too radical, dangerous for the public peace or poisonous for relations with the Emperor were strictly suppressed. The emergence of extreme positions, like that of the so-called Gottlosen Maler,³⁷ forced the council to abandon their pretense of neutrality. After a disputation between the Protestant preachers and representatives of the still Catholic monasteries in March 1525, which the followers of the Reformation won (as planned), the council officially adopted the Reformation, albeit in a very moderate way. Images, liturgical vestments and Latin chants, for instance, were preserved. In comparison with the riotous scenes in some Swiss towns, one may speak of a slow evolutionary process rather than a revolution. By the time of Lautensack's arrival the situation was fully settled. Therefore he entered an environment that was dominated by Lutheran doctrine – the paramount theologian being Andreas Osiander, preacher at the church of St Lorenz – but still maintained many Catholic traditions. The new settlement was, however, not without opposition. Despite threats and violence, some nunneries refused to accept the Reformation,³⁸ and travelers brought many new religious ideas into the town, ranging from Zwinglianism via Anabaptism to the radical teachings of Thomas Müntzer. Preachers and council had to spend much energy fighting these movements.

Little can be reported on the circumstances of Lautensack's life in Nuremberg. His (second?) wife Barbara Graffin died apparently some

der Reichsstadt (Berlin (East): Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1982). Most of these accounts end before the date of Lautensack's arrival.

³⁷ Cf. p. 32.

³⁸ The most famous case is that of the convent of the Poor Clares, whose prioress Caritas Pirckheimer kept records of the intimidations they suffered (*Die 'Denckwürdigkeiten' der Caritas Pirckheimer (aus den Jahren 1524–1528)*, ed. Josef Pfanner (Landshut: Solanus, 1962)).

time after the move,³⁹ and in 1538 he married again, an Agnes Gestnerin.⁴⁰ It cannot be said if any of the nine children of a “Paul Laut(t)ensack” in the Baptismal registers were born to the painter, then already advanced in age, and his third wife, or if all were children of his son Paul.⁴¹ At least at the time of his wedding the painter lived in the parish of St Sebald, in the more affluent Northern half of Nuremberg; and he died there in the Zystlgasse,⁴² the modern Albrecht-Dürer-Straße. He was buried on 20 August 1558⁴³ with the decorum appropriate for a respected citizen,⁴⁴

³⁹ Paschke, *Unter Unserer Lieben Frauen Pfarre*, 59, gives the date 1536, but his source (StadtA Bamberg, H.V. Rep. 2, no. 7, p. 83) does not seem to indicate it. Barbara's name appears in a document related to the sale of Lautensack's Bamberg house from March 1529, but not in a similar record from May 1532 (cf. p. 18 n. 34). Since her name features neither in the *Totengeläutbuch* that lists payments for solemn bell-ringing nor in the register of funerals she either died abroad or was given a very mean funeral that would not have been recorded (Helene Burger, ed., *Nürnberger Totengeläutbücher*, vol. 3, *St. Sebald, 1517–1572* (Neustadt an der Aisch: Die Egge, 1972), XVI). The Paul Lautensack who married in 1528 was not the painter but his son Paul (cf. p. 17 n. 29).

⁴⁰ Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg, Pfarrei Nürnberg, St. Sebald, Traubuch S20, 169v (Schornbaum, *Das älteste Ehebuch*, 116 no. 3,922). Also Agnes does not feature in the *Totengeläutbuch*; either she received a mean burial, or she remarried after Lautensack's death and changed her name (she does, however, not feature in the marriage register of St Sebald's parish between 1558 and 1563, Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg, St. Sebald, Traubuch S22).

⁴¹ Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg, Pfarrei Nürnberg, St. Sebald, Taufbuch S1, 213v (bis), 214r (bis); S2, 229r (here the father is called Mathes Lautensack – since there are no other records of such a person this is probably a clerical error), 264v, 266v, 268r; S3, 320r, edited in Schmitt, *Hans Lautensack*, 47–51 nos. XX–XXV, XXVII, XXXIII, XLIV. There are always nine months or more between the baptisms.

⁴² Some documents mention a Paul Lautensack as resident at the Paniersberg in 1550; however, this was not the painter but his son (as evident from StadtA Nürnberg, Rep. B 14/I (Libri Litterarum), no. 65, 19r–v, a contract from 5 February 1550 that refers to the younger Paul's wife).

⁴³ According to Hermann Federschmidt, “Alt-Nürnberg's Totenbestattung, eine kulturhistorische Betrachtung,” *Öffentliche Gesundheitspflege* 4 (1919): 91, the burial normally took place after two or three days, and accordingly Lautensack would have died on August 17 or 18. However, Adolf Engelhardt, “Die Nürnberger Kirchenbücher,” in *Festgabe der Gesellschaft für Familienforschung in Franken, 1921–1931* (Kallmünz: Oberpfalz-Verlag 1931), 392, suggests that a burial on the day following the death was the norm. Although Zeltner gave the correct date, some 19th-century scholars suggested that the painter had lived to 1561 (e.g. Felix Joseph Lipowsky, *Baierisches Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. 1, *Von A. bis O* (Munich: Fleischmann, 1810), 177).

⁴⁴ Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg, Pfarrei Nürnberg, St. Sebald, Bestattungsbuch S34a, 20r. A similar notice, surprisingly calling Lautensack the organist of St Sebald, is in *ibid.*, S137, 15v no. CCXLV (transcribed in Schmitt, *Hans Lautensack*, 51 no. XLVIII, erroneously as a notice from the *Totengeläutbuch*). The *Totengeläutbuch* of St Sebald records that the bells were rung for this occasion (Burger, *Nürnberger Totengeläutbücher*, 227 no. 6,133). In 1554 several craftsmen were jailed after Lautensack had complained about their insults and blasphemous statements – so he was, despite his eccentric views, still regarded as a trustworthy witness; see StA Nürnberg, Rep. 60a, RV 1108 (1554/55, VII),

although one source records that he died in such poverty that his son had to pay for the funeral.⁴⁵

Archival sources say virtually nothing about Lautensack's professional activity during these nearly thirty years. Because Nuremberg kept no records on the amount of taxes paid, we know nothing about the development of his fortune, and the city had no guilds. Some information can be gleaned from autobiographical records in his tracts, but they occasionally contradict other evidence and therefore should be used with care.

At least at the beginning Lautensack still socialized with painters,⁴⁶ but there are no archival records showing that he undertook any commercial work as a painter.⁴⁷ Several extended periods of absence also suggest that he had no responsibility for a workshop. For reasons of censorship miniaturists ('Briefmaler') had to register with the authorities, but Lautensack never did so, although he produced numerous manuscripts to spread his theology.⁴⁸

43r (bis, 4 and 5 October 1554), 44v (6 October), 47v (8 October), 50r (10 October, mentioning the blasphemy) and RV 1109 (1554/55, VIII), iv (11 October), edited in Hampe, *Nürnberger Ratsverlässe*, 496–98 nos. 3,508–11, 3,514, 3,516, see Ralf Schürer, "Vom alten Ruhm der Goldschmiedearbeit," in *Quasi centrum Europae: Europa kauft in Nürnberg*, exh. cat. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum 2002 (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2002), 188. Theoretically, these records could also refer to Paul Lautensack the Younger. However, the witness is not called organist, and the culprits were a painter and a goldsmith, thus probably persons with whom the elder Paul would socialize.

⁴⁵ This was recorded in volume C of the Ratstotenbücher (lost, but copied in an 17th-century excerpt, StA Nürnberg, Rep. 52a, no. 216, 109r) and quoted in Zoff, "Hans Sebald Lautensack," 1. Zeltner, *Lautensack*, 27 may refer to this document when discussing what he read "e publica tabula funeris indice."

⁴⁶ An inventory from 1531 calls Lautensack and the Briefmaler and printer Hans Guldenmund guardians for the children of the late Formschneider [block cutter] Melchior Hettwig (StadtA Nürnberg, Rep. B 14/III, no. 8, 219v, see Ursula Timann, *Untersuchungen zu Nürnberger Holzschnitt und Briefmalerei in der ersten Hälfte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Hans Guldenmund und Niclas Meldemann* (Münster: Lit, 1993), 118, 193). Like Lautensack, Guldenmund experienced several conflicts with civic authorities. He was, however, not criticized for heretical views but for printing anti-papal propaganda, which the council regarded as politically inopportune (Timann, *Holzschnitt und Briefmalerei*, 109; Karl Schottenloher, *Flugblatt und Zeitung: Ein Wegweiser durch das gedruckte Tagesschrifttum* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1922), 144–45). Schottenloher mentions that Guldenmund was denied permission to print two tracts on the Resurrection in 1549 – they may have been heretical but their titles are not reminiscent of Lautensack's ideas.

⁴⁷ The Ayer epitaph, produced in 1551/52 (see p. 36) shows only tame allusions to Lautensack's theology and thus might have been a commercial commission, no other surviving works are attributed by him. The nature of the paintings, which Rudolf II tried to acquire (see p. 25), is not known.

⁴⁸ Manfred H. Grieb et al., *Das Nürnberger Buchgewerbe: Buch- und Zeitungsdrucker, Verleger und Druckhändler vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Nuremberg: Stadtarchiv, 2003), 573–87.

It is impossible to determine when Lautensack became interested in religious speculations. In an autobiographical text he claimed that he had given up painting because it was regarded as idolatrous. However, he then received divine grace to understand an image from Revelation in a way unheard of beforehand. In 1530, the text continues, he discussed this matter with Andreas Osiander, the most distinguished theologian of Nuremberg, and was told that his revelations contained no truth and that he should give up theology and remain a painter to feed his family.⁴⁹ Elsewhere, Lautensack recounted how a vision of a bright star had called him to be a prophet in 1533.⁵⁰ Documents show, however, that already by the beginning of this year he had made a book on his religious ideas that was ready for printing. He sent a copy to Luther, probably asking for endorsing comments, and received the tactful reply that his book contained nothing harmful but that printing was currently very expensive. He soon sent a second tract: this time Melancthon replied in a similar way and added that his tract needed some thorough re-ordering.⁵¹ The painter was anything but discouraged by these comments – he regarded them as authoritative permission to continue with this work⁵² and apparently kept writing to Wittenberg.⁵³ However, his plans were jeopardized by the Nuremberg town council that in February 1533 not only refused printing permission but also forbade him to have his works printed abroad.⁵⁴ This decision was hardly surprising, since the city had introduced censorship for books in the late 15th century and tightened the rules in 1513.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ 32:11594–95. The historical accuracy of this text is somewhat doubtful because Lautensack describes here the image of the vision of Rev. 1 as the center of his theology (and hence probably also of his discussion with Osiander), but this image, prominent in most of Lautensack's tracts, does not play a great role in his earliest surviving diagrams (cf. pp. 57, 133).

⁵⁰ 10a:N23v, cf. p. 45 n. 37.

⁵¹ Both letters are lost, copies survive in 7:B149r, cf. p. 55 n. 71.

⁵² Cf. p. 56 n. 75.

⁵³ Cf. p. 56 n. 73.

⁵⁴ StA Nürnberg, Rep. 60a, RV 820 (1532/33, XII), 3r (10 February 1533), Hampe, *Nürnberger Ratsverlässe*, 278 no. 1,960.

⁵⁵ Müller, "Zensurpolitik der Reichsstadt Nürnberg," 73; August Jegel, "Altnürnberger Zensur vor allem des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift Eugen Stollreither zum 75. Geburtstage gewidmet*, ed. Fritz Redenbacher (Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek, 1950), 58, even mentions weekly checks of booksellers. A good example for the supervision of printers is the treatment of Friedrich Peypus (Hans-Otto Keunecke, "Friedrich Peypus (1485–1535): Zu Leben und Werk des Nürnberger Buchdruckers und Buchhändlers," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 72 (1985): 20–23). Christiane Andersson, "The Censorship of Images in Nuremberg, 1521–1527," in *Dürer and His Culture*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 164–78, focuses on an earlier period.

The council banned not only the printing or selling of heretical books, but of anything that might tarnish the town's reputation,⁵⁶ and the rejected works varied from vitriolic anti-Catholic propaganda that could damage relations with the Emperor⁵⁷ to dubious reports about monstrous births.⁵⁸ Denying printing permission was therefore a merely political decision and did not imply a condemnation of the author – sometimes the town even paid compensation for confiscated tracts.⁵⁹ Therefore it is possible that the council merely did not want the name of the city of Nuremberg associated with Lautensack's strange imagery. Its involvement is somewhat surprising since normally the senior ministers were acting as censors⁶⁰ – possibly the painter had appealed against their decision. The nature of the work under review is not clear. Luther referred to a book that contained some "Figur" [images], whereas the council spoke of "gemelde, vnd concept" – as if it consisted of a series of plates and a commentary volume. Already a week later the council was forced to deal again with Lautensack. This time they decided to reject his 'fantasy' and not to support his work.⁶¹ It is not clear if the painter had demanded compensation for the printing ban, tried to donate the rejected manuscript to the council (as he did later, v.i.), or if he had hoped for some commissions. After this disappointment he left Nuremberg to work for an extended period (supposedly a year, but

⁵⁶ This is clearly expressed in a later ban of a play by Hans Sachs: "weils draußen allerlay nachred geperen und mein herrn zu nachtayl kumen möcht" [because it can cause all kinds of talk outside and could lead to disadvantages for my lords (i.e. the council)], StA Nürnberg, Rep. 60a, RV 1059 (1550/51, XI), 9r, quoted in Gerhard Hirschmann, "Archivalische Quellen zu Hans Sachs," in *Hans Sachs und Nürnberg: Bedingungen und Probleme reichsstädtischer Literatur. Hans Sachs zum 400. Todestag am 19. Januar 1976*, ed. Horst Brunner, Gerhard Hirschmann and Fritz Schnelbögl (Nuremberg: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 1976), 57.

⁵⁷ Jegel, "Altnürnberger Zensur," 58–59. According to Müller, "Zensurpolitik der Reichsstadt Nürnberg," 89–99, even reports on the Schmalkalden war could only be published in Nuremberg if the place of printing was not indicated.

⁵⁸ Jegel, "Altnürnberger Zensur," 61; Müller, "Zensurpolitik der Reichsstadt Nürnberg," 88.

⁵⁹ Albrecht Kirchhoff, "Johann Herrgott, Buchführer von Nürnberg, und sein tragisches Ende, 1527," *Archiv für die Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels* 1 (1878): 51 n. 27; Müller, "Zensurpolitik der Reichsstadt Nürnberg," 85; Pfeiffer, *Quellen zur Nürnberger Reformationsgeschichte*, 26, RV 198 (NB: Pfeiffer's numbers of the Ratsverlässe do not refer to their shelf marks in the archive).

⁶⁰ Müller, "Zensurpolitik der Reichsstadt Nürnberg," 92.

⁶¹ StA Nürnberg, Rep. 60a, RV 820 (1532/33, XII), 9r (18 February 1533), Hampe, *Nürnberger Ratsverlässe*, 279 no. 1,965: "Paulus lautensack abermals mit seiner fantasey abweisen vnd im ableinen mit zerrung oder in ander weg dartzu zuhelfenn" [Reject Paul Lautensack again with his fantasy and refuse to help him with food (or expenses for food) or another way]. Interestingly the council had discussed a group of 'Schwärmer' beforehand, so that Lautensack's case was tabled in an anti-heretical context.

probably less) at a place he later described as a castle in the mountains.⁶² The landscape around Nuremberg is flat to hilly, only the region North-East of it, today called Fränkische Schweiz, has at least some spectacular rocks and probably comes closest to the description. Since Lautensack had in his Bamberg period worked for at least one church in this region (in Nankendorf),⁶³ he may have been able to rekindle old connections. Perhaps he was initially called to do some in situ decorative painting, as he had often done in Bamberg. However, his theology must have caught the interest of his patron, for in the next year he was invited back, and produced there four canvasses with what he called the Work of the Holy Ghost – most probably something that had been revealed to him. Apparently these paintings were displayed publicly, and Lautensack was surprised that no-one, not even the “predicanten” [Lutheran ministers], was able to make sense of them.⁶⁴ Since the owner of this castle did not keep the paintings we can assume that he also regarded them as nonsense. So Lautensack lost an important disciple who had been willing to entertain him for several months but eventually could not follow his ideas – as would happen later again with other patrons.

After the failure at the castle Lautensack returned to Nuremberg and did what many struggling artists did:⁶⁵ he donated the four rejected canvasses to the town council and received some compensation for them.⁶⁶

⁶² 10a:N23v: “Jm 33 iar do arbeitett ich auff eynem schloß auf dem gepirg Eyn Jarlang” [in the 33rd year I worked for a year in a castle in the mountains]; this tract is not dated, it probably comes from about 1538, the date of another tract in the same manuscript. Since his second sojourn must have taken place in early 1534, he must have returned to Nuremberg in the meantime.

⁶³ Cf. p. 13 n. 12 and p. 34 n. 114.

⁶⁴ 10a:N23v. For the term ‘work of the Holy Ghost’ cf. pp. 50–51.

⁶⁵ Some examples are given in Wilhelm Schwemmer, “Aus der Geschichte der Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Nürnberg,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 40 (1949): 98; Carl Chris Christensen, “Municipal Patronage and the Crisis of the Arts in Reformation Nuernberg,” *Church History* 36 (1967): 148. At least in the 15th century some authors donated their books under a similar scheme, see Karlheinz Goldmann, *Geschichte der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg* (Nuremberg: Stadtbibliothek, 1957), 10–11. Naturally, most of the works of art given to the town council were mediocre products of artists who had difficulties in making a living, the primary exception being Dürer’s so-called Four Apostles.

⁶⁶ StA Nürnberg, Rep. 60a, RV 835 (1534/35, I), 18v (24 April 1534), see Hampe, *Nürnberger Ratsverlässe*, 286 no. 2,033, copied in StA Nürnberg, Rep. 60b (Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Ratsbücher), no. 16, 141v (The Ratsbücher are later excerpts from the Ratsverlässe, see Hampe, *Nürnberger Ratsverlässe*, viii); payment in Rep. 54 (Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Stadtrechnungen), no. 182 (olim Jahresregister no. 6), 386v, mentioned in J. Baader, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Nürnbergs* (Nördlingen: Beck, 1860–62), 1:39, and 2:58; Christensen, “Municipal Patronage,” 148. Lautensack’s recollection of this donation is in 10a:N23v–24r.

Possibly he misunderstood this benevolent gesture as real interest in his work – in July he offered another 'gift' to the council, consisting of several tracts containing expositions of the Bible. Although he again received payment he was told that the council did not deal with follies ("narren weyß"), and that he should not expect any more money in future.⁶⁷ The fate of Lautensack's donations is not known. It is tempting to identify his four "Tüchlein" with four paintings by Lautensack that were in the late 16th century placed in either the Augustinerkirche or the Katharinenkirche in Nuremberg. Johannes Baptista von Seebach requested them from the council as gifts for Emperor Rudolf II, but apparently without success.⁶⁸ Whereas none of these works survives, the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett possesses four series of drawings by Lautensack, which were most probably made before the first dated tracts (1535).⁶⁹

Despite these rejections, Lautensack's activity increased in 1535. The first three dated manuscript tracts that survive come from this year.⁷⁰ Apparently, Lautensack had by now abandoned the hope of having his works printed and decided to spread them in manuscript copies, something most unusual at a time when virtually all literature, even humble tracts by other craftsmen,⁷¹ were printed and distributed through booksellers. Some of his tracts were probably made in only one copy for an individual patron,⁷² but a decision of the city council from 1539 (cf. p. 30 n. 95) indicates that the painter tried to distribute some of his tracts on the open market – we do not know how successful he was in selling them.

⁶⁷ StA Nürnberg, Rep. 60a, RV 839 (1534/35, V), iv (30 July 1534), Hampe *deest*, a copy in the Ratsbuch Rep. 60b, no. 16, 166r, edited in Hans Petz, "Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bücherei des Nürnberger Rates, 1429–1538," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 6 (1886): 173 n. 1. The nature of this 'gift' is only specified in the civic accounts: Rep. 54, no. 182 (cf. p. 24 n. 66), 388v. Both donations are already mentioned in von Soden, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Reformation*, 397.

⁶⁸ StA Nürnberg, Rep. 15a (Ratskanzlei, A-Laden Akten), A145, Bündel 15a, 54r, 57r and 59r; Rep. 60d (Ratsverlässe der Herren Älteren), no. 14, 63r–v, edited in Hans Petz, "Urkunden und Regesten aus dem königlichen Kreisarchiv zu Nürnberg," *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 10 (1889): LV–LVI nos. 5,896–99. It was not possible to trace these paintings in either of the two churches, the town hall or the emperor's collection. These documents call the paintings "Tafeln" (literally 'panels') – it is not clear if this word is here used to mean 'panel-paintings' or simply 'paintings.'

⁶⁹ Cf. pp. 167, 301–3.

⁷⁰ These manuscripts, here named A, K and L, contain several series of drawings and diagrams, which are here numbered as tracts 1b–d, 2–5, the fragmentary tract 6 may come from the same period. All these tracts will be analyzed in Chapter 4.

⁷¹ Cf. p. 40.

⁷² This could be suggested by dedicatory letters – but their presence does not prove that a tract was not destined for a wider readership, as the letter to the Gundelfingerin clearly was (cf. p. 28).

The surviving autographs show that he produced multiple versions of his tracts – manuscripts A and K have virtually the same contents, and off-set spots on a page in manuscript L show that he produced at least two copies simultaneously.⁷³ Whereas the drawings in the manuscripts are less refined than those in his early single-leaf drawings they maintain a relatively consistent quality. By contrast, the texts in the autograph manuscripts contain many errors and corrections, suggesting that they had been copied in great haste.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the numerous diagrams that had to be designed with compass and ruler made this work very time-consuming, and, even if Lautensack was a quick draftsman, it must have taken him days, if not weeks, to produce a manuscript similar to the surviving autographs. It is therefore possible that most of the material he distributed was much shorter. Indeed, as will be shown later, each of the surviving manuscripts is a convolute containing several independent tracts and, whilst some of them have 24 or more folia, others consist of one double-leaf, in which the two outsides and the two insides match each other.⁷⁵ Although these short tracts only survive bound together with longer works, they could at some point have been stand-alone leaflets, made quickly and therefore sold cheaply. Some other tracts, especially from Lautensack's last years, contain only one (often very complex) diagram and an explanatory text; they could originally have been conceived as large broadsheets.⁷⁶ A short, hagiographical rather than biographical, notice on Lautensack that accompanies Meffert's late 16th-century edition of Lautensack's diagrams⁷⁷ reports that the painter several times placed his diagrams next to church-doors and tried to explain them to the worshippers, when they exited after the sermon.⁷⁸ Whilst most other biographical information in this short text is

⁷³ 3a:L14v has at the bottom an off-set showing the mirror-image of a diagram on 14r. Since one side of a leaf cannot make an impression on the other side, Lautensack must have produced at least two copies of this leaf and piled them up before the ink had dried.

⁷⁴ Worst affected is manuscript N; here Lautensack overpainted many faulty passages in white and wrote over it a corrected text – unfortunately, the white has faded and today both versions are visible yet barely legible.

⁷⁵ E.g. the double leaf A4r–5v here counted as part of tract 5a, tract 27a and tract 48. The early drawings of Evangelists are four separate sheets, but the second and third drawings are composed as though they should be facing each other like the inner two pages of a double-leaf (cf. p. 169).

⁷⁶ E.g. tracts 27, 40, 44, 49.

⁷⁷ Cf. pp. 275–78.

⁷⁸ 99:Vmir: “auch solche seine Visierung taffeln etlichmahl öffentlich bey den kirchthürn aufgehungen, und nach gehörter Predigt die Leuthe nachen hauß gehen wollen, intento digito alles und jedes gezeigt, und erklärt” [also several times hung up the tables with such a diagram publicly near the door of the church and after the sermon, when the people wanted to go home, displayed and explained all and everything with his

based on Lautensack's tracts no source for this episode was identified, and the town council records contain no complaints about such disruptive behavior. Therefore this episode is possibly based on the literary topos of Luther nailing his 95 Theses to the church door in Wittenberg, as famously claimed by Melancthon in 1546.⁷⁹ However, there are some documented cases of broadsheets nailed to church doors; many were official documents⁸⁰ and some polemics or Reformation propaganda,⁸¹ but some were indeed works of religious eccentrics.⁸²

outstretched finger]. Like the English 'table' the German "taffel" could mean both a wooden board and a large illustration.

⁷⁹ If these Theses were really nailed to the church door in Wittenberg, and, if so, for what reason, is controversial; in any case, this episode was not published before 1546, and hence Lautensack would not have known about it until very late in his life (Erwin Iserloh, *Luthers Thesenanschlag – Tatsache oder Legende?* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1962), 23; for further bibliography on this event see Hans-Christoph Rublack, "Neue Forschungen zum Thesenanschlag Luthers," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 90 (1970): 329–43, and Joachim Ott and Martin Treu, eds., *Luthers Thesenanschlag – Faktum oder Fiktion* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2008)).

⁸⁰ According to Johann Müllner, *Kurzgefaßte | Reformations-|Geschichte | der freyen | Reichs-Stadt Nürnberg* (Nürnberg: Bauer, 1770), 28, some orders by the Nuremberg town council were posted at church doors; apparently Luther did post the invitation to his 1520 book-burning (Luther WA, 7:183) and his appeal against Caietan from 1518 at church doors (the introduction to this document in Luther WA, 2:27 suggests that it had been posted at the doors of Augsburg Cathedral, probably because of the report in Martin Luther, *Der Erste Teil | aller Büchern vnd Schrifften des | thewren / seligen Mans Doct: Mart: Lutheri / vom | XVII. jar an / bis auff das XXII.* (Jhena: Röding, 1555, VD 16 L 3:323), 131v – the document itself does not specify the place).

⁸¹ In 1523 Thomas Müntzer posted letters of defamation against an opponent at several church doors in Zwickau (Johann Karl Seidemann, *Thomas Müntzer* (Dresden: Arnold, 1842), 110); in the 1530s or 1540s an anti-Catholic poem was posted at a church door in Salzburg (this is reported in Jörg Breu's manuscript chronicle, Friedrich Roth, ed., *Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte: Augsburg*, vol. 6 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1906), 82, but possibly not in Breu's own hand). In 1530 a Reformer in Minden indeed nailed theses to church doors and summoned all his opponents to a disputation (Albert Clos, "Luthers Thesenanschlag: Ein Beitrag aus der Mindener Reformationsgeschichte," *Mindener Heimatblätter* 34 (1962): 289).

⁸² In 1320 a man felt commanded by God to nail a text on the decline of the Franciscans to the door of Speyer Cathedral (Volker Honemann, "Vorformen des Einblattdruckes: Urkunden– Schrifttafeln – Textierte Tafelbilder – Anschläge – Einblatthandschriften," in *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts: Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien*, ed. Volker Honemann et al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), 28), in 1477 an astronomer posted his forecasts on a church door in Coire and was sued because they turned out to be incorrect (Rolf Sprandel, *Chronisten als Zeitzeugen: Forschungen zur spätmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994), 225). Still in 1624, Friedrich Gifftheil attempted to nail a text at the collegiate church of Tübingen during a sermon. (F. Fritz, "Friedrich Gifftheil," *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 44 (1940): 95). More aggressive was the Dutch glass-painter and Anabaptist leader David Joris, who not only posted (printed) broadsheets on church doors and left them in confessionals but was rumored to have scattered them in streets during processions (Gary K. Waite, *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism, 1524–1543* (Waterloo: Wilfried Laurier University Press, 1990), 53).

In 1535, the year in which his first autograph manuscripts were made, Lautensack must have run seriously afoul of the authorities. In February he was threatened with banishment from the town, should he and his companions not desist from their plans, and after a petition by the painter the council confirmed, in a more conciliatory tone, that what he intended could not be allowed.⁸³ Unfortunately, we know nothing about the nature of this demand, which may or may not have been related to his religious interests. If the council had forbidden him to write or distribute tracts he probably followed this ruling for a while, since we have no tracts dated to 1536 or 1537.⁸⁴

III. Nuremberg, 1538–58

When Lautensack resumed his activity in 1538,⁸⁵ the year of his last marriage, he radically changed the nature of his tracts. They were no longer mere collections of diagrams and drawings but lengthy texts in which a number of diagrams were embedded.⁸⁶ One of the tracts composed in this year is connected with arguably Lautensack's most unusual project, the room decorations for a lady called the Gundelfingerin.⁸⁷ This was probably Ursula Gundelfingerin († 1558),⁸⁸ a wealthy and economically active member of a merchant family, who had commissioned from Lautensack a painting for her house at Nuremberg Market Square. Although she did not approve of it, she later asked him to decorate a room in a new house she had built at the Spitzenberg, in the North-East of Nuremberg.⁸⁹

⁸³ StA Nürnberg, Rep. 60a, RV 846 (1534/35, XII), 9v (19 February 1535), cf. Hampe, *Nürnberger Ratsverlässe*, 291 no. 2,076 (with wrong date in *εεε*:Ns323), and RV 848 (1535/36, I), 34v (26 April 1535), Hampe *deest*.

⁸⁴ Only few tracts by Lautensack are dated, and possibly many of his works are lost, and therefore it is difficult to suggest breaks in his activity from the lack of dated material. However, the tracts dated to 1538 are markedly different from those dated to 1535, suggesting that a rupture had taken place in his activity.

⁸⁵ Dated to this year are tracts 11 (v.i.), 13a and 9a – the latter forms part of the autograph manuscript N. Its other parts (6a and 10a) may come from the same time. The undated tracts 8, 12 and 14, and with less certainty tracts 15–21, are probably contemporary.

⁸⁶ The first example of this new style is tract 10a in manuscript N.

⁸⁷ Since this study focuses on the development of Lautensack's drawings, this project is treated here briefly; it will be examined in greater details elsewhere.

⁸⁸ For her death see Burger, *Nürnberger Totengeläutbücher*, 222 no. 5,981, on the family *Stadtlexikon Nürnberg*, ed. Michael Diefenbacher and Rudolf Endres, 2nd ed. (Nuremberg: Tümmel, 2000), 391.

⁸⁹ This house has not been identified although this might be possible – however, this part of Nuremberg was virtually raised to the ground in World War II so that this house, even if it survived until then, is now lost.

This project ended, however, similar to the work in the castle in the mountains several years earlier. The Gundelfingerin complained that no-one who entered the room would be able to understand it, and that the scholars were laughing at her. She therefore instructed the painter to remove several elements.⁹⁰ Lautensack refused to comply, and instead wrote a lengthy open letter to his patroness, which stressed his authority and threatened her with eternal damnation, should she persist in her unbelief.⁹¹ This tract is not only interesting because it allows a tentative reconstruction of these paintings – at least in part executed on canvas glued to the walls⁹² – but also because of its very nature. It is apparently the earliest known example of a *Program*, a description and interpretation of images compiled by their maker. The normal purpose of a program is both to explain these images to the viewer, and to convey their iconography, and thus the artist's learning, to those unable to see the actual works of art. It is usually thought that this genre came into life through the complex iconographies of Italian mannerism: Vasari's *Ragionamenti*, dialogues on his frescoes for the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, have long been regarded as its prototype, but Lautensack's tract predates them by several decades.⁹³

⁹⁰ The history of this commission is reported in 11:g47, 49.

⁹¹ This is tract 11, which survives in a printed edition from 1619 (g) and was thence copied into manuscript Vm46r–55v. The first and last sections of this text are addressed to the Gundelfingerin, but its main part is clearly written for a general audience.

⁹² g46: "auff einem Tuch an die wand gepapt" [on a cloth, glued to the wall]. As far as can be said, the content of these murals was similar to the diagrams in the contemporary tract 10a, but Lautensack made it visually more attractive, e.g. by replacing lists of the Ancestors of Christ by portraits of them in a frieze (11:g15), cf. p. 139.

⁹³ Giorgio Vasari, *Opere*, vol. 1, *Scritti minori*, ed. Gaetano Milanese (Florence, Sansoni, 1882), 11–223. This text was probably drafted in 1558 (Paola Tinagli Baxter, "Rileggendo i 'Ragionamenti,'" in *Giorgio Vasari: tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica: convegno di studi*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence: Olschki, 1985), 84) but only printed posthumously in 1588. Jerry Lee Draper, "Vasari's Decoration in the Palazzo Vecchio: the *Ragionamenti* Translated with an Introduction and Notes" (Ph. D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1981), 59, knows no earlier examples of such texts. Recently, its claim to primacy has been challenged by Elizabeth McGrath's suggestion that the subject-matter of the Palazzo Vecchio paintings was self-evident, and that the *Ragionamenti* offered not a genuine explanation of the series but a courtly *ekphrasis*, incidentally written by the man who had painted it (Elizabeth McGrath, "'Il senso nostro': The Medici Allegory Applied to Vasari's Mythological Frescoes in the Palazzo Vecchio," in *Giorgio Vasari: tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica*, ed. Gian Paolo Garfagnini (Florence: Olschki, 1985), 124, 131–32). In this case Jacopo Zucchi's *Discorso sopra li Dei de' Gentili e loro imprese*, published in Rome in 1602, would be a closer parallel to Lautensack (reprinted in Fritz Saxl, *Antike Götter in der Spätrenaissance: Ein Freskenzyklus und ein Discorso des Jacopo Zucchi* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1927), 35–111). An earlier program by Vasari, explaining a complex portrait of Alessandro de' Medici from 1534, was part of a private letter and only published in the 20th century (*Der literarische Nachlaß Giorgio Vasaris*, ed. Karl Frey, vol. 1 (Munich: Müller, 1923), 27–29 no. X; new transcription in Malcolm

Furthermore, this open letter is one of the first documents of a conflict, dealing with artistic questions, between a patron and a self-confident painter.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, Lautensack cannot be regarded as archetypal Renaissance artist, as divinely inspired creator who is no longer a mere craftsman: his authority was rather that of a prophet, a man with no power of his own but called by God to reveal the truth.

Lautensack's new phase of productivity did not go unnoticed by the city fathers – in January 1539 the painter was admonished to stop distributing his “Bild püchlein” [picture books] and offering them for sale, and he was threatened both with corporal punishment and banishment from Nuremberg.⁹⁵ Such censorship of manuscripts was highly unusual at a time when the printed pamphlet or broadsheet had become the standard form of propaganda.⁹⁶ Once again, this threat may have worked for a while, since we have no tracts dated to 1539 or 1540, but one or two from 1541.⁹⁷

In his 1716 study on Lautensack, Gustav Georg Zeltner reported that the council fulfilled its threat and banished Lautensack in 1542, in the

Campbell, “Il Ritratto del Duca Alessandro de' Medici di Giorgio Vasari: Contesto e Significato,” in *Giorgio Vasari: tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica: convegno di studi*, ed. Gian Paolo Garfagnini (Florence: Olschki, 1985), 360–61).

⁹⁴ In his correspondence with Jacob Heller, Albrecht Dürer demanded more time and money for the completion of his altarpiece and justified this with the superior quality of his work – any producer of luxury goods could have argued similarly (Hans Rupprich, *Dürers Schriftlicher Nachlaß*, 3 vols (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956–69), 1:61–74). The numerous quarrels between Julius II and Michelangelo were primarily about working conditions (e.g. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, 6 vols., ed. Rosanna Bettarini (Florence: Sansoni, 1966–87), 6:33–39), and the reasons for the numerous difficulties Donatello had with his clients are not sufficiently known (H. W. Janson, “The Birth of ‘Artistic License’: The Dissatisfied Patron in the Early Renaissance,” in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 344–53).

⁹⁵ StA Nürnberg, Rep. 60a, RV 898 (1538/39, X), 10r (9 January 1539), see Hampe, *Nürnberger Ratsverlässe*, 332 no. 2, 376.

⁹⁶ Theodor Hampe, “Archivalische Miszellen zur Nürnberger Literaturgeschichte,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 27 (1928): 266, quotes a Ratsverlaß from 1539 against the author of a polemic song, a copy of which had been found in the church of St Lorenz. No printer is mentioned, and a few days later someone whom the author had allowed to copy it (“abzuschreiben”) was questioned. The text might thus have been a manuscript; see also Beate Lesting-Bürmann, *Reformation und literarisches Leben in Nürnberg: ein Beitrag zur Kommunikationsgeschichte der frühen Neuzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Predigten A. Osianders, V. Dietrichs und der Schriften Lazarus Spenglers* (Freiburg im Breisgau: n.p., 1982), 69. In 1524 the painter Greyffenberg had been reprimanded for displaying a polemic painting (Andreas Osiander d. Ä., *Gesamtausgabe*, 10 vols., ed. Gerhard Müller and Gottfried Seebaß (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1975), 1:268).

⁹⁷ They are tract 22 and perhaps tract 23a (it is dated to 1541 in Hb2r, but not in the other copies).

context of persecuting the followers of the dissenting preacher Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig.⁹⁸ However, his only source was a manuscript notice of an earlier local scholar, and Zeltner was unable to corroborate it through official documents.⁹⁹ Indeed one finds neither council minutes nor official correspondence about such a punishment;¹⁰⁰ Lautensack never had to swear Urfehde as many offenders had to do,¹⁰¹ nor was he recorded as an inmate of the Loch, the civic prison.¹⁰²

In all likelihood, Lautensack was never tried for heresy. After the Reformation there was considerable debate whether preachers of aberrant

⁹⁸ The passage, as given in Zeltner, *Lautensack*, 23, reads: "Cum quibus, quando deinceps diu multumque ex hoc tempore colluctandum fuit, inter alios ipsius quoque *Gundelfingeriae*, a nostro *Lautensackio* pecunia emunctæ, fratrem Georgium *Steiger* fuisse, e civitate per eosdem dies propterea ejectionem, ad meum Exemplar Lautensackii opusculorum legi B. *Joh. Sauberti* manu annotatum. Qui & ipsam *Gundelfingeriam*, sororem *Steigeri*, *procul dubio seductam* fuisse conjecturam fecit. Atque idem etiam Vir Celeberrimus (ut ad scopum nostrum tandem accedamus) *cum aliis nonnullis*, etiam Paullum Lautensack, hoc Anno eodem 1542 *ex urbe relegatum* esse, sed, interjecto brevi intervallo temporis, ad suos lares rediisse clanculum, (habe sich / weil das Weib hier geblieben / heimlich wieder eingeschleicht) ex *Chronicis Durrerianis* f. 689 ad marginem tituli *explic. Apocalyps. Lautens.* signavit."

⁹⁹ Zeltner quoted a marginal note (above, n. 98) written by the famous Nuremberg historian Johannes Saubertus in a copy of the 1619 edition of Lautensack's works in his possession. This note was also used by the anonymous compiler of an 18th century collection of historical notices on Lautensack who likewise could not find documentary proof and doubted its veracity (SSS:Ns319, 323). Apparently the book containing it did not come with the rest of Zeltner's library to Altdorf University and eventually to Erlangen. The *Chronicae Durrerianae*, another source mentioned by Zeltner, were already unknown to the local historian and bibliographer Georg Andreas Will, who assumed that they had been compiled by Zeltner's teacher Michael Dürr (1636–1718; Georg Andreas Will, *Nürnbergisches | Gelehrten-Lexicon | oder Beschreibung | aller Nürnbergischen Gelehrten | beyderley Geschlechtes | nach Jhrem | Leben / Verdiensten vnd Schriften ...*, vol. 1, A–G (Nürnberg: Schüpfel, 1755), 312). No trace of a Georg Steiger, who was supposedly a brother of the Gundelfingerin, was found in the indexes of Baptisms, Marriages or Funerals in the Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg; if I identified her correctly, her maiden name must have been Plenck, not Steiger. Possible 'Georg Steiger' means the craftsman Georg Schechner, the leading disciple of Schwenckfeld in Nuremberg (Hans-Dieter Schmid, "Nürnberg, Schwenckfeld und die Schwenckfelder," in *Festgabe für Ernst Walter Zeeden* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1976), 220–21).

¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately the list of persons banished from Nuremberg in these years is lost. There are no Council minutes concerning Lautensack's banishment, nor does his name appear in the collection of legal advice given to the council between 1541 and 1545 (StA Nürnberg, Rep. 51, nos. 11, 12). Already Zoff had searched in vain for such documents (Zoff, "Hans Sebald Lautensack," 3).

¹⁰¹ His name is not in the Urfehdebuch, StA Nürnberg, Rep. 52b no. 201. Everyone released from prison or banished had to swear Urfehde, that is, promise not to seek revenge (Hermann Knapp, "Das alte Nürnberger Kriminalverfahren bis zur Einführung der Karolina," *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Strafrechtswissenschaft* 12 (1892): 508).

¹⁰² His name does not feature in the accounts of the civic gaoler, the Lochhüter, (StA Nürnberg, Rep. 54 a II (Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Stadtrechnungsbelege), no. 88) between 1540 and 1546.

doctrine should be punished with earthly sanctions, and, if so, who should try such cases, and as a result these trials are well documented.¹⁰³ In Nuremberg the town council assumed this responsibility,¹⁰⁴ yet relied on the written advice of both the ministers and its legal experts, the Ratsconsulenten.¹⁰⁵ Whereas foreign heretics were simply expelled from the town,¹⁰⁶ the council tried to persuade citizens to recant their erroneous beliefs. A successful case was that of Hans Greyffenberg, like Lautensack a painter, who had managed to publish several tracts in the early 1520s.¹⁰⁷ When he was accused of having made a heretical image, Osiander was sent to him. He reported to the council that the painter had been misled through his ignorance but had recanted so that no punishment was necessary.¹⁰⁸ The situation of the so-called Gottlosen Maler (godless painters) was more serious. They were imprisoned and, when questioned by preachers, challenged virtually all Christian doctrines. Although they eventually recanted, they were banished from Nuremberg to prevent further religious unrest, and yet they were allowed to return several months later.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ General references: Joseph Lecler, *Histoire de la Tolérance au siècle de la Réforme*, 2 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1955); Heinrich Bornkamm, "Das Problem der Toleranz im 16. Jahrhundert," in id., *Das Jahrhundert der Reformation: Gestalten und Kräfte*, 2nd edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 262–91; Henry Kamen, *The Rise of Toleration* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967); on the situation in Nuremberg: Austin Patterson Evans, *An Episode in the Struggle for Religious Freedom: The Sectaries of Nuremberg, 1524–1528* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924); Claus-Peter Clasen, "Nuernberg in the History of Anabaptism," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 39 (1965): 25–39; Bauer, *Anfänge täuferischer Gemeindebildungen*; Hans-Dieter Schmid, *Täuferium und Obrigkeit in Nürnberg* (Nuremberg: Stadtarchiv, 1972); Seebass, "Dissent und Konfessionalisierung."

¹⁰⁴ At least, the council dealt several times with religious dissent. It cannot be excluded that other institutions, whose records do not survive, heard similar cases. Furthermore, most of the cases discussed in the literature refer to one specific group of heretics, the Anabaptists, whose situation was quite different since rebaptism was punishable by death in Roman Law (Bauer, *Anfänge täuferischer Gemeindebildungen*, 140).

¹⁰⁵ As the leading theologian of Reformation Nuremberg Osiander was involved with most of the Ratschläge (official advice to the town council) on religious affairs; they are included in Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, vols. 1–8.

¹⁰⁶ Schmid, *Täuferium und Obrigkeit*, 225.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. p. 65.

¹⁰⁸ The documents are printed in Pfeiffer, *Quellen zur Nürnberger Reformationsgeschichte*, 26 (RV 196), 27 (RV 202), and 295–98 (Br. 66); Osiander's Ratschlag is in Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 1:267–76. See also Ludwig Keller, "Aus den Anfangsjahren der Reformation: Nachrichten über Hans Greiffenberger, Hans Sachs, Hans Locher und Heinrich von Kettenbach," *Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft für Kultur- und Geistesleben* 8 (1899): 176–85; Thurmann E. Philoon, "Hans Greiffenberger and the Reformation in Nuernberg," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 36 (1962): 61–75. In 1526 Greyffenberg was banished from Nuremberg for giving Communion to his wife, but he could return soon afterwards (Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 2:337–41).

¹⁰⁹ The documents are printed in Pfeiffer, *Quellen zur Nürnberger Reformationsgeschichte*, 38 (RV 276 and 279), 39 (RV 280 and 283), 40 (RV 290), 41 (RV 299), 42 (RV 308) 55 (RV 373),

Lautensack's treatment during the 1530s was more similar to that of the so-called Bauer von Wöhrd, supposedly an unlearned man, who had started unauthorized preaching in late 1524. The council regarded his activities as a breach of the public order and threatened him with expulsion, should he not desist. However, he was explicitly permitted to have private discussions about religious matters; and although the preachers were asked to talk to him, the council never enquired from them whether or not they regarded his doctrine as heretical.¹¹⁰ If Lautensack was indeed banished from Nuremberg one would expect that this punishment would have been pronounced by the Council, which had already threatened to expel him from the city. However, it appears that also a less prominent Nuremberg court, the so-called Fünfergericht,¹¹¹ had the power to banish persons from the town.¹¹² Since its records are lost and little is known about its remit one cannot exclude the possibility that it had banished the painter.¹¹³

Whether Lautensack was forced to leave Nuremberg or not, he apparently spent several years afield. He dedicated one of his tracts to Oswald Ruland, rector of Deggendorf at the Danube, and recalled that they had lived and studied Revelation together for two years; furthermore Ruland

59 (RV 399), and Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 1:419–24. These painters were already discussed in Theodor Kolde, "Zum Prozess des Johann Denk und der 'drei gottlosen Maler' von Nürnberg," in *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, Hermann Reuter zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1888), 228–50; id., "Hans Denck und die gottlosen Maler von Nürnberg," *Beiträge zur Bayerischen Kirchengeschichte* 8 (1902): 1–31, 49–72; Herbert Zschelletzky, *Die 'drei gottlosen Maler' von Nürnberg. Sebald Beham, Barthel Beham und Georg Pencz: Historische Grundlagen und ikonologische Probleme ihrer Graphik zu Reformations- und Bauernkriegszeit* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1975), gives little new information about the trial.

¹¹⁰ For this preacher see Otto Clemen, "Der Bauer von Wöhrd," in *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte aus Büchern und Handschriften der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Schwetschke, 1902), 85–96; Karl Schornbaum, "Zur Lebensgeschichte des Bauern von Wöhrd," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 43 (1952): 488–89. According to Vogler, *Nürnberg, 1524/25*, 136, he was a learned man and only pretended to be a peasant. This case may be untypical since it was the first time that the council had to deal with such a matter (before the Reformation it would have come before the bishop's court), and because it stood under pressure from Archduke Ferdinand (Bauer, *Anfänge täuferischer Gemeindebildungen*, 116).

¹¹¹ It primarily dealt with breach of peace, see Knapp, "Nürnberger Kriminalverfahren," 260; Ludwig Oellrich, "Der Strafprozeß in Nürnberg während der letzten 3 Jahrhunderte der Selbständigkeit der freien Reichsstadt" (LL. D. diss., Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen, 1948), 25–39; Rudolf Schielein, "Die Entwicklung der Gerichtsverfassung in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg, vor allem vom 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert" (LL. D. diss., Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen, 1952), 96–102.

¹¹² In 1550 it banished a woman for immoral life, Schielein, "Entwicklung der Gerichtsverfassung," 102.

¹¹³ However, in this case one would still expect his name in the Urfehdebuch, cf. p. 31 n. 101.

had introduced him to the Prelate of Niederaltaich, where the painter had lived for another two years (26:B69r). Although Lautensack and Ruland could have met elsewhere,¹¹⁴ no place apart from Deggendorf is mentioned in the tract, and this town is close to the abbey of Niederaltaich. Unfortunately, no records about Ruland's activity in this town could be found,¹¹⁵ but he cannot have arrived before 1540 and had left by early 1546.¹¹⁶

Ruland and the prelate of Niederaltaich were probably the most loyal patrons Lautensack ever had – the wording of the mentioned dedication also suggests that he had left them in friendship, in contrast to the lord of the castle in the mountains and the Gundelfingerin. They possibly remained in contact for a while after Lautensack had returned to Nuremberg, although the relationship may have cooled down eventually.¹¹⁷ Of Ruland's character little is known. A long list of appointments¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ It would be tempting to believe that Ruland was associated with the lord of the castle in the mountains so that Lautensack's two periods of work abroad were in fact one, but when Lautensack stayed in this castle, Ruland was parson in Wissing and later in Unterlaichling. Although there was a castle relatively close to Wissing, this region (SE of Nuremberg) can hardly be called mountainous.

¹¹⁵ There are no documents concerning this appointment in the Bischöfliches Zentralarchiv in Regensburg, and the present rector of Deggendorf informed me that the parish had no holdings from this time either. Ruland is called a "pharher" (rector) by Lautensack (26:B69r), the Nuremberg city council (StA Nürnberg, Rep. 61a, no. 135, 103v, cf. beneath, n. 116) and also in Wilhelm Dannheimer, *Verzeichnis der im Gebiete der freien Reichsstadt Rothenburg o. T. von 1544 bis 1803 wirkenden evangelisch-lutherischen Geistlichen* (Nuremberg: Die Egge, 1952), 116; whereas another study speaks of him as a preacher (Leonhard Theobald, *Die Reformationsgeschichte der Reichsstadt Regensburg*, vol. 2 (Nuremberg: Die Egge, 1951), 193). As the patronage of the rectory was with the Princess-Abbess of the Canonesses of Niedermünster in Regensburg, Ruland more probably held a preachship like the one endowed by the town council.

¹¹⁶ In 1540 Ruland was recorded as Lutheran Deacon in Amberg (Maximilian Weigel, "Verzeichnis nebst Angaben über die Lebensläufe und Familienverhältnisse der Geistlichen und Präzeptoren der Stadt Amberg," *Blätter für fränkische Familienkunde* 13 (1938): 18), and in 1546 the Nuremberg city council recommended him as minister in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, remarking that he had moved to Nuremberg after having had to leave his parish in Deggendorf (StA Nürnberg, Rep. 61a (Briefbücher of the Nuremberg town council), no. 135, 103v–4r, dated 5 March 1546).

¹¹⁷ According to Lautensack's 23b:W62r, dated to 1551, Oswald Ruland, rector of Rothenburg, had commented on several diagrams by Lautensack and remarked that the image discussed in this place was too complex for human understanding – the painter regards this not as criticism but as acknowledgment of the inexhaustible richness of God's revelation. Since the original version of this tract (23a, cf. p. 30 n. 97) may come from 1541 the two men could have discussed it during Lautensack's sojourn in Deggendorf. However, since Ruland commented in writing they may not have lived at the same place by then, therefore it may come from the time when Ruland had already taken up his office at Rothenburg.

¹¹⁸ Some are mentioned in short biographical entries in Weigel, "Verzeichnis," 18; Maximilian Weigel, J. Wopper and Hans Ammon, *Ambergisches Pfarrerbuch* (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1967), 134 no. 892, and Dannheimer, *Verzeichnis*, 116.

show that he was trusted with responsible positions like Superintendent of Rothenburg ob der Tauber and, whilst he published nothing, he befriended two scholars of the early Reformation period: Johann Turmair, called Aventinus, the first important historian of Bavaria,¹¹⁹ and Primož Trubar (Truber), who tried in vain to introduce the Reformation into Slovenia.¹²⁰ Apart from his contacts with Lautensack nothing suggests that Ruland harbored any heterodox or mystical ideas. Even more surprising is the interest the Abbot of Niederaltaich had for the Nuremberg painter; Caspar Leitgeb, who ruled the abbey between 1536 and 1545, is primarily remembered for having kept his monastery in relative stability during this difficult period.¹²¹ Lautensack only reported on his activities in Deggendorf and Niederaltaich that he had “von wegen der offenbarung gehandelt, ich als ein maler, ihr [Ruland] als ein schrift gelerter” [discussed Revelation; I as a painter, you as a scholar of the Scriptures] and respectively “auch manichfaltige matering von der offenbarung angestellt” [have both made sundry matter¹²² of Revelation]; both 26:B69r. Probably he referred here to the production of tracts, but not much dated material survives from this time¹²³ – if he had given any manuscripts to Niederaltaich the monks did not keep them.¹²⁴ Furthermore, Lautensack may have

¹¹⁹ Ruland is mentioned in Johannes Aventinus, *Johannes Turmair's genannt Aventinus Sämtliche Werke* (Munich: Kaiser, 1881–1908), 1:LIII, LVIII, 649; 6:45. *Johannis A|uentini / | Des Hochgeler|ten weitberumbten | Beyerischen Geschichtschreibers Chro|nica* (Franckfordt am Mayn: Feyerabendt, 1580, VD 16 T 2,321), (:)8v, acknowledges that he helped the historian by copying a part of his book.

¹²⁰ A letter by Trubar to Ruland is in Primož Trubar, *Pisma Primoža Trubarja*, ed. Jože Rajhman (Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 1986), 21.

¹²¹ Daniel de Nessel, ed., *Supplementum Bruschanum, | sive, | Gasparis Bruschi, | ... Chronicon, | sive, | Centuria secunda* (Vindobonæ: Mann, 1692) (VD 17 12:201095N), 45; Winfried Baer, “Die Kunsttopographie der Benediktinerabtei Niederaltaich” (Ph. D. diss., Universität Innsbruck, 1967), 39; Georg Stadtmüller, *Geschichte der Abtei Niederaltaich, 731–1986*, 2nd edition (Grafenau: Morsak, 1986), 199. This chronicle of the abbey contains no reference to Ruland or Lautensack nor gives the impression that there were close contacts between Niederaltaich and Deggendorf. Interestingly, one of Leitgeb's successors, Abbot Paulus Gmeiner (reg. 1550–1585), commissioned a painting of the Brazen Serpent, thus a subject-matter primarily popular with Protestants (Baer, “Kunsttopographie,” 40). His term was, however, too late for Lautensack.

¹²² The meaning of the word ‘matering’ for Lautensack is not clear, in some cases it probably relates to diagrams.

¹²³ Tract 35 comes from 1545, and the short tract 24 appears in one manuscript dated to the same year (V33v), but tract 26, which is normally linked to it, was written after Lautensack's return, as the mentioned dedication indicates. If he had left earlier than the supposed date of his banishment, some other texts could have been written abroad (cf. p. 30 n. 97). As mentioned before, numerous tracts are not dated, and some of them could well have been written in the early 1540s (tracts 29–34).

¹²⁴ No works by Lautensack feature in the manuscript library catalogue from 1602 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cbm Cat. 11). Most of the library was destroyed by fire in 1673.

executed a mural at a house in Deggendorf.¹²⁵ It is not known if he did any painting in Niederaltaich.¹²⁶

Most likely, Lautensack returned to Nuremberg in 1545 or 1546,¹²⁷ and he must have composed the tract dedicated to Ruland afterwards.¹²⁸ Otherwise, very little is known about his activity in the following years. In or shortly after 1551 he created the only surviving panel-painting from his Nuremberg period (Fig. 4).¹²⁹ This epitaph is filled with the portraits of three generations of the Ayrer family, leaving only limited space for a religious depiction. Its iconography is at first glance conventional: the Man of Sorrows and above the other two Persons of the Trinity.¹³⁰ Only the Mercy Seat, the top of the Ark of the Covenant, on which Christ is standing, and the marginal inscriptions are related to Lautensack's theology.¹³¹ It is not

¹²⁵ Lautensack refers to these images on 26:B69r, but it is not certain if this is a description or a suggestion for painting. Their subject-matter is the *Two Images* from Apocalypse, a common motif in his tracts (cf. p. 133). Wilhelm Fink, "Das Kunstschaffen in Alt-Deggendorf," in *Zwölfhundert Jahre Deggendorf, 750–1950* (Deggendorf: Nothhaft, 1950), 101–45, mentions no works by Lautensack.

¹²⁶ The records from Niederaltaich are now in the Hauptstaatsarchiv München. The 18th-century inventory of the monastic archive mentions neither Lautensack nor Ruland in its index (HStA München, Landshuter Abgabe 1982, Klöster und Stifte, Bände, Rechnungen, Akten, Niederaltaich B1). Mr. Johann Molitor kindly informed me that all documentation about building works was sold as scrap paper 1803 (e-mail 9 March 2008). The only work documented for the (assumed) time of Lautensack's sojourn was a heavily decorated heated guest accommodation next to the abbot's house (De Nessel, *Supplementum Bruschanum*, 45, speaks of a "hypocaustum ... prope Abbatiam"). Von Aufsess claims that Lautensack had painted the Four Last Things in the cloister (von Aufsess, *Altwerkstatt*, 9), but I could not find any documents relating to this commission. This abbey was extensively rebuilt during the Baroque.

¹²⁷ Zoff, "Hans Sebald Lautensack," 3, suggested 1545 as date for his return – apparently because Lautensack calls himself citizen of Nuremberg at the beginning of tract 35, dated to this year. However, he might have retained his citizenship despite being banished.

¹²⁸ Tract 26. Tracts 24 (cf. p. 35 n. 123), 25, 27 and 28, which are normally copied together with it, could come from the same time.

¹²⁹ Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, Gm 547 (= K.G. 95), panel 102.5 × 97.2 cm, ca. 40 cm missing on the left-hand side. Eberhard Lutze and Eberhard Wiegand, *Kataloge des Germanischen Nationalmuseums zu Nürnberg: Die Gemälde des 13.–16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Köhler, 1937), Text, 79–81; Kurt Löcher, *Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg: Die Gemälde des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje, 1997), 304–6 (with photo and bibliography); Bruno Langner, "Evangelische Gemäldeepitaphie in Franken: Ein Beitrag zum religiösen Bild in Renaissance und Barock" (Ph. D. diss., Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, 2007, urn:nbn:de:bvb:20-opus-35853), 89, 181, 335 no. 237; cf. the Ayrer family tree published in Ernst Kroker, "Zur Genealogie der Familie Ayrer," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 14 (1901): 158–204, especially 166–73.

¹³⁰ Dürer added the other Persons of the Trinity to some images of Christ as a child, so in his Holy Family in Egypt (Bartsch VII.132.90; Hollstein 7160, H. 202).

¹³¹ Cf. p. 154. The inscriptions mention some key terms of Lautensack's tracts, like the *Aspects* of the Trinity and the Three Ages. (cf. pp. 153–56).

clear if this painting was commissioned by a follower of Lautensack, or if it was a commercial project, into which the painter injected as much of his peculiar iconography as possible without causing offence. Between 1552 and 1554 Lautensack produced a large number of tracts that contain some of the most complex images ever conceived by him.¹³² Nothing is known about the last years of his life, until his death in 1558. As has been described, Paul Lautensack, the former successful painter and alderman of Bamberg reportedly died in poverty, and he probably left behind little apart from a large collection of manuscript tracts, which somehow eventually found their way into the hands of other religious dissidents. Therefore, the painter who had failed to attract long-term followers throughout his life was commemorated with great respect by mystical theologians several decades after his death.¹³³

¹³² These are tracts 37 (1552), 39 (1553 – tract 38 is probably from the same time), 40 (1554), 42 (possibly 1554, yet this date might also belong to tract 33), 43 (1554), and the heterogeneous tract 45 (1553/54). Tracts 46–51 may come from the same time.

¹³³ His reception will be discussed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER TWO

LAUTENSACK AS THEOLOGICAL AUTHOR

I. *Lautensack's Calling and Authority*

Following the overview of Lautensack's life in the preceding chapter, we will now turn to discuss his claims to authority and some of his theological positions. This chapter is primarily based on the introductory sections of the Nuremberg manuscript (1538), some of these statements are repeated in later tracts.¹

It is tempting to subsume Lautensack into the well-known emergence of lay theologians active during the Reformation period, to place him with the simple peasants and craftsmen who are the heroes of some Reformation-time dialogues, where they, armed with nothing but their biblical knowledge, expose the vain presumptions of the learned priests and monks.² However, some of the most famous lay preachers were theologians in disguise like the Bauer von Wöhrd mentioned previously.³ Equally, some lay writers enjoyed prominent social positions that were very different from Lautensack's station,⁴ whilst a further group had trained as craftsmen yet

¹ These are the tracts 7a, 9a and 10a in manuscript N, similar to them are the introductions to tracts 12, 14, 31 and 32.

² On the development of the anti-academic rhetoric in the Reformation see Carlos Gilly, "Das Sprichwort 'Die Gelehrten die Verkehrten' oder der Verrat der Intellektuellen im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung," in *Forme e destinazione del messaggio religioso: Aspetti della propaganda religiosa nel Cinquecento*, ed. Antonio Rotondò (Florence: Olschki, 1991), 229–375. An example of this genre is the "Ain schöner dialogus und gesprech zwischen ain Pfarrer und ain Schulthayß, betreffend allen übel Stand der gaystlichen" [A pleasant dialogue and talk between a parson and a village headman about all problems of the clergy], *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften*, vol. 1, ed. Robert Stupperich (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1960), 445–95, according to p. 397 probably by Bucer. However, most of the newly appointed Protestant preachers had been priests or schoolmasters beforehand (R.W. Scribner, "Practice and Principle in the German Towns: Preacher and People," in *Reformation Principle and Practice*, ed. Peter Newman Brooks (London: Scholar Press), 99–103).

³ Cf. p. 33.

⁴ E.g. the noblewoman Argula von Grumbach (Silke Halbach, *Argula von Grumbach als Verfasserin reformatorischer Flugschriften* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1992), an English translation of her works is in Peter Matheson, ed., *Argula von Grumbach: a Woman's Voice in the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1995)), or the Augsburg civic official Haug Marschalck (Otto Clemen, "Haug Marschalck genannt Zoller von Augsburg," *Beiträge zur Bayerischen Kirchengeschichte* 4 (1898): 223–30).

were in fact prolific and respected authors and had acquired substantial learning, as indicated by the impressive library of one of them, the shoemaker Hans Sachs.⁵ Most of the few authentic craftsmen pamphleteers⁶ were active in the early 1520s,⁷ and frequently they supported the introduction of the Reformation in their towns – often through defending or attacking individual clerics.⁸ Whilst the literary genre and quality of their tracts vary considerably,⁹ the contents offer few surprises: they discuss well-known Reformation controversies such as Justification through Faith alone,¹⁰ using commonplace arguments. By contrast, Lautensack began to write years after the establishment of Lutheran preaching in Nuremberg,

⁵ “Verzeichnis der Bibliothek von Hans Sachs,” *Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekswissenschaft* (1853): 242–45. Into the same category fall the painter, poet and politician Niklaus Manuel (or Niklaus Manuel Deutsch) of Berne (Niklaus Manuel, *Werke und Briefe*, ed. Paul Zinsli (Bern: Stämpfli, 1999)) and the publisher and poet Heinrich Vogtherr (Frank Muller, *Heinrich Vogtherr l’Ancien: Un artiste entre Renaissance et Réforme* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997)).

⁶ Ten authors are discussed in Martin Arnold, *Handwerker als theologische Schriftsteller: Studien zu Flugschriften der frühen Reformation (1523–1525)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990). Few others could be added to this list, see Miriam Usher Christman, “Lay Response to the Protestant Reformation in Germany, 1520–1528,” in *Reformation Principle and Practice*, ed. Peter Newman Brooks (London: Scholar Press, 1980), 33–52; Paul A. Russell, “‘Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy ...’ (Joel 2:28): Common People and the Future of the Reformation in the Pamphlet Literature of Southwestern Germany to 1525,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 74 (1983): 122–39.

⁷ All their tracts were published between 1521 and 1525, with a peak in 1523/24 – Arnold, *Handwerker als theologische Schriftsteller*, 4, suggests that the publication of the German New Testament in 1522 may have provided much ammunition for these authors. The digitized version of the VD 16 contains hardly any later theological polemics by authors calling themselves “Laye” or “Bürger” (in different spellings) – apart from some texts written by clerics under a pseudonym. The only exception is Caspar Querhamer († 1577) who, however, belonged to a very different sphere than Lautensack: he was several times mayor of Halle, the principal figure of the town’s Catholic party and a collaborator on Michael Vehe’s hymnal (Franz Schrader, “Caspar Querhamer: Ein katholischer Laie nimmt Stellung zur Reformation,” in *Reformatio Ecclesiae: Beiträge zu kirchlichen Reformbemühungen von der Alten Kirche bis zur Neuzeit. Festgabe für Erwin Iserloh*, ed. Remigius Bäumer (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1980), 367–400).

⁸ The furrier Sebastian Lotzer, for instance, called one of his tracts *Entschuldigung ain[er] Frummen Christlichen | Gemain zů Memmingen | mit sampt irem Bischoff / vnd trewen Botten des Herren | Christoff schappeler Pre[diger]* [Defense of the pious Christian community of Memmingen together with its bishop and faithful messenger of the Lord, the preacher Christoph Schappeler] ([Augsburg: Ramminger, 1525], VD 16 L 2,879), Sebastian Lotzer, *Schriften*, ed. Alfred Götz (Leipzig: Teubner, 1902), 82–86.

⁹ Hanns Nagel, *Von dem Glawbenn | Gottes Der allein selig | machett / vnd nur | von hymel geben | würdt* ([Augsburg: Steiner], 1525, VD 16 K 2,466), for instance, is little more than a list of biblical quotations, whilst Vtz Rychsner, *Ain hüpsch Gespräch biechlin / von ainem Pfaffen vnd | ainem Weber / die zůsamen kommen seind auff der straß | waß sy für red / frag / vnnd antwort / gegen ainander | gebraucht haben / des Euangeliums vnd anderer sachen | halben* ([Augsburg: Stayner], 1524, VD 16 R 2,214), is a witty dialogue between a priest and a weaver.

¹⁰ E.g. Hans Greyffenberger, *Ein kurtzer begriff von | gůten wercken / die got behagen | vnd der welt ein spot seind* ([Nuremberg: Gutknecht], 1524, VD 16 G 3,152); Nagel, *Vom den*

and he tried to spread his own, idiosyncratic convictions rather than to support a wider movement. What he had in common with these earlier authors were some literary forms like the 'open letter'¹¹ and an emphasis on *sola scriptura* or, as Lautensack put it, on showing the truth "durch dye ganczen Bibel on alle glosß."¹² These craftsmen had not only been taught the difference between the revealed truths of the Bible and the man-made dogma of the old faith, the Bible was also for most of them one of the few books they had access to. However, the sheer size and originality of Lautensack's œuvre make it more similar to that of several craftsmen who became associated with the Anabaptist movement: the glass-painter David Joris (or David Joriszoon, † 1556), who spent much of his life in Switzerland but only published in Dutch,¹³ the "Gartner" [suburban farmer] Clemens (or Clement) Ziegler from Straßburg († 1552 or later)¹⁴ and the furrier Melchior Hoffman († 1543). Hoffman promoted the Reformation in Livonia and was for a short time officially employed as a minister in Scandinavia, before joining the Anabaptists and finally dying in prison in Straßburg. He produced a number of very diverse tracts, from polemics to Bible commentaries, primarily between 1528 and 1534. Like Lautensack, he was very much interested in Revelation yet treated this

Glawbenn; see also the summary in Arnold, *Handwerker als theologische Schriftsteller*, 329–30.

¹¹ Nicolaus Cattelspurger, *Ain Missiue (oder Sendtbrief)* | Nicolai Cattelspurger / darin klarlich | durch hailige geschrift angezeygt wirt | von den falschen leeren / auch Abgötterey / byßher gehalten / wie sy | auffgericht / vnd verstanden | werden sollen ([Augsburg: Ulhart], 1524, VD 16 K 542), is addressed to the author's sister but also to all his brethren (A2r). Lautensack's letter to the Gundelfingerin (tract 11) was from the outset directed at a general public (cf. p. 29 n. 91); it is not clear if he intended the same with letters to his relatives, which were, however, later also collected by copyists (e.g. 14, 38–39).

¹² E.g. 9a:N7r (Fig. 21). This formula is sometimes used by mainstream theologians to denote the obvious and literal meaning of a text (e.g. Luther's Sermon for Christmas 1522, Luther WA, 10/1:119, l. 12). Demands for preaching without gloss can be found amongst the more radical and unlearned advocates of the Reformation, so in a list of articles from the peasants' war (as reported by the Cistercian Johann Knebel): "daß kain priester solt nicks predigen, dan allain daß evangelium on alle glosß der hailigen lerer" [that no priest should preach anything but only the Gospel without any gloss from the holy doctors], Franz Ludwig Baumann, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges in Oberschwaben* (Tübingen: Laupp, 1876), 250. Melchior Hoffman, *Auflægung | der heimlichen Offenbarung Joannis des | heyiligen Apostels vnnd | Euangelisten* (Straßburg: Beck, 1530, VD 16 B 5,276), F8r, regards the proclaiming of God's word without gloss as sign of the pure primitive Church. Georg Schönichen, *Auff die vnderricht des | hoch-gelerten Docto|ris / Ern [sic] Hieronimy tungirß|heim / von Ochsenfart [sic] Col|ligat vnd prediger zu | leypczick | Anthworth | George Schönichen | zcu Eylunbygk [sic]* ([Grimma: Widemar], 1523, VD 16 S 3,741), A3r, emphasizes that the Gospel had to be preached without the addition of any human doctrine.

¹³ Waite, *David Joris* (with a bibliography on 216–17).

¹⁴ Rodolphe Peter, "Le maraîcher Clément Ziegler, l'homme et son œuvre," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 34 (1954): 255–82.

Book in a conventional manner, as foretelling of contemporary persecutions.¹⁵ Ziegler was a productive craftsman-pamphleteer in the early years of the Reformation and already then unusual because his tracts do not only attack the Catholics¹⁶ but also address lesser-known theological problems;¹⁷ one is a commentary to the Our Father, a prayer that also caught Lautensack's imagination.¹⁸ He stopped publishing after becoming an Anabaptist, but in 1532 he completed a manuscript tract,¹⁹ to which he soon added an explanation illustrated with several drawings.²⁰ In early 1534 he gave the latter, together with a report on several visions, to the Straßburg city council.²¹ This sounds similar to Lautensack, but for Ziegler the drawings were not parts of a revelation but merely a means to make his arguments more persuasive.²² They can best be characterized as complex allegorical images that combine traditional religious motifs in an unconventional way.²³

Although it was unheard of that craftsmen who could neither claim the graces of Holy Orders nor the expertise of academic studies took part in theological debates,²⁴ these lay pamphleteers spent little time justifying

¹⁵ On him Klaus Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman: Soziale Unruhen und apokalyptische Visionen im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979).

¹⁶ Clement Ziegler, *Ein Kurtz Register | vnd außzug der Bibel in | welchem man findet was ab|götterey sey / vnd wo man yedes | süchen sol* (Straßburg: Schwan, 1524, VD 16 Z 416), attacks the old faith in general; id., *Von der waren nyessung | beyd leibs und blüts | Christi. | ... und von der Tauff* ([Straßburg: Schott, 1524], VD 16 Z 420), and Clemens Ziegler, *Ain fast schon büchlin: in welchem yederman findet ein hellen vnd claren | verstandt / von dem leib und blüt Christi...* ([Straßburg: Schwan], 1525, VD 16 Z 414), deal with the sacraments.

¹⁷ Clement Ziegler, *Von der vermehe|lung Marie vnd Josephs. | Darzu von der vnuerruckten | Jungfrawschafft Marie: | vor / yn / vnd nach der geburt. Schriftlich angezeygt durch Clement Ziegler Gartner zu Straßburg* ([Straßburg: Schwan], 1524, VD 16 Z 419), discusses the virginity of Mary.

¹⁸ Clemens Ziegler, *Ein fast schön|ne vszlegung vnd betrach|tung des Christlichen gebetts | vff gesetzt vnd gelert von vnser|em erlöser Christo Jhesu | Vater vnser | genant* (Straßburg: Schwan, 1525, VD 16 Z 412). Manfred Krebs and Hans Georg Rott, eds., *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*, vol. 7, *Elsaß*, 1, *Stadt Straßburg, 1522–1532* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1959), 35–39 no. 25.

¹⁹ Krebs and Rott, *Quellen*, 7: 563–74 no. 346.

²⁰ Ibid., 578–83 no. 350.

²¹ Manfred Krebs and Hans Georg Rott, eds., *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*, vol. 8, *Elsaß*, 2, *Stadt Straßburg, 1533–1535* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1960), 257–59 no. 486.

²² Krebs and Rott, eds., *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*, 7: 579 no. 350: “vns mer zuo reitzen” [to provoke us more strongly]. It is not clear if the medium or the message should have this effect.

²³ This text has seven illustrations, four are reprinted in Deppermann, *Soziale Unruhen*, after p. 144, plates 1–4. The second image (pl. 2) shows, for instance, a naked man standing on a lying cross; he strangles a serpent with a dog's head. His heart is surmounted by a bust of Christ and contains a kneeling child holding a cross and a dove.

²⁴ Some lay persons had written on religious topics beforehand but their aim was to edify or to admonish, not to engage into theological arguments – like the weaver, temporary hermit and poet Jörg Preining who published from the late 15th century until the early

their activity. If they address this topic at all they point to the right and duty of all Christians to study the Scriptures²⁵ and to admonish their erring brethren;²⁶ they speak of God's grace that enlightens all readers of His word,²⁷ or they recall that the Apostles had been simple fishermen²⁸ whilst the contemporary theologians resembled the Pharisees.²⁹

Reformation period edifying songs and letters (see Luise Liefländer-Koistinen, *Studien zu Jörg Preining: Ein Weber, Dichter und Laienprediger im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg* (Stuttgart: Heinz, 1986), and, for the songs Thomas Cramer, *Die kleineren Liederdichter des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3, *Pfaffenfeind-Zwinger* (Munich: Fink, 1982), 20–135). For religious topics in the Meistergesang see also Arnold, *Handwerker als theologische Schriftsteller*, 24.

²⁵ Cunrad Distelmair, *Ain trewe erma[n]ung / das ain yeder christ selbs zů seiner seel | hail sehe / vnd das schwert (das ist die hai[l]ig geschrift) auch selbs zů seinen | handen neme* ([Augsburg: Steiner], 1523, VD 16 D 2,065), a2v; Lotzer, *Schriften*, 27. Lotzer devoted an entire tract to the right of lay people to speak and write of God's word (*ibid.*, 36–47).

²⁶ Bastian Goltschmidt, *Eyn vnderweisung etzlicher ar[t]ickel / so brüder Matthei[us] / prior des prediger | closters zů Worms / vngegründt in heiliger gschrift / öffentlich gepredigt | hat / vnd durch Bastian golt[schmidt] / burgern daselbs | vffgezeychnet* ([Worms: Schöffner], 1525, VD 16 G 2,572), A1v; Hans Schwalb, "Beklagung eines Laien, genannt Hans Schwalb, über viel Mißbräuche christlichen Lebens (1521)," in *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation*, ed. Otto Clemen, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Haupt, 1907), 351.

²⁷ Distelmair, *Trewe ermanung*, a2v. According to Lotzer, *Schriften*, 40, God will give anyone who asks the grace of understanding. Hans Staygmayer, *Ain Schoner Dialogus oder | Gespräch / von aynem Münch vnd | Becken / wölcher die Oster|ayer Samlen | wollt* ([Augsburg: Ullhart], 1524, VD 16 S 8,715), B3r, pointed out that God promised wisdom that should overcome the wisdom of the world. On the other hand, earlier in his life Ziegler believed that any person of sound mind would come to a conclusion similar to his (Ziegler, *Von der ver-mehelung*, b2r).

²⁸ This argument appears in Zwingli's preface to a pamphlet that was supposedly drafted by a Swiss peasant but was in fact the work of a bell-founder and friend of the reformer (Hans Füefli, *Antwort eins Schwytzer Pürens / über die vngegründten | geschrift Meyster Jeronimi Geb|wilers Schülmeisters zů Straß|burg / die er zů beschirmung der | Römischen kilchen / vnd jro | erdachten wesens / hat lassen vßgon* (Zürich: Hager, 1524, VD 16 F 3,275), A1v, see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 55 vols. (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912), 8:258 (Gerold Meyer von Knonau)). Melchior Hoffman warned that only the simple ones will encounter God (Melchior Hoffman, *Das XII Capitel | des propheten Danielis auß|gelegt / vnd das evangeli|on des andern sondages / | gefallen[t] im Aduent* ([Stockholm: King's Printer, 1526]), F2r, see Deppermann, *Soziale Unruhen*, 58). Lotzer, *Schriften*, 33, recalls that the shepherds went to Bethlehem, but the scribes questioned by Herod did not. Georg Schöningen vehemently attacked a scholar who had reminded him that he was only a shoemaker, and pointed to God's calling of the shepherd Amos or of Paul who had been a craftsman, perhaps even a shoemaker like Schöningen (Felician Gess, ed., *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen*, vol. 1, 1517–1524 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1905), 548–49). Schöningen also complained that today Peter would be sent away from Rome for not having a degree (*Schutzrede | yedem Christen wol zu wissen. | Wyder das falsch anklagen / der papisten | vnd Münche* ([Straßburg: Köpfel], 1523, VD 16 K 800), Ff2r. More boldly, Staygmayer, *Schoner Dialogus*, B3r, stressed that Christ had studied nothing but surprised everyone with His wisdom. These arguments are, however, quite commonplace; moreover, they also appear in Luther's writings (Paul A. Russell, *Lay Theology in the Reformation: Popular Pamphleteers in Southwest Germany, 1521–1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 58, 60).

²⁹ E.g. Hans Greyffenberger, *Diß biechlin zaygt an | was vns lernen vnd gelernet ha|ben vnser maister der ge|schrift / dar vor vnns | cristus off[t] gewar|net hat / die aus|sen scheyn wie*

Lautensack, however, who did not try to spread Luther's doctrine but rather to propagate his own revelations, had a greater need than other lay authors to underline his authority, and he did so in three different ways, invoking divine inspiration, the endorsement of the foremost Reformation theologians and, most surprisingly, his professional expertise as a painter. As usual, his written statements are not very clear and in parts contradict each other. Here an attempt is made to systematize his positions as far as possible.

Claims to direct inspiration from above were rare in the Reformation period, but they existed amongst radical groups that left little in writing, such as the Zwickau Prophets,³⁰ the sect of the Dreamers³¹ and some Anabaptists.³²

Modeling himself on biblical prophets Lautensack contrasted his unworthiness to the divine charge, stressing his reluctance to accept it³³

| sy gerecht sind | Innen voller | hüchlerey | vnnd | lüg ([Munich: Schobser], 1523, VD 16 G 3,159), dar, for Müntzer see Rolf Dismer, "Geschichte Glaube Revolution: Zur Schriftauslegung Thomas Müntzers" (D. D. diss. Universität Hamburg, 1974), 76. More examples of anti-intellectual polemics in Gilly, "Sprichwort 'Die Gelehrten die Verkehrten.'"

³⁰ The Zwickau patrician Nicolaus Storck, a supporter of Thomas Müntzer, claimed that angels had called him to be the future Reformer of the German Church, see Philipp Melanchthon, *Opera Que Supersunt Omnia*, vol. 14, ed. Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1847), 767; Paul Wappler, *Thomas Müntzer in Zwickau und die 'Zwickauer Propheten'* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1966), 47, 69.

³¹ Bauer, *Anfänge täuferischer Gemeindebildungen*, 166; Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Träume, Offenbarungen und Visionen in der Reformation," in *Reformation und Revolution: Beiträge zum politischen Wandel und den sozialen Kräften am Beginn der Neuzeit. Festschrift für Rainer Wohlfeil zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Rainer Postel and Franklin Kopitzsch (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1989), 185–87. This sect only believed in personal visions.

³² Among the Anabaptist authors discussed here, Clemens Ziegler had some visions in 1534, which he reported to the Straßburg city council (Krebs and Rott, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*, 8:257–59 no. 486). However, he likened them to the omnia observed by the Romans for the good of the state rather than to prophetic revelations and denied having authority to interpret them (Arnold, *Handwerker als theologische Schriftsteller*, 134). Already in 1530, Melchior Hoffman published the visions a certain Ursula Jost had experienced since 1524, in the preface he regards it as normal that God was once again speaking through prophets. However, Ursula's bloodthirsty visions had little, if any, influence on Hoffman's theology (Melchior Hoffman, *Prophetische ge'sicht vnd Offenbarung / der götlichen würckung zu diser / letzten zeit / die vom .xxiiij. jar biß / in das .xxx. einer gottes liebhaber/in durch den heiligen geist geoffenbart sein* ([Straßburg: Beck], 1530, VD 16 J 993), A2r; Deppermann, *Soziale Unruhen*, 182–84). Visions played an important role in the Anabaptist kingdom of Münster (an example in Hermannus a Kerssenbroch, *Anabaptistici Furoris Monasterium Inclitum Westphaliae Metropolis Evertentis Historica Narratio*, ed. Heinrich Detmer, vol. 2 (Münster: Theissing, 1899), 570–71).

³³ E.g. 10a:N20r: "Aber dy weyl Gott nit eyn anseher ist der person Sonder was seyner gotlichen Maiestet gefellig ist / Also mich vntuchtigen vnd nichtigen werckzeug zu dießem hohen werck gottes ist prauchen / des ich doch viel lieber entladen wolt seyn / wo es anders an meynem willen gelegen sol seyn." [However, since for God there is no respect of

and his terror about learning that there was a truth beyond Luther's doctrine.³⁴ Sometimes he simply stated that God's grace allowed him to understand the Images of Revelation,³⁵ once he mentioned that his calling was marked by a sign from above (the nature of which is not specified)³⁶ and once he recounted how God showed him the "punckt" (in this context apparently Christ as focus of everything) in the vision of a star.³⁷

persons [cf. Rom. 2:11] but [of] what is pleasing to His divine majesty, and that is to use me incapable and worthless tool for this high work of God, of which I would very much prefer to be disburdened, if it had been dependent on my will [continuation in p. 59 n. 82]]. A similar passage occurs in 10a:N58r.

³⁴ 10a:N58r: "das noch etwas weyder dohinden solt sein verporgen gewest Ausserhalb der lere Dockter martini Luthers darob ich mich auch hoch entsecz" [that something was hidden further behind, outside the doctrine of Doctor Martin Luther, and about this I was deeply shocked].

³⁵ 32:u594 dates the moment of understanding the image in Rev. 1 to 1530: "indeß mir von Gottes Gnaden fürkam in Erkänntnüss seines Anzeigen" [approximately: whilst the understanding of its significance came to me through the grace of God], for another, more detailed, report see p. 158 n. 207. Since these *Two Images* feature rarely in Lautensack's art before 1538 it is implausible that he had received a revelation on them at the very beginning of his activity.

³⁶ 11:g47: "hat mir Gott sonderlich die gnad vnd gabe verliehen / das jnnerliche erkantnus deß einigen bildnus Christi zu offenbaren / darzu mir auch ein warhafftiges zeychen von oben hat gezeygt" [God has given me specifically the grace and gift to reveal the internal understanding of the one image of Christ, and additionally showed me a true sign from above].

³⁷ 10a:N23v: "welchen punctt mir Gott meyn herr geczeygt hat Als war ich lebe. vnd Gott. Gott ist. Nemlich Jm 33 iar do arbeitett ich auff eynem schloß auf dem gepirg Eyn Jarlang Eyns zu frw zu morgens / Jn eyner hohen kemmet / Jn eynem fenster ich meyn andacht zu pflegen vmb dye zeyt do dye sonne wolt auffgehen vrzsuffling [This word could not be identified, the version in 10b:U96v has "vrplatzlich," here probably the same is meant.] so erscheint eyn grosser heller stern bey eyner halben eln bret [*sic*] vnd mit eynen fewerigen fewer flammen bey eyner eln lang vom stern ... vnd der stern ging fein siczam Jn der hohe als eynes guten dorns [10b:U96v has "thurnnß"] hoch stundt als lang zu sehen / als man eyn pater noster mag petten vnd auff dye seyten des schlos lang das ich nit weyß wohin er sich lis. Jch czeygt der herschafft vnd allem gesund das an ob auch ymant eyn solchen grossen stern / der also hell vnd fewerig was / gesehen hetten / do wust nyemant dafon zu sagen." [Which point God my Lord showed me, as truly as I live, and God is God. For, in the 33rd year I worked for a year in a castle in the mountains. One early morning, [when] I was giving myself to my devotions, in a chamber high up, at a window, when the sun was about to rise, suddenly [?] a great bright star appears, about half an ell wide and with a fiery flame of fire, about one ell away from the star, ... and the star was rising nicely well to the height of a tower [?], and stood there visible for as long as it takes to say a Pater noster, and then [it went] along the side of the castle, and I do not know wither it went. I informed the Lord of the Manor and all the servants [and asked] if anyone had also seen such a great star, that was so bright and fiery, and nobody could tell anything about it]. Ernst Benz, *Die Vision: Erfahrungsformen und Bilderwelt* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1969), 99–103, recounts some reports of flames appearing in the normal space but has no example of a star in this context. 10b:U96v has here the marginal comment "Illuminatio auctoris." Lautensack's short biography in tract xx refers to this vision and claims that later a star was seen hovering about Lautensack's house (e.g. Vm1r), the source for the latter is unknown.

Whereas there are reasons to doubt if the experience described in these texts really inspired Lautensack to begin his theological activity,³⁸ they clearly show that at a later date he felt that he had received some specific charge from God. Whilst no mainstream reformer claimed to have been called through such miracles, reports on celestial signs appear occasionally in sectarian circles.³⁹

Apparently Lautensack believed that his diagrams, which re-arranged God's revelations in Bible and Nature and so for the first time showed their true contents,⁴⁰ came purely from divine inspiration and had nothing to do with him. The Bible had for a long time been shut to human wits so that even Luther had to admit that he did not understand the Book of Revelation,⁴¹ but finally God had decided to make its contents known,⁴² a

³⁸ Cf. p. 22.

³⁹ The Augsburg fanatic Augustin Bader († 1530) claimed that a star above his shack had marked out his new-born son as the future Messiah (Werner O. Packull, *Mysticism and the early South German-Austrian Anabaptist Movement, 1525–1531* (Scotsdale: Herald, 1977), 135–36) and, according to the Anabaptist Hans Hut († 1527), a halo around the sun had appeared during sermons by Thomas Müntzer, who interpreted it as sign of God's covenant with the revolting peasants (Christian Meyer, "Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Oberschwaben, 1. Die Anfänge des Wiedertäuferthums in Augsburg," *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* 1 (1874): 241, ll. 17–26).

⁴⁰ Lautensack's claim that his tracts were not a new revelation but the key to unlock the revelation already contained in the Bible is clearly expressed in some of their titles, such as 9a:N7r (Fig. 21): "Offenbarung Jhesu Christi (Nach dem Geist) durch dye ganczen. Bibel. On alle gloß von den menschen" [Revelation of Jesus Christ (according to the Spirit) through the whole Bible. Without any gloss from men].

⁴¹ Cf. p. 73 and 11:g47: "nein / es ist zu hoch / vnd höher dann der Himmel / das ist vber aller menschen vernunft / spricht doch Johannes / es werde niemand nichts wissen haben von Gott / es komme jhm dann von oben herab" [No, it is too high, and higher than the heaven. This is above all human reason, as John speaks that no-one would have any knowledge of God, unless it came down to him from above [cf. John 3:27]].

⁴² E.g. 9a:N14v: "So kombt nun vnser eyziger Gott vnd herr. vnd wyl vns selberr [*sic*] zu vnterrichten weyssen vnd lieren [*sic*] wes wir nicht verstendig sint gewest" [So comes now our only God and Lord, and He Himself wants to teach, direct and instruct us in what we did not understand]. 10a:N17r: "Dye weyl aber Christus / vnd seyn Aller liebste muter in dem eyzigen werck / der ganczen welt vnbewust sint / Aber numals von gottes gnaden / sich selbst sint darthun zu offenbaren Jre geheymnis / durch dye ganczen Bibel sich zu erkleren" [However, whilst Christ and his most dear mother are unrecognized in the One Work of the whole world, but now, through the grace of God, present Themselves in order to explain Themselves, to reveal their secrets through the entire Bible]; N19r: "So aber nunmals das werck offenbar wurd / Als dan wurde allen vngelaubigen alle ire schrieft vnd grunt benommen / vnd allein in Christo verleibt / wye dan alles ersehen vnd offenbar ist / ... / das Christus der ware Gottes sūn eyn herr vnd seligmacher sey der ganczen welt. Darumb es wol billich dye offenbarung Jhesu Christi heyst. wan auß Jm mer zu lernen ist / Dan auß allen den buchern yemals geschriben sind worden von menschen verstant. Auß welchen auch gefolgt hat stetig czang vnd hader / vnd zwitracht / des glaubens / vnd mangerley schwarmerey / vnd bucher schreybens / der dan kein endt wirt. vnd danoch am lezten der sach weder geholffen noch geradten wirt" [Since the work has now become

process Lautensack compares to the biblical motifs of the Breaking of the Seven Seals (Rev. 6:1–8:1), the Key of David (Rev. 3:7)⁴³ and the Morning

revealed, all their writing and foundation was taken away from all unbelievers and only incarnated in Christ; as it is all seen and revealed ... that Christ, the true Son of God, is the one Lord and Savior of the entire world, and thus it [Rev.] is fittingly called the Revelation of Jesus Christ; far more can be learned from it than from all books ever written through human intelligence. From those also came permanent arguments and quarrel and discord in faith and manifold fanaticism and writing of books, which hath no end [cf. Eccles. 12:12], but finally it neither gives support nor counsel to the cause]. The phrase “schriefft vnd grunt,” denoting bible-based theological reasoning, appears also in mainstream literature, e.g. Wolfgang Rüdiger, *Waher die Bilder | oder Götzen mit jrem gepreng | Baid der Haiden | vnd genanten Christen kumen* ([Augsburg: Ulhart], 1532, VD 16 R 3,859), avv. Interestingly, in the early 17th century Johannes Faulhaber claimed that some of his mathematical discoveries had been hidden by God, to be unveiled only then, at the end of times (Johannes Faulhaber, *Johann Faulhabers | Vlmensis | Miracvla | Arithmetica. | Zu der Continuation seines Arith|metischen Wegweisers gehörig* (Augsburg: Franck, 1622, VD 17 23:255251A), 30; see Ivo Schneider, *Johannes Faulhaber, 1580–1635: Rechenmeister in einer Welt des Umbruchs* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1993), 109).

⁴³ 10a:N15v–16r: “Dye weyl aber das eyn werck vnd geheymnis des heyligen Geyst ist / So wil auch keynen menschen auff erden solchs gepuren auß eygenn kopff zu eröffnen (Dan Gott allein) wye er dan von sich selbst sacht / vnd spricht / Das nyemant in hymel noch auff erden / vnd vnder der erden / wirdig sey / das Buch zu eröffnen dan allein das lamb welchs ertödt sey vmb der sund willen des ganczen menschlichen geschlegt. vnd weyders sacht auch der heylig / vnd der warhaftig / der do hat den Schlusel David / der zuschleust / vnd nyemant auffthut / der auffthut vnd [16r] nyemant zuschleust. Auß dem menigklich mag warnemen das in keynes menschen macht / Noch gewalt stet / das Buch zu eröffnen Dan wan es Gott haben wil. Darumb auch diß Buch seyn bestympte zeyt hat / wen es soll geoffenbart werden / Nemlich czu der lezten czeyt.” [Since, however, this is a work and secret of the Holy Ghost it does not behoove any man on earth to open such things from his own mind but only God, who then speaks about Himself and says that no-one in heaven, nor on earth, nor under the earth, was worthy to open the book but only the Lamb that was slain for the sake of the entire human race (cf. Rev. 5:3, 5:6); and furthermore [he] saith, he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that shutteth, and no man openeth, and openeth, and no man shutteth (cf. Rev. 3:7). From this everyone can realize that it is not in the authority or power of any man to open the book, but when God wills it. Therefore this book has a destined time when it shall be opened, that is in the last time]. Also N25r emphasizes the impossibility of understanding Revelation without divine inspiration. The Key of David occasionally features in contemporary mainstream literature, so in works by Luther (Dismer, “Geschichte Glaube Revolution,” 205–6) and Erasmus (In the *Enchiridion militis Christiani* Christ, who has the Key of David, opens the true and otherwise unobtainable understanding of faith to those asking for it, Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Hajo Holborn (Munich: Beck, 1933), 35, ll. 16–22, see Gottfried Krodell, “Die Abendmahlslehre des Erasmus von Rotterdam und seine Stellung am Anfang des Abendmahlsstreites der Reformatoren” (D. D. diss., Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen, 1955), 51). However, this motif played a more prominent role amongst sectarian writers. For Anabaptists it could signify a group’s collective understanding of God’s revelations (Franklin Hamlin Littell, *The Anabaptist View of the Church: A Study in the Origins of Sectarian Protestantism* (Boston: Star King Press, 1958), 85. The Anabaptist Johann Bünlerlin hoped that God might put the Key of David into the hearts of the faithful so that they could open the sealed book of His secrets (Alexander Nicoladoni, *Johannes Bünlerlin von Linz und die oberösterreichischen Täufergemeinden in den Jahren 1525–1531* (Berlin: Gaertner, 1893), 155). For Müntzer, this Key could only be gained through suffering that

Star ending a long night.⁴⁴ In this process Lautensack did nothing but repeat what he had seen written in the Living Book of the Cross, a metaphor that probably stands for both the Bible and Christ.⁴⁵ He was therefore nothing but a humble tool (“werckzeug”),⁴⁶ but even his ignorance

strips man of all his claims to knowledge and faith and leaves him with nothing but the desire to believe (*Von dem gedichtten Glauben*, 1524, in Thomas Müntzer, *Schriften und Briefe: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Günther Franz (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1968), 224, ll. 24–29. A passage from his *Ordnung ... des Tewtschen ampts* from 1523, *ibid.*, 208, ll. 12–14, sees the Key more conventionally as gift of understanding given by God to the congregation; according to Dismer, “Geschichte Glaube Revolution,” 206, the Key means for Müntzer furthermore the knowledge that suffering is essential for the imitation of Christ).

⁴⁴ 10a:N25v: “welchs werck dan Gott hat angefangen (von gottes gnaden) der Edel morgen stern daher pricht vnd mit sich pringt / den hellen liechten morgen tag / darin dan gut / zu handeln vnd wandeln ist / wan ye eyn grosse vnderschied zwischen tag vnd nacht ist. So haben wir ye noch bißhiher in der nacht gewandelt das dan das wort belangt wie hernach Offenbar wurd. So bekent ye Jhesus er sey Allein der klare morgen stern / welchs angesicht leuchten ist wye dye klare sonne / das wir numals Jn Jm vnd durch in mögen ersehen / was fel vnd mengel noch an vnß sint / vnd zu hören was fur new zeittung er mit sich pringt / welche auch zu vor in menschen verstant nye sint kommen / will geschweygen das etwas dafon wer geschrieben worden.” [which work God has begun, (through the grace of God) the noble morning star rises and brings with it the light and bright new day, in which it is good to strive and step. For, if there is ever a difference between day and night, so we have up to now been walking in the night to which belongs the *Word* as later became revealed [This may indicate that the isolated word prevailing hitherto is regarded as darkness but rather links night and *Word* as in some four-part diagrams, cf. p. 236] So Jesus professes that He alone is the clear morning star, whose face shines like the bright sun, that we may now see in Him and through Him, which errors and lacks are still in us, and to listen, which new messages He is bringing, which never before had come to human understanding, and even less has anything of it ever been written down].

⁴⁵ 10a:N26v: “Sonder alleyn was ich in dem eynigen lebendigen Buch am Crewcz ersehen hab (von gottes gnaden) was doselbst darin geschrieben sey Nach dem selbigen allein richte ich mich.” [But only what I have seen (through the grace of God) in the one Living Book on the Cross, what is there written in it, that alone I follow]. 10a:N16r: “So bleyb ich auch allein bey dem Eynigen lebendigen / Buch / am czrewcz / was darin nit gesehen noch offenbart wurt / das kan ich auch nit anczeygen.” [So I remain with the one Living Book on the Cross alone, what is neither seen nor revealed in it I also cannot show]. This phrase is probably Lautensack’s own *sola scriptura* – although it leaves open the possibility of other revelations given to other people, the tracts give the impression that Lautensack was convinced that everything important was included in them.

⁴⁶ For this word cf. p. 44 n. 33. Similar statements are e.g. 10a:N16r: “Möcht nun yemandt sagen / warumb ich mich dan inn das Buch sey flegten zu ordern / oder zu offenbarn / vnd zu vorauß als eynem vngelernten leyen / vnd menschen / solchs nit gepurt / wye dan droben gehort ist. Als / allein dem lamb gottis. ... Aber allein das mir Gott dye gnad hat verliehen / was Christus / vnd seine liebste muter marie / fur anczeygung haben” [Now someone might ask why I immerse myself then in the book to order [it, ?] or to reveal, and especially as an unlearned layman, and as a [mortal] man. Such things are not appropriate [for anyone]; as it is heard above, but only for the Lamb of God. ... But only because God has given me grace [to explain] what Christ and His dear Mother Mary signify], for the continuation see p. 158 n. 207. A similar statement is in 10a:N20r: “On alle anweissung von den menschen beschehen / Sonder allein was gott geben vnd verliehen hat aus gnaden” [Happened without any human instruction, but only what God has given and bestowed through Grace]; cf. p. 7 n. 28.

was useful because it showed that not human learning but God Himself had uncovered these truths.⁴⁷ In the early 1530s God had announced his deeds through signs in the sky,⁴⁸ and furthermore two Latin sentences connected with the Crucifixion, the Title of the Cross (“IhesVs nazarenVs reX IVDeorVM”) and the fulfilled prophecy “VIDebVnt In qVeM transIX-erVnt” (John 19:37 [they shall look on Him whom they pierced]), were chronographs for the years 1532 and 1533 respectively.⁴⁹

Whilst Lautensack believed that his revelation would immediately convince everyone, he must have realized that his diagrams were only met with perplexity, especially from scholars.⁵⁰ Once he noted down with

⁴⁷ 10a:N26r: “Solt aber eyn solchs hohes werck Gottis. von eynem hochgelartten erfunden sein / So het mans nachmals der hohen vernufft vnd weyßheit / eynes menschen zu gemessen / vnd Gott nit dye eer gegeben” [But had such a high work of God been discovered by a highly learned man, one would have attributed it to the high reason and wisdom of a man, and not given the honor to God]. The same concept was also expressed by Bernhard Rothmann, one of the leaders of the Münster Anabaptists. The Reformation had been begun by scholars, but “Dan durch de vngeleerdesten na der werlt wil he de Restitution vp eth herlickste ynuören, vp dat he alleine den Pryß hebbe” [then, through the most unlearned according to the world does He want to introduce His restitution [of the true faith] in the most glorious manner, so that He alone has the praise for it], Bernhard Rothmann, *Die Schriften Bernhard Rothmanns*, ed. Robert Stupperich (Münster: Aschendorff, 1970), 219.

⁴⁸ Cf. p. 240.

⁴⁹ They are both quoted in 9a:N8r. Lautensack took these Latin quotations from the gematric speculations of Michael Stifel. The first chronograph is published in Michael Stifel, *Ein Rech|en Büchlin | Vom | EndChrist. | Apocalypsis | In | Apocalyp|sim* (Wittenberg: Rhaw, 1532, VD 16 S 9,014, A4r). The second chronograph was the basis for Stifel's failed prediction of doomsday. It is regularly mentioned in later reports about the scandal this prediction had caused (e.g. Abraham Bucholzer, *Index Chro|nologicvs* [Gorlicii: Rhamba, 1599, VD 16 B 9,033], 587), and according to Ernst Ludwig Enders, ed., *Dr. Martin Luther's Briefwechsel*, vol. 9 (Calw: Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1903), 316 n. 2, this date appears in Stifel, *Rechen Büchlin* but I have not been able to find it there or in any other publication that predates Lautensack's tract. Therefore, the painter may have learned about it either through rumors, or he may have stood in contact with Stifel. It is doubtful if Lautensack understood the working of a chronograph at all, since he spelled the second phrase according to the Franconian dialect as “videbund in quem tranß fixerunt,” which would lead to 2,033). Occasionally these quotations and the years they signify were included in diagrams, e.g. 45:E10v (Fig. 92). Surprisingly, 12:B59r states that Christ revealed Himself in 1536, and the dubious tract 46 stresses the year 1555 and predicts the end by 1600 (V221v–22r).

⁵⁰ 10a:N23v (on the paintings done for the Lord of the Castle in the Mountains in 1534): “Aber nyemant des verstans Jnhalt wust / das mich dan seer verwundert das keyn mensch solt verstén vnd sunderlich dye predicanten nichts dafon wusten” [But no-one was able to understand the content, it surprised me very much that no-one should understand [it] and that especially the preachers did not know of it]; 11:g6 (on the room decoration for the Gundelfingerin in 1538): “vnd dennoch solches die Welt nicht verstehet / wie jhr dann oft hat gemeldet / das viel erbar Leut / gelehrt vnd vngelehrt hinein kommen zu sehen / vnd dannoch niemandt verstehe / einer lobts / der ander verachts / darüber jhr auch vnlustig werdt / also viel darauff zuwenden / so solches niemandt verstehet / noch einerley wissens dauon habe / das vrtheil die Welt von sich selbst gibt / daß sie CHristum / vnd alles / das

bewilderment a list of reactions: his works were seen as lacking divine inspiration, outright diabolic, outpourings of a naïve old hermit, propaganda of popish idolatry, detrimental to the understanding of Scripture, or alchemical and therefore the work of the devil.⁵¹ He wasted little time in refuting the criticism⁵² and attributed it to theologians who were both too arrogant to admit defeat through the writings of an unlearned man and too trusting in their own human wisdom.⁵³ As Lautensack stated several

CHristus nuhr ist / noch nicht weiß noch verstehet / wo aber Augen deß Verstandts vorhanden w[e]hren / die konten alle anzeigung fein vrtheilen." [and yet the world does not understand such things, as you [i.e. the Gundelfingerin] have often reported that many honorable men, learned and unlearned, come in order to see, and yet no-one understands. One praises it, another despises it; and this is why you are unhappy, to spend so much [money] when no-one understands such things nor has any knowledge of them. The world gives this verdict over herself, that it does neither understand nor has any knowledge of Christ or anything that is only Christ; but where the eyes of reason were present, they could well judge the entire display].

⁵¹ 10a:N29r: "Als eyner der sacht / Es sey diß Buch nit auß dem heyligen Geyst gestellt. So sacht der ander Es kom das Buch vom teuffel. Der drit sacht / Es hats yegent eyn guter schlechtter eynfeltiger Altvater in seyner Andacht gemacht. So wil der viert man sol mit dem Christum hynneyn gen Rom ziehen / do man dan noch solcher bilder art pflegt auff irem Jarmarck. So ist der funfft sagen / Solt diß werck angenommen werden / So wurd [29v] Darauß folgen eyn zurruttung ganczer heyliger schryefft. So wil der Sechs sagen / Es kome auß der Alchamey / das dan des teuffels gespengs gar solt seyn" [So one says that this book was not devised from the Holy Ghost. So says the second that the book came from the devil. The third says that it was done by some good, simple and plain old hermit in his devotion. The fourth wants that one goes with [this] Christ to Rome where they still use this type of images at their fair. So says the fifth that, should this work be accepted, it would lead to the dissolution of the entire holy writ. So does the sixth want to say that it came from Alchemy, which is fully the phantom of the devil].

⁵² Only in 10a:N25v he refutes that he was bringing the new doctrine St Paul had warned against: "So spricht paulus das wir in der leer dye er vns hat furgeschrieben bey der selbigen zu bleyben / wen schon eyn Engel von hymel kem / vnd precht eyn ander leer / So solt sie nit gehorcht noch angnommen werden. Darauff auch dye welt bestet wye gehort ist. Aber paulus spricht weyders (sollen wird Ander weyt gesynnet seyn). das sol vns Gott Offenbarn welchs werck dan Gott hat angefangen" [So Paul says that we must remain with the doctrine he has prescribed for us; even if an angel came from heaven and brought a different doctrine, it should not be obeyed nor accepted [cf. Gal. 1:8]. On this the world insists, as we have heard. But Paul says furthermore that God shall send us a revelation, [when] we should be differently minded, [Phil. 3:15] and that work God has begun].

⁵³ E.g. 9a:N14v: "Wie nun dye Juden sich gegen Jren Gott sich [*sic*] halten vnd stellen mit vnuerstant / sich weder weyssen / noch hören wollen / von Jrem Gott / den selbigen alleyn zu erkennen / do wirt nichts nit auß. Des gleychen thun wir Christen zugleych. Wen wir horen sagen. das noch grosser vnuerstant bey vns soltt seyn von Christo Das kan dye welt nit dulden noch leyden wil vnd sunderlich dye aller gelersten darwider fechten vnd streiten / mit Jrem verstand nach menschlicher weyß vermeynen sie sint dye aller gelersten / vnd darruber Jnen nichts konnen / leyden was / Jnen nicht gemess ist / das dan bey solchen leuten / Als eyn vngelehrten lehr bey Jnen zu mal nichtig ist / wen sye sehen / vnd erkennen / das dye warheyt ist / danoch muß sye dohinden bleyben / vnd styl dafon zu halten / das es nicht offenbar wert / Anders es möcht Jnen zum nachtteyl geratten an Jrem eern / Aber was hoch vnd prachtig vor der welt sich stelt / das hat auch eyn ansehen bey ir / dye

times, these diagrams were the “werck Gottes des heyligen Geyst” [the Work of God the Holy Ghost].⁵⁴ Therefore, those who rejected them (or, even worse, prevented their printing⁵⁵) committed the Sin against the

werden auch hochgeacht vnd herfurgezogen / vnd was sie dan fur geben / das mus dan lauter geist seyn. wen sye schon weyl fel schliessen. So muß es dannoch geglaubt seyn. Dan da wyder darff nyemant wyder solche gelernten handeln / dan sie lydens auch nicht / das man sie in Jren wortten solt lug straffen / das mit nichten” [As now the Jews place and position themselves with a lack of understanding against their God because they do not want to know nor hear of their God in order to know him alone (nothing is going to come out of that), so do also we Christians. For we hear told that there is amongst us a great lack of understanding of Christ. This the world can neither allow nor suffer, and especially the most learned fight and battle against it; with their understanding according to human fashion they think that they are the most learned, and they cannot suffer any thing above them that is not fitting for them, as it is with such people. Especially the teaching of an unlearned man is nothing for them; [even] if they see and understand what is the truth, it still must remain in the background and remain silent that it does not become known, lest it can cause a disadvantage for them in their honor. But, what places itself as high and glorious before the world also enjoys respect in it; and they are highly respected and preferred, and what they issue that must be pure spirit. Even if they have been clearly wrong for a time [?], it must be believed. For no-one may act against such scholars, since they do not suffer anyone proving them wrong in their own words, that under no circumstances]. 10a:N18r: “dye weyl dockter martinus luther nichts dafon halt / welchs / geist sich nit darein könne richten. bey dem wollen sie auch besten / vnd bleyben / Dagegen sacht Christus Er sey das Buch des lebens selbst. Auß welchem Buch wir haben ye nun mals zu wissen vnd zu lernen. Alles das / das zu Gottes lob vnd herligkeit dyenet / vnd zu vnsser selen heyl belanget zu erkuntigen. ... Glaubt man aber des luthers wortten (one schriefft) So hengt man sich an dye lügen / Dan ye alle menschen lugner sint welchs nachmals den Ewigen todt gepirt Jn teuffels reych” [Whilst Doctor Martin Luther thinks nothing of it, whose mind cannot find a way into it, with him they want to stay and remain. In contrast, Christ says that He is the very Book of Life. From this book we now must know and learn, to study everything that pertains to God’s praise and glory and to the salvation of our souls. ... But, if one believes Luther’s words (without Scripture) one fastens oneself to the lies. For all men are liars, what later begets the eternal death in the realm of the devil]. Similar statements appear in 11:g47.

⁵⁴ E.g. 10a:N23v: “vnd fing das werck Gottes des heyligen Geyst an / zu malen auff vier tücher” [and began to paint the Work of God the Holy Ghost on four canvases – or: and began the Work of God the Holy Ghost, to paint on four canvases]; N28r (cf. p. 54 n. 67); 11:g47: “darumb jhr auch die werck deß heiligen Geistes seydt verschleutern” [therefore you are also throwing away the Works of the Holy Ghost] – to the Gundelfingerin; 25:B64r: “das ich mich des wercks des h. gaists nicht habe vnterwinden wollen fur mein person” [that I did not want to presume the Work of the Holy Ghost for my person]; 10a:N16r: “Aber was do auffgedeckt vnd offenbar wird / bey dem selbigen Jnhalt wil ich besten vnd bleyben / mit der hilff vnd beystand gottes / wieder alle feinde Christi / ob gleich alle teuffel Jn der hell / vnd die ganz welt mit aller Jrer macht walten dawider stritten / vnd füchten / So fermöchte sye doch nicht eyn eyniges duttelein abzusprechen / Jn dem werck / des heyligen Geyst / welchs also mechtig vnd gewaltig ist / darzuthun / vnd zu offenbarn / seyne herligkeit.” [But I shall stay and remain with the content that is being uncovered and revealed, with the help and assistance of God, against all enemies of Christ. And if all devils in Hell and the entire world with all its power battled and fought against it, it would not have enough power to deny one little dot in the Work of the Holy Ghost, which is so mighty and powerful in making public and revealing its glory].

⁵⁵ 10a:N27r: “wye es aber noch bißher ist verhindert worden / durch wen es geschicht / oder geschehen ist / der wirts eyns wol ynnen werten.” [Since it has up to now been

Holy Ghost that cannot be forgiven (cf. Matt. 12:32) and were thus worse than the Jews who rejected Christ and the papists who rather followed their popes and councils than God's word.⁵⁶ Accordingly, the painter could comfort himself by recalling the suffering of Christ (comparing the contemporary theologians to the Sanhedrin),⁵⁷ the Apostles and all other true Christians.⁵⁸ A similar defiant mood can be found amongst Anabaptists,

prevented. Through whom this happens, or has happened, he will feel it [what he has committed]].

⁵⁶ 10a:N26v: "wen sie aber dem werck des heyligen Geysts ... wider stant wölten thun / wer es warlich zu besorgen / Es möcht Jnen eben drob ergehen / wie es den Juden hat ergangen / dye domals auch weder wissen noch horen wollten von Christo / anders gehort zu sein / den wes sie gewont hetten. von Jren vettern. Also wollen dye Bapisten auch nicht anders gelert werden dan von Jrem hawbt dem Babst vnd was dye Consilia beschlossen haben / vnd den geprauch der Alden. Darumb sie auch hart sint anlauffen wider das götlich wort zu doben vnd wuden schenden / vnd zu verlestern auff das höchst / (Jn dem val ist danoch zu verhoffen) das etlichen dye sund mag verziehen werden. Aber wider das eynige werck Gottis des heyligen Geyst / Alßo pitterlich vnd gehessig alßo anzutasten vnd zu verdammen / des man des danoch noch mit keynem buchstab hat vberwunden / mit der warheyt / noch viel weniger sich vnter sten wöllen / darumb ist es warlich gancz ferlich / wider den heyligen Geyst alßo anzulauffen / wider in alßo zu streitten / welche sund weder hye noch durt Ewigklich nicht sollen verziehen werden / dafur vns Gott alle behute Amen" [But, if they wanted to put up resistance against the Work of the Holy Ghost ... then one truly has to fear that it may happen therefore to them as it had happened to the Jews, who then did not want to know or to hear anything of Christ that was heard differently from that what they had been used to from their fathers. Similarly, the Papists do not want to be taught in any other way than from their head, the pope, and what the councils have decided, and the habits of the ancients. Therefore they are forcefully attacking the divine word, raging and storming, reviling and blaspheming to the utmost, yet in this case one may hope nevertheless that this sin may be forgiven for some. But to violate and to condemn the one Work of God the Holy Ghost so bitterly and hatefully, although one has not defeated it with any letter, and to want even less to deal with the truth! Therefore it is extremely dangerous to run thus against the Holy Ghost and to fight thus against Him, which sin neither here nor there in eternity shall be forgiven, and from that God may protect us all. Amen].

⁵⁷ 10a:N22v: "wye sich dan etlich hören lasßen / wen dieser verstant an tag solt kommen / was sie mer solten gelten. Als wen eyn yglicher leyhen / solt zu vor alles wissen / wie dan auch dye Juden sachten / lassen wir diesen alßo hingehen / So wird Jm alles volck anhengig / vnd vnsser leer gar nichts mer achten" [As some state, when this understanding should become public, how should they then be respected, if any layman would know everything beforehand; likewise the Jews said, when we let that one go, all people will become his disciples and no longer will respect our teaching [cf. John 11:49]].

⁵⁸ 10a:N26r: "Aber warlich wo Christus eynkert zu herberg do ist man nit viel gutter veister suppen dafon / Sonder nur angst vnd not / vnd alles vnluck [sic] vnd verfolgung / wie es dem herrn hat ergangen / Also muß es auch seynen dienern wie dan An den Anposteln ist beschehen" [But truly, where Christ is coming as a guest there one does not eat much good fat soup of it but only fear and want, and all sorrow and persecution. As it has occurred to the Lord, so must it [happen] also to His servants, as it then happened to the Apostles].

but nothing suggests that Lautensack had a connection with this movement that had been cruelly defeated in the 1520s.⁵⁹

Although he believed that he was the chosen recipient of God's definitive revelation, which trumped all earthly wisdom,⁶⁰ Lautensack constantly sought contact with theologians. Apparently he aspired to close collaboration ("handeln") with a scholar, as he later was able to do with Oswald Ruland.⁶¹ He gives a range of motifs for this desire: gathering advice about what to make of his puzzling revelations,⁶² the duty to inform the leaders of his Christian community about what God had shown him⁶³ and the hope that the involvement of a respected scholar would facilitate the propagation of his ideas.⁶⁴ As an unlearned man, Lautensack felt

⁵⁹ E.g. Konrad Grebel in a letter to Thomas Müntzer, 5 September 1524: "rechte gleubige Christen sind schaff mitten under den wölffen, schaff der schlachtung, müssend in angst und nott, trübsal, ferfolgung, liden und sterben getoufft warden" [real, faithful Christians are sheep among the wolves, sheep for slaughter, they must be baptized in fear and penury, sadness, persecution, suffering and death], Müntzer, *Schriften*, 442, ll. 29–31. Similar is Jacob Hutter's fourth epistle to the Anabaptists in Moravia (Lydia Müller, ed., *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1938), 152): "bedenkt und betrachtet wol, das es allen propheten, Christ dem herren, seinen apostlen, und in suma allen heiligen von anfang der welt also ergangen ist, ja allen denen, die Gott der Herr geliebt hat" [remember and contemplate well that all prophets, Christ our Lord, His Apostles and all the saints from the beginning of the world altogether had had a similar fate, yea, all those whom God the Lord loved].

⁶⁰ 10a:N20v: "So bin ich danoch in dem eynigen Christo also versichert / durch dye gab vnd geschenck von Gott / das mir dye gancz welt / mit aller Jrer macht. kunst. vnd weyßheit / nicht vermöchtenn eynen eynigen buchstab mit der warheyt abzutringen" [So I am made nevertheless so sure in the one Christ, through God's gift and grant, that all the world with all her power, skill and wisdom shall not move me one single letter away from the truth].

⁶¹ 26:B69r: "von wegen der offenbarung gehandelt, ich als ein maler, ihr als ein schrift gelehrter. In hebraischer, griegischer und lateinischer sprache, vns gegen ein ander zu vergleichen." [Having dealt about the Revelation; I as a painter, you as a scholar of the Scriptures in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages, so that we could compare [our results] with each other]. The word 'Schriftgelehrter' can denote the Jewish scribes in the Gospels, but here it has apparently no negative connotation. cf. pp. 33–35.

⁶² 32:u595: "darob ich mich hart entsatzt / dieweil zuvor nicht davon geschrieben / noch gelehrt war worden / des ich mich auch nicht allein wollt anmassen / und den Osiander, als den gelehrtesten / fürnahm / mit ihm daraus zu handeln" [about which I was deeply shocked because up to now nothing on it had been written or taught, and I did not want to presume that alone and thus addressed Osiander as the most learned, in order to discuss it with him].

⁶³ So 25:B64r: "sondern meiner christlichen obrigkait / vnd den gelerten erstlich angezeigt / wie dann auf der Cantzel gelert / wann einem eine offenbarung geschehe so wirdts der selbigen person nicht vermeint / sondern einer gantzen gemeine" [But I informed first my Christian rulers and the scholars; as it is taught on the pulpit that when a revelation is given to one, it is not directed to this person but to the whole community].

⁶⁴ 10a:N28r [on Luther and his circle]: "dye weyl sie des ansehens sint vor der welt / was sye auß lasßen gehen dem gibt man auch mer glaubens / dan sunst anderswo solchs schwerlich czu erheben ist vor der welt." [For they are respected before the world; and what they issue is more trusted, otherwise it is difficult to raise such things before the world].

uneasy writing on theology⁶⁵ and therefore he hoped for the help of a scholar to transform his ideas into proper texts or, as he once phrased it, to take his charcoal sketches and add to them fair color, gold and silver.⁶⁶ When he began eventually to write his own introductions, he excused himself by stating that he had been asked to provide explanatory texts and did not find any scholar willing to write them so he had to try his best.⁶⁷ Here Lautensack proceeded like the Lutheran minister and mathematician Michael Stifel (1486/87–1567) from whose apocalyptic 1532 *Rechen*

⁶⁵ E.g. 11:47: “so habe ich mich solcher hoher gabe nicht endlich wollen anmassen zu örtern / sondern den Gelährten heimgestellt” [So I did not want to presume to discuss such a high gift but first left it to the scholars [who rejected it]]. Similarly, the shoemaker Georg Schönicen stressed in his dispute with Leipzig academics that he would never dare argue with scholars but merely sought clarifications from them (Schönicen, *Auff die vnderricht*, A3v).

⁶⁶ 10a:N27r: “Sonder nur anzuzzeigen oder zu entwerffen / wie eyn maler Erstlich pflegt mit eynem koln eynen possen zu stellen / oder zu verzeychnen / Aber nachmals der hoch-verstenttigen vnd gelertten heym zustellen dye dan das werck mit schönen ferblein herauß zu streigen / vnd wo es dye nott erfottert mit silber. vnd golt zu verhöhen / das ist dan mit der heyligen geschrift dye zu czieren wo es dan sonderlich belangt Gott vnd mensch / ... das dan ganz zierlich vor meniglich wurd anzusehen seyn.” [However, only to demonstrate or to sketch, as a painter usually starts with making or drawing a model with charcoal; but to leave it afterwards for the highly understanding and learned, who then emphasize the work with beautiful colors and, where it is needed, highlight it with silver and gold, this is then with the Holy Writ, to decorate it, [and] where it especially pertains God and Man, ... so that the whole thing may be beautiful to behold for many]. The word “possen” must signify here ‘sketch,’ it could be related to the Italian ‘bozzetto.’ This meaning is not included in the very extensive *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, which defines it only as ‘decoration’ or ‘joke’ (*Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. Robert R. Anderson, Ulrich Goebel and Oskar Reichmann, vol. 4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 838). The reference to silver and gold in a painting seems anachronistic in the 1530s, and also Lautensack’s surviving panels from the early 16th century (cf. pp. 13–15) use gold most sparingly.

⁶⁷ Already Melancthon pointed out in his 1533 letter that the tracts would need a clear introduction – he probably did so in order to discourage Lautensack from having them printed (γ:B149r). 10a:N28r: “So wer es wol vnd hoch von nötten gewest Eyn gewaltige vnd geschickte vorred zustellen / Ee man das buch het angecezpffft damit man dester leichtlicher Jn des buchs Jnhalt vnd verstand möcht kommen” [So it was well and highly necessary to compose a powerful and well-done preface before beginning with the book that one may arrive more easily at the content and meaning of the book]. Lautensack then continues (still N28r): “Nachmal hab ich mich entschuldiget vor Gott vnd der welt wen ich meyn pfunt dargethon hab in wechssel / was es nachmals ist wuchern das stet allein bey dem herrn. So dan mir nyemant wil beystant (in dem fal) zu [?] thun Jn dem hohen werck Gottes des heyligen Geyst behulfflich zu seyn / So wil ichs zugleich in dem namen Gottes anzufahen” [Afterwards I apologized before God and the world for offering my talent to the exchange; it depends on God alone how much interest it will yield. Since no one wants to give me assistance (in this case) to help in the high Work of God the Holy Ghost, I want to begin it in God’s name]. Since the earliest surviving tracts (1–5) have none or very short introductory sections it is probably true that Lautensack only began providing them when he realized that many readers found his work incomprehensible.

Büchlin vom EndChrist he took some ideas for his later tracts.⁶⁸ In the introduction of this work, quoted by Lautensack without naming the author, Stifel admitted that he was puzzled by his (gematric) discoveries in the Bible and, after asking Luther and other scholars in vain for comments, prayed to God that he might be able to write down these divine inspirations correctly.⁶⁹

Lautensack's second argument for the authority of his doctrine was the encouragement of leading Reformers. We have seen earlier that Lautensack had had some correspondence with Luther and Melanchthon, who were not only the paramount scholars of the emerging Protestantism but functioned as *de facto* leaders of this very decentralized movement,⁷⁰ and received from them politely dismissive answers about this work. However, he not only regarded these and similar answers as encouragement and authorization of his own theology but also shaped (as it seems) his methods according to the suggestions he had received. The replies to his letters from 1533, which Lautensack apparently kept,⁷¹ caution that printing a text with so many illustrations would be prohibitively expensive, yet balanced this devastating verdict with some tactful comments. Luther praised Lautensack's industry and his intention to help others and concluded that anyone who wished to do so should receive edification from this work,⁷² and Melanchthon declared the tract as even less harmful than Luther might have said. Possibly, Melanchthon's complaints about the chaotic arrangement and the lack of explanations ultimately persuaded the painter to write introductions (v.s.). A tract from 1538 reports an (undated)

⁶⁸ Cf. p. 49 n. 49 and p. 262.

⁶⁹ Stifel, *Rechen Büchlin*, K4v–K5r. Lautensack's quotations are in 9a:N8v (further excerpts on N8r). A letter from Luther to Stifel (postdating this book) is as tactful as his reply to Lautensack (Luther WA *Briefwechsel*, 6:495–96 no. 2,031 (24 June 1533)). Luther stressed his inability to comprehend Stifel's theories (l. 3–5) and confessed that he expected doomsday at any time and so had no reason to doubt that it could happen on the date forecast by Stifel (ll. 9–10). Later, the Nuremberg-based visionary Johannes Tennhart (1661–1720) wrote that he had considered asking a scholarly theologian for a preface to his book but then decided that he should not conflate divine revelation and human wisdom. After some prayer God dictated him an introduction (Benz, *Vision*, 263).

⁷⁰ Cf. p. 22.

⁷¹ They are copied on an empty page of a non-autograph manuscript (tract γ:B149r). It is not clear where the copyist had found them, most likely they were pasted or copied into the lost autograph by Lautensack that he used as exemplar. They are edited in Luther WA *Briefwechsel*, 6:434–35, 437 no. 2,002 cf. pp. 318–19.

⁷² γ:B149r: "sonst lasse ich euch, vnd wer mehr lust darzu hatt, gerne damit sich erquicken, so viel ihm des daraus, wiederfharen [*sic*] kann" [otherwise I happily let you, and those who have more delight in it, be nourished by it, as much as he may receive from it].

fourth contact,⁷³ when Lautensack asked Luther and his circle both to provide an introduction and to help counter the resistance against printing his tracts. According to his recollection the Wittenberg scholars replied that they never thought or heard of anything similar and therefore had no right to judge about these tracts – but if Lautensack had received these truths it was his duty to spread them.⁷⁴ It is most probable that the painter here misunderstood a polite and somewhat ironic reply as official authorization and hence made the striking claim that he had been called to reveal God's revelation through letters from Luther and Melanchthon.⁷⁵ Whilst

⁷³ The word "heymgesucht" (10a:N28r) could suggest personal visits to Wittenberg, but the distance makes correspondence more likely. This contact is mentioned again in 25:B64v. In a later tract Lautensack recalls having written to Melanchthon about the biblical foundation of the article on the Trinity in the Augsburg Confession. 26:B70r: "Das aber nach dem Augspurgischen Reichstage Jm 30 Jahr Ein Büchlein von den Evangelischen ist ausgegangen / welches genant wird (Confession) darin angestellt die bekentnis ihres glaubens / von den dreyen gotlichen personen / die sie haben also gestelt Als Gott vater / Gott sohn / Gott h gaist welche die bekentnis / nicht mit ihnen halten / die wollen sie sein entschlossen haben Solchen Jnnhalt darauf die bekentnis stehet / furgelegt dem hochgeachten Philippo Melanchthon vnnd ihm angezaigt / wie die bekentnus sich Jn das alte Testament erstreckt wie sich gott darin ist abmahlen Jm andern buch Mose" [That, however, after the Augsburg diet in the 30th year [1530] a booklet was issued by the "Evangelischen," which is called *Confession*, and in which is undertaken the confession of their faith, of the Three Divine Persons, which they have defined as God Father, God Son, God Holy Ghost. They want to have excluded those who do not want to hold this confession with them. Such contents, on which this confession is based, [did I] present to the highly respected Philip Melanchthon and showed him, how this confession stretches out into the Old Testament, how God is depicting Himself in the Second Book of Moses].

⁷⁴ 10a:N28r summarizes the answer Lautensack had received from the Reformers as follows: "So bekennen sye zugleich das Jnen dießer verstant ir lebenlang zu syn vnd mund nye sey kommen / wie sie dan darin solten richter seyn / Die weil in es Gott nit geben / Noch vermeynt hab / So wol es sich auch nit zymmen / das sie es solten verhören / oder annemen. Sonder wem es Gott verliehen hab / der sey auch schuldig solchs darzuthun / vnangesehen Jrer personen halben / wes nachteyls Jnen darauß möcht entspringen. ... vnd es soll auch noch bey dem abschid besten / wes ich zu vor von Jnen entpfangen hab. das ichs fur meyn person soll darthun / vnd zu offenbarn / Als viel ich kan / vnd vermag mitt der hilff Gottes" [So they likewise confess that this understanding has through all their lives never come into their mind nor mouth, how they could be judges in this matter, since God has never given it to them nor intended that. And therefore it would not behoove them to examine or accept it. However, he, to whom God has granted it, has the duty to make it public, without thoughts about his own person, what disadvantage may come out of it. ... And so it shall remain at the final decision, which I have received from them earlier: that I, for my own person, shall make public and reveal as much as I can and I am able with the help of God].

⁷⁵ E.g. 10a:N27r: "So hab ich auch den ordenlichen beruff von den hochgelersten menern zu wittenberg. Als von docktor martino luther / vnd von philippon melangthon mit Jren schriften vnd sigillen wes mir Gott geben vnd verliehen hab / das sol ich darthun mit worten / wercken / vnd gemel / vnd etlich matering Jn truck zu geben" [And so I was properly called by the most learned men in Wittenberg, by Dr. Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon with their writing and seals, that I should present with words, works and images and some diagrams what God has given and granted to me, and shall give some material [perhaps meaning diagrams] to the printer]. Similar 11:g47–48, 25:B64v.

these letters may have boosted Lautensack's self-confidence, a debate with Osiander that supposedly took place at the very beginning of his speculative activity may have been of greater importance for his methodology. The leading Nuremberg theologian told Lautensack that all the truths of the Bible were expressed in clear words and not in images, and that he should leave religious speculations to the professional theologians and rather continue in his profession as a painter.⁷⁶ These words are strikingly similar to Luther's first Preface to the Book of Revelation, which was included in his New Testaments printed between 1522 and 1527 – whether Osiander had quoted his teacher Luther or whether Lautensack had conflated both sets of arguments, is unclear. In this cautiously worded introduction Luther gives several reasons why Revelation should not be regarded as a proper Biblical book. He starts by contrasting its visions with the clear and plain words of the Apostles⁷⁷ and ends by stating that he had no idea about its overall significance. However, he explicitly concedes that this was merely his personal opinion, and that everyone could interpret this Book as he thought right.⁷⁸ Although Lautensack quoted this passage

⁷⁶ 32:1595: "aber des Bilds er kein Gnad noch Wissens einigerley Weiß wollt haben / dann die Apostolisch Lehr [Lehrer?] mit keinem Bildwerck wären umgangen / sondern mit klaren ausgedruckten Worten sie gelehrt und geprediget hätten aus einem Geist und Wort / dabey er auch blieb &c. daß ich aber vermeynt mit diesem Bild weiters in die Schrift zu treiben / die er zuvor wohl wust / so wusten die Kinder auff der Gassen zu sagen von der Heiligen Göttlichen Dreyfaltigkeit / darum ich mit meinem Bilde heim solt dar zu pflegen zu machen / darzu ich beruffen wär / Weib und Kind damit zu ernähren / so blieb er auch bey seinem Beruff mit der heiligen Schrift zu handeln und zu predigen" [But he did not want any grace nor knowledge of any kind of the image because the Apostolic teachers [?] had not dealt with any image but taught and preached with clear explicit words out of one *Spirit* and *Word*, and there he remained, etc. That I believed to deal with this image further in the Holy Writ, which he knew well beforehand – the children in the streets can talk [equally well?] about the holy divine Trinity. Therefore I should go home with my image and there dedicate myself to what I am called to do, in order to feed wife and child with it; and likewise he would stay with his calling to deal with and preach the Holy Scripture]. In 1533 Martin Bucer expressed the hope that Melchior Hoffman would return to his former work as a furrier rather than preach – but this was because of his heretical views, not because he was unlearned and thus not qualified to teach (Bucer, *Deutsche Schriften*, 5:107, ll. 14–16).

⁷⁷ Luther *WA Bibel*, 7:404, ll. 7–10: "das die Apostell nicht mit gesichten vmbgehen, sondern mit klaren vnd durren wortten weyssagen ... denn es auch dem Apostolischen ampt gepurt, klerlich vnd on bild odder gesicht von Christo vnd seynem thun zu reden" [that the Apostles do not deal with visions but prophesy in clear and plain words ... for it is also part of the office of an Apostle to speak clearly and without image or vision of Christ and of His actions]. Karlstadt had criticized this Book for similar reasons, calling it "mit gewulcken der gesicht verdecket" [covered with the clouds of visions], Andres Bodenstein von Carolstadt, *Welche bucher Biblisch seint* (Uittenbergk: [Lotter], 1520, VD 16 B 6,259), C2v.

⁷⁸ Luther *WA Bibel*, 7:404, ll. 1–3: "las ich auch yderman seynes synnes walden, will niemant an meyn dunckel odder vrteyl verpunden haben" [I leave everyone to act according

merely as proof of Luther's failure to understand Revelation⁷⁹ it (or Osiander's comments inspired by it) may well have nurtured his belief that parts of the Bible, especially Revelation, could not be understood by text-focused theologians⁸⁰ but only by painters like himself. Several times Lautensack proclaimed that God had revealed Himself in both texts and images⁸¹ so that the painter could follow his profession by explaining these images while leaving the texts to theologians,⁸² and this may have

to his mind, and I do not want to bind anyone to my thoughts and judgment]. In 1530 Luther composed a new prologue that suggests a very traditional reading of Revelation as foretelling of church history – and he explicitly did so to counter the numerous idiosyncratic interpretations that had been spread around (*ibid.*, 408, ll. 4–15). Curiously, Luther characterizes them with the words “aus jrem Kopff hinein gebrewet” – the same phrase that Lautensack would use some years later to denounce Luther's first preface (10a:N15r, cf. p. 74 n. 155).

⁷⁹ Cf. p. 73 n. 152.

⁸⁰ In 10a:N26v, Lautensack quotes an (unnamed) scholar who claimed that, since anyone could interpret Revelation according to his fancies, this Book deserved no respect – a statement that was probably inspired by Luther's first preface. The painter comments: “das ist auch eyn hohe bekantnus von eynem hochgelarten das kein menschliche vernufft darein sich weyß zu schicken” [also this is an important confession of a highly learned man that no human understanding is able to deal with it].

⁸¹ E.g. 7a:N5r, 10a:N17r: “der sicht auch dareyn geschriben vnd gemalt das gancz götlich weßen” [who sees written and painted into it the whole divine nature], for the context see p. 59 n. 83; N24r: “durch gemel vnd schrift vnd zeugnus der ganczen Bibel / vnd alle creaturen In hymel vnd auff erden” [through image and writing and testimony of the whole Bible, and of all creatures in heaven and earth]; N39v (Fig. 76): “Im buch offenbarung in schriftten vnd gemelweyß werden angezeigt” [are shown in the Book of Revelation in writing and in the manner of painting]; similar N42r; 11:g3, g40. 22:B9r surprisingly speaks of “todten buchstaben vnd sichtbarlichen bildern” [dead letters and visible images], but it is not clear why the letters should be deader than the images since both are used together as sources, so maybe this is a common-place allusion to the concept of the letter that kills in 2 Cor. 3:6.

⁸² 10a:N16r: “Dye weil sich aber dye glerkten / der beder bilder Jnhalt nicht wöllen anmassen / zu örtern. Sonder bey Jrem beruff bleiben / Als / das götlich wort / mundtlich lauter / vnd reyn darczu thun / On alle gesicht vnd bildtwerck / wye dan Christus seynen lieben Jungern befohlen hat / das Ewangellon [*sic*] zu predigen allen creaturen / das dan auch billich vnd recht ist / was solchen befelg nach recht geschicht. Des gleichen bleib ich auch bey dem beruff / darczu mich Gott beruffen hat / Als eyn maler / der mit bilden vmb gehet vnd pflegt / dye zu malen (welchs werck gottis) Auch der malerey / wil gepuren / Solche geheymnis / In den beden bilden / zu eröffnen / Als viell Gott gnad ist verleyhen / dye weyl es dye gelerkten / nit annemen wöllen” [Whilst, however, the scholars do not want to presume to discuss the content of both images but remain at their calling, that is, to present the divine word with their mouths clearly and pure, without any visions or images, as Christ had commanded his beloved disciples to preach the Gospel to all creatures. That is also meet and right, what happens rightly according to such a command. Equally I remain at my calling, for which God has called me: as a painter, who deals with images and is used to paint them (what a work of God). It shall also behoove painting to open such secrets in the *Two Images*, as much as God is giving Grace, whilst the scholars do not want to accept it]. Similar is N26v: “darauff dan meyn beruff gehet das ich mit solchen buchern der bilder bin vmbgehen dye zu handeln vnd zu malen / daran auch meyn Narung ligt / vnd bley [*sic*] eyn maler / vnd laß eyne jeden gelart seyn Nach dem Im Gott verliehen hab / vnd / des

been another reason for his desire to collaborate with scholars. Whereas some passages apparently regard revelations through text and through images as equally important, Lautensack suggested elsewhere a primacy of the image⁸³ or claimed that God had first sent the word through Luther, who acted like a new John the Baptist, and then the full revelation in images through himself.⁸⁴

gleichen lassen sie mich auch bleiben bey dem / was mir Gott geben vnd verliehen hat" [This is then my profession that I work with such books of images, to deal with and to paint them, in that is also my livelihood, and I remain a painter and I let anyone be learned, because God has granted it to him, and likewise they also let me stay with that what God has given and granted to me]. A similar text is in 11:g47.10a:N20r: (beginning in p. 44 n. 33): "Des ich auch wol weyß / das / Als eynem leyhen in solchen hohen sachen / von der gotheyt in der ganczen heyiligen schriefft nit wol zimen wil zu handeln (vnd zu vor auß vor der welt) dye dan allein auff das eusserlich syehet / das eyner nicht hoch gelert / noch das auß außsprechen [sic] habe / wye dan auch diese felhe [sic] an mir nichtigen alle erscheynnen / Darumb ich auch anfenglich / nicht schriefft fur mich hab genommen / damit zu handeln / sonder das (das mir Gott verliehen vnd geben hat auß gnaden) nemlich seyn gotliches bildnus / Jn menschlicher natur / Jnwendig / vnd auß wendig solchs anzudeygen / vnd zu malen" [I am also well aware that it does not behoove a layman to treat such sublime things, about the Godhead in the entire Holy Writ, and especially before the world, which only looks at externals, that someone is not learned nor able to talk; as all these faults appear on me nobody. For that reason I began not with taking Scripture in order to deal with it but rather [taking] that which God has bestowed upon me and given me through grace, to show and to paint His divine image in human nature from the inside and the outside]; similar 25:B64r: "dorauf ich dann bestehe vnnd bleib / als bey meinem beruff / dahin ich auch gewiesen von den gelerten darbey zu bleiben kein ander schrift ich mich auch anmaß zu handeln / dann allein / was mir die 2 bilder Jn der ofenbarung Jesu Christi sind anzeigen" [And at that I steadfastly remain, as at my calling, to which I also have been directed by the scholars, to stay with it, and I do not presume to treat any other Scripture but alone what the *Two Images* in the Revelation of Jesus Christ are displaying].

⁸³ 10a:N17r: "welcher weg alleyn durch das lebendig Buch / zum vater kommen müssen. Von welchem es auch ist / außgangen von Ewigkeit / dareyn auch alle Ausserwelten beschlossen werden / Durch welchs Buch auch eröffnen ist worden / hymel vnd erden / dye dan auch alle czeugen müssen seyn / dem hochwirdigen Buch des lambs / am czrewcz / wer nun des annympt mit lust vnd frewden Jm glauben / der sicht auch dareyn geschriben vnd gemalt das gancz götlich weßen Jn Christo verleibt / darauß auch folgen wirt / das dye malerey aller erst recht vnterricht wird von Christo / wye sye seyn götliches bildnus / vnd was in Jm verleibt zu malen durch dye ganczen Bibel" [[Through] which way alone, through the Living Book, they must come to the Father; from whom it also had gone out before all eternity, wherein all the elect shall be contained. Through which book also heaven and earth have been opened, which also all must be witnesses to the worthy Book of the Lamb on the Cross. Who accepts it with delight and joy in faith, sees written and painted in it the whole divine Being embodied in Christ. From that it must follow that painting becomes before all things the right instruction about Christ, how it paints His divine image and what is embodied in Him throughout the entire Bible].

⁸⁴ 9a:N7v: "Welcher vnser eyniger Gott / vns / nun zugegen stet / Jn eynes Bildts weyß / sich zu offenbaren / ee dan / das werck solt angehen / So hat er vns zu vor her / seyn gotliches wort geschickt / Durch den hochberumbten man / Doktor martinum luther / Als eynen vorläuffer dem herrn / den weg zuzubereyden [continuation in p. 68 n. 130]" [This our one God is now in our presence, in order to reveal Himself in the manner of an image;

Lautensack's belief that God's revelation was at least partially expressed through images gave reason to his third claim to authority – as a trained painter who had made a living with his craft, he was clearly a man “der mit bilden vmb gehet” [who works with images]⁸⁵ and hence qualified to work with God's revelation through images.⁸⁶ Accordingly, he referred to his profession as a divine calling⁸⁷ and praised painting as a particularly noble art and a special gift from God,⁸⁸ which was worthy to reveal His secrets.⁸⁹ Although this bold claim is still far removed from Mannerist and Romantic celebrations of the inspired genius of the artist it is probably unique for early modern Germany. Dürer compared in a manuscript notice from 1512 the painter to God because both were able to continually bring forth new things,⁹⁰ but he remarked at approximately the same time that acquiring *any* skill made man more similar to the all-powerful God.⁹¹ In the version

and before this work shall begin, he has sent to us beforehand His divine word, through the highly famous man Doctor Martin Luther as a precursor, to prepare the way of the Lord [Matt. 3:3]], cf. p. 73.

⁸⁵ Cf. p. 58 n. 82.

⁸⁶ E.g. 25:B64r: “darin dann die geheimnis gottes verfast vnd gestelt sein als Jm bildnis das ich dann annaß als einen maler solcher vnd derselbigen gleichen zu malen pfleg” [therein the secrets of God are ordained and constituted as in the image, which I then claim as a painter [who] is used to paint such or similar things]; 10a:N26v (more fully quoted in p. 58 n. 82) contains the statement “daran auch meyn Narung ligt” [in that is also my livelihood].

⁸⁷ E.g. 26:B69r: “als ein maler darzu ich dann beruffen” [as a painter, for what I am called], similar 10a:N16r, cf. p. 58 n. 82. In Lautensack's time the noun “beruff” meant not only profession but also “calling,” like the modern ‘Berufung,’ *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 3:1,543–45.

⁸⁸ 10a:N20v: “Wye wol dye malerey gar eyn feyne hochberumbte kunst ist / Auch eyn sunderliche gab vnd gnad von Gott / wenn er sye ist verleyhen [continuation in p. 107 n. 293]” [Although painting is a very fine and highly famous skill and a special gift and grace of God, when He is granting it]; similar 12:W4v. Also the iconoclast Martin Bucer called different art forms divine gifts, cf. p. 90 n. 220.

⁸⁹ 10a:N16r: “Auch der malerey / wil gepuren / Solche geheymnis / Jn den beden bilden / zu eröffnen” [It also shall behoove painting to open such secrets in the *Two Images*], for the context cf. p. 58 n. 82.

⁹⁰ Rupprich, *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlaß*, 2:113, ll. 70–75: “dan sy achteten solche reichikeit ein geleich formig geschopff noch got. Dan ein guter maler ist jnwendig voller vigur, vnd obs möglich wer, daz er ewiglich lebte, so het er aws den jnnern jdeen, do van Plato schreibt, albeg ettwas news durch dy werck aws zw gissen” [For they regarded such ingenuity as a similarly-made creature after God. For a good painter is inside full of images, and if it were possible that he lived eternally, so he always would have something new to pour forth from the inner Forms, of which Plato writes, through the works].

⁹¹ Rupprich, *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlaß*, 2:106, ll. 1–3: “Etwas kunen ist gut. Dan dadurch werd wir destmer vergleicht der pildnus gottes, der alle ding kan” [It is good to be able to do something. For through that we are the more assimilated to the image of God, who can do all things]. Elsewhere, Dürer praises those who use their spare time to learn something new, and promises to those willing to teach much grace from God (*ibid.*, 132, ll. 22–29).

of this text that was finally included in the 1528 *Vier bücher von menschlicher Proportion*, creativity is regarded as a gift of God, which is akin to divine help for all skillful people.⁹² Whereas Dürer praised the creativity of a painter without claiming any authority for the resulting works, Lautensack believed that his craft allowed him to give a binding interpretation of the Bible. By contrast, when Dürer participated in religious discussions, he took not the part of a painter but rather of an intelligent citizen. Having been told by Willibald Pirckheimer, probably in a condescending manner, that his view on the Eucharist was so absurd that it could not be depicted, Dürer retorted that Pirckheimer's own concept could not even be properly expressed in words.⁹³ Although many of the craftsmen-pamphleteers from the 1520s mentioned their craft on the title-pages and very occasionally alluded to them in the text,⁹⁴ none of them used it to lend weight to his arguments. However, a century later the dissenter Friedrich Gifftheil (1595–1661) claimed that he as a surgeon studied the nature of man and was hence competent to comment also on the soul.⁹⁵

⁹² It forms part of the so-called aesthetical excursus. Rupprich, *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlaß*, 3:291, §11, ll. 81–90: "Der halb so eim menschen vil hundert jar zu leben verlihen wirdet, der sich solcher kunst schickerlich brauchte, vnd darzu genaturt, der wirdet durch die kraft, die Gott dem menschen geben hat, alle tag vil newer gestalt der menschen vnd andrer creaturen auß zu giessen vnd zu machen haben, das man for nit gesehen noch ein ander gedacht het. Darumb gibt Gott den künstreichen menschen in solchem vnd andern vil gewaltz" [Therefore, if such a man were granted to live many hundred years, who fittingly used such craft, and is suitable [?, genaturt] for it, he will be able, through the power that God has given to man [or: this man], to pour out and to make every day many new shapes of men and other creatures, as have not been seen before, nor anyone else has thought about. Therefore God gives to the skillful man in this and other things much power]. The contemporary Latin version links the elements differently: "animus artificum simulacris est refertus, quae omnia incognita prius cum humanis tum aliarum rerum effectionibus, indies [sic] prolaturus sit, si cum forte multorum seculorum vita, et ingenium ac studium artis huius usque divinitus contigerit. Divino enim beneficio periti cum huius tum aliarum artium plurimum possunt" (Rupprich, *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlaß*, 3:300, § 11, ll. 72–79); here long life, ingenium, study and use of the arts are equally given from above. For this development see Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943), 280–81.

⁹³ Rupprich, *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlaß*, 1:306, ll. 14–16: "Non ... pingi ista possunt" – "At ista ... quae tu adfers, nec dici quidem nec animo concipi possunt;" for the background see Heinrich Lutz, "Albrecht Dürer und die Reformation: Offene Fragen," in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae zu Ehren von Leo Bruhns* †, Franz Graf Wolff Metternich, Ludwig Schudt (Munich: Schroll, 1961), 176–77.

⁹⁴ Vtz Reyckßner, *Ain gesprech büchlin / von ainem Weber | vnd ainem Kramer uber das Büchlin Doctoris | Mathie Kretz von der haimlichen Beycht* ([Augsburg: Stayner], 1524, VD 16 R 2,212), was written by a weaver, and a weaver is also the main protagonist. However, his profession plays no role for his argument.

⁹⁵ Fritz, "Friedrich Gifftheil," 93–94. Later, Gifftheil reminded the consistory that the Prophets and Apostles were also no trained theologians either.

It is one of the puzzling features of Lautensack's language that for him 'image' and related terms did not only denote the drawings or diagrams he produced, nor the visions contained in the Book of Apocalypse. Rather, he used them in a vague, metaphorical sense. Bible and firmament are self-portraits by God that cannot be understood or judged according to their artistic merits like other images. They had been inaccessible to human wisdom⁹⁶ but have recently been made manifest to all mankind⁹⁷ – and in some way the skills of the painter Lautensack had been essential for this revelation.

In his tracts Lautensack used numerous metaphors relating to his craft: composites of the verb "malen" [to paint], chiefly "abmalen" [to depict] and less often "fürmalen" [maybe: to depict in order to show to someone], refer to God painting Himself in the Scriptures⁹⁸ or on the

⁹⁶ E.g. 10a:N20v: "Darumb auch dye weyßheit der menschen nit sol stehen / in dem euserlichen ansehen der bilder Christi / wye man bißher / vnd noch ist pflegen / vnd dye auch hoch ist achten / vnd zu vorauß welche kunstlich gemacht sint. Sonder in der Jnerlichen erkantnus / do ligte dye eynige höchste kunst vnd weyßheit an / wem Gott solche gab vnd gnad ist verleyhen / der hat Gott woll zudancken" [Therefore human wisdom shall not be based on the exterior beholding of the images of Christ, as one has been used to do and still is, and on respecting those highly that are skillfully made; but on internal understanding, there lies the one highest skill and wisdom; he, upon whom God bestows such gift and grace, has well reason to thank God], cf. also p. 59 n. 83.

⁹⁷ E.g. 10a:N19r: "So man nun der welt weyders das eynige geheymnis Christi ist anczeygen / welchs dan / das wort des vaters das do fleisch ist worden / genent eyn Sûn gottes. vnd der eynige punckt in welchem alles beschlossen ist / nachmals / das eynnige Buch des lebens geheissen wirt / vnd auch das ebenbild seynes weßen / welchs bildnus / Nun meniglich vor augen [19v] stet / So man solch herlich bildnus der welt ist czeygen vnd offenbaren / So wil sie das weder wissen noch horen" [When one is now showing to the world furthermore the only secret of Christ, which is then the Word of the Father that became incarnate and is called a Son of God, and the only point in which everything is completed and is later named the only Book of Life, and also the exact image of His being [cf. Heb. 1:3, see p. 238]. This image is now placed before the eyes of many. When one shows and reveals such a glorious image to the world it neither wants to know nor to hear about it].

⁹⁸ E.g. 5a:A1v: "durch das Alphabet des heyligen Geyst daryn dan abgemalt ist das ganz götlich weßen in Christo" [through the alphabet of the Holy Ghost is therein then depicted the entire divine nature of Christ]; 9a:N7v: "So man den / sûn / gottes Jn eygner person / Jn eynes bildes weyß wye / in dan der heylig Geyst / hat abgemalet / vnd vns allen fur augen / in der heyligen gschrift / gestelt / vnd geczeygt wird. Als vnsern Eynigen Gott" [So one has the Son of God in His very person in the manner of an image, as the Holy Ghost has depicted Him and as He is placed and shown before the eyes of all of us in the Holy Scripture]; 10a:N45v: "Also werden dye drey Gotlich personen Jm wort auch ersehen vnd abgemalt in der schrift Eyn jede nach Jrer art vnd eygenschaft / wie sie sich darinnen zu erkennen geben" [thus the three divine Persons in the Word are also seen and depicted in the Scripture, each in its nature and properties, as they reveal Themselves in it]; 13a:B114v: "so werden sie dannoch solchs nicht erraten / wie vns dann christus ist fürmalen / ohne alles bucher schreibens" [so they will nevertheless not guess that, how Christ is depicting for us, without any writing of books]; 35:t4: "dann als viel vns die heilig Schrift ist fürmahlen" [for as much as the Holy Writ is depicting for us].

firmament;⁹⁹ and in this work He surpasses even Apelles.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, revelation happens “in Bild weyß” [in the manner of an image] or “in gemel weyß” [in the manner of a painting].¹⁰¹ Less common are the words “abconterfeyen” [to portray], which is used in a similar way but more often relates to actual images in diagrams,¹⁰² and “vigur” [figure], which denotes an Old-Testament type.¹⁰³ The painter also warns against seeing his ‘Spirits’

⁹⁹ 9a:N11v: “den zeygen dye vns Gott hat fur gestelt vnd abgemalet an dem firmament / wye dan angecezeigt ist / Als drey Comedstern ...” [the signs which God has presented and depicted at the firmament, as is then shown, so three comets ...], cf. pp. 158, 240–49.

¹⁰⁰ 23a:Mm18r: “Gleichwohl last Er sich fassen begreifen sehen in seinen Wortten vnd Wercken, in denen er sich dan malt viel besser vnd künstlicher, dan Apelles der kunstliche Mahler selbst, abconterfeyet hatte.” [Nevertheless He allows Himself to be comprised, touched [or understood] and seen in His words and works, in which He paints himself much more beautifully and skillfully than Apelles, the skilled painter himself, did portray]. When complaining that the faithful were venerating images of Christ whilst neglecting the Bible, Erasmus of Rotterdam called the biblical text a portrait of Christ surpassing any work by Apelles (cf. pp. 82–83 n. 178). By this time, Apelles was commonly known as famous painter of Antiquity (the Nuremberg chronicle praises Giotto as his equal, Hartmann Schedel, [*Nuremberg Chronicle*] (Nürnberg: Koberger, 1493, GW M 40.796), 87r; and he is called “kostlich Maler” in a woodcut by Peter Flötner, from before 1534 (Jean Michel Massing, *Du Texte à l’Image: La Calomnie d’Apelle et son Iconographie* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 1990), 318–21; no. 13.F, Geisberg 819–20; Hollstein, 8:125, H. 29, for this *topos* see Erwin Panofsky, “Erasmus and the Visual Arts,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 223 n. 72).

¹⁰¹ E.g. 7a:N1r–v: “durch personen der nun drey vnterschiedlich sint angezeygt. vnd offenbar in Bild weyß wye sie sich dan selbst haben angecezeigt” [through persons, three of which are now shown as different, and revealed in the manner of an image like as They had shown Themselves]; 9a:N13r: “dye weyl er sich vns ist offenbaren Jn personlicher weys Jn bildes gestalt” [whilst He is revealing Himself to us in the manner of a person in the shape of an image]; 10a:N20v: “Auch durch gemel weyß angecezeigt ist / on allen won von den den [*sic*] menschen / vnd also gemäß vnd warhafftig Als Gott selbst.” [also shown in the manner of a painting, without any imagination of men, and thus as fitting and truthfully as God Himself].

¹⁰² This word does not appear in the autograph tracts and thus may have entered Lautensack’s vocabulary late; since it is found in different manuscripts and tracts it was probably not introduced by a copyist. e.g. 11:g6: “das einig Bildtnus Christi / im anfang der Offenbarung stehet in jhm verleibt seindt / welches Bildt auch abconterfeyt ist / bey dem Gnadenstuel als der geist vnd das Wort / bey den zweyen Cherubin / auff dem Gnadenstuel schwebendt” [the unique image of Christ at the beginning of Revelation is embodied in him; which image is also portrayed at the Mercy Seat [of the Ark of Covenant, cf. p. 181 n. 66] as the *Spirit* and the *Word* at the two Cherubim, hovering above the Mercy Seat].

¹⁰³ 9a:N7v: “Das werden vns dise zwey / bilder bezeugen / dye do sten / als die zwo seullen / dye Salomon lies / auffrichten / dadurch vigurirt wirt Jhesum Christum / da wider dye gancz welt ist anläuffen” [These *Two Images* will testify this for us, which stand there, as the two columns which Solomon had erected, through that is figured Christ, whom the entire world is attacking], cf. p. 217; 10a:N22r: “der dan 77 sind dye auß dem Sün .Seth sint entspringen / der dan eyn schöne vigur ist / des sün Gottis / welcher vns also furgemalt ist” [of whom there are then 77 [Ancestors] who originated from the son Seth, who is a beautiful figure of the Son of God, who is thus painted before us]; 10a:N29r: “welche funff wunden vns vigurirt sind bey dem schloß Salomonis durch die funff dor” [which five wounds are

as doves or angels in paintings.¹⁰⁴ Other metaphors are not related to God's revelation but rather to Lautensack's method of work. We have already read about Lautensack's hope that theologians might decorate his charcoal sketches with paint, silver and gold, that is, with Scripture, especially where it deals with God and Man;¹⁰⁵ and in the following passage he compared the incarnate Christ to the most perfect painting.¹⁰⁶

Although these metaphors could point to Lautensack's craft – either as reminders of his professional expertise, or merely as jargon he was familiar with – they were not uncommon at this time.¹⁰⁷ Erasmus, for instance, had called the Gospels a much better image of Christ than all works by artists (cf. pp. 82–83 n. 178). Luther also used them regularly, especially in his sermons.¹⁰⁸ He stated, for instance, that God had described and

figured for us at the palace of Solomon through the five gates.] The "schloß" is the House of the Forest of Lebanon, cf. p. 217. This word is used in the same way by Luther; e.g. Luther WA, 8:9, ll. 26–27 (from 1521): "unnd hebt mit der alten figur an, da von gesagt ist, daß gott die kinder von Jsrael außfirt auß Aegypten durch die wusten" [and begins with the old figure where it is said that God led the children of Israel out of Egypt through the desert]; Luther WA, 17/2:469, ll. 1–2 (Sermon for St Anne's day, 1527): "so klerlich figurirt und bedeütet ist der gesalbte, den das heüttige Euangelion abmalett" [so [through the promises given to Abraham] is the Messiah clearly figured and signified, whom today's Gospel depicts].

¹⁰⁴ 22:Bu9r: "vnnd must aber auch hie das wort Geister also nicht verstehen, als were es tauben oder engel, wie man sie mitt grünen flugeln mallet, sondern es sind sundere Artt krefte" [and you must not understand here the word "Spirits" thus as if it were doves or angels, as one paints them with green wings, but they are a special type of powers]. Similarly, Luther doubted that Hell was a separate place as usually taught ("wie die maler malen und die bauch diener predigen" [as the painters paint and the servants of the stomach preach], *Der Prophet Jona, ausgelegt*, 1526, Luther WA, 19:225, l. 14). For Lautensack's understanding of Spirits cf. p. 151.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. p. 54 n. 66.

¹⁰⁶ 10a:N27r: "Als wen man eyn schön bildnus wil malen Auff das allerzierligst / An welchem nichts mangeln soll / So ist es sich alles feyn selbst erfottern sein notturfft / was Jm zustentig ist / des vnd kein anders / nachmals wirt offentbarlich Jm geist ersehen vnd erkant Jn dem Eben bild des sün Gottes / was der vater fur eynen hohen vnd wunderbaren ferstentigen Geyst inhab [?]" [As when one wants to paint a beautiful picture in the most decorative way, which shall lack nothing, then it will well demand by itself all that it needs, what is fitting for it, that and nothing else; and again it is openly seen and in the spirit recognized, in the image of the Son of God, what high, wonderful and understanding spirit the Father has]. For Luther's different approach cf. p. 89 n. 214.

¹⁰⁷ Several metaphorical uses of "abmalen" are documented in *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 1:247–48, and of "malen" in *ibid.*, 9:1,663–68. This dictionary does not yet cover the letter F.

¹⁰⁸ Many examples in Hermann Steinlein, "Luthers Anlage zur Bildhaftigkeit" *Luther-Jahrbuch* 22 (1940): 9–45, and Friedhelm Wilhelm Kantzenbach, "Bild und Wort bei Luther und in der Sprache der Frömmigkeit," *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 16 (1974): 57–74.

portrayed Himself in nature¹⁰⁹ and once admonished the faithful to memorize biblical verses in which Christ had depicted Himself¹¹⁰ – just after complaining that the pope had overpainted Christ with a horrible black so that the Redeemer caused more fear than Satan.¹¹¹ Other biblical passages were praised as good portraits.¹¹² In an early work the Reformer had compared God's punishment of the old Adam to form the new man with a sculptor chopping away unwanted blocks.¹¹³

Of two known painters who published pamphlets in the early Reformation period, the Nuremberg master Hans Greyffenberger virtually never alluded to his profession, not even on the title-pages of his tracts.¹¹⁴ Heinrich Vogtherr (1490–1556) compared a Christian doing good works to a brush producing fine paintings when guided by the hand of the artist.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ Luther WA, 48:201, a handwritten dedication from 1546: "Creatura tota est pulcherrimus liber seu biblia, in quibus Deus sese descripsit et depinxit."

¹¹⁰ Luther WA, 47:276, ll. 11–14, from 1537: "Darumb so sollen wir diese spruche wohl innen haben, do Christus sich selbst abmahlet" [Therefore we should well keep in our hearts these sentences, in which Christ is depicting Himself].

¹¹¹ Luther WA, 47:275, l. 41 – 276, l. 2: "Also gahr hat uns der vertzweiffelte Bapst unsern lieben Heiland Jhesum Christum aus den augen gerissen und weg gethan und seine freund[p. 276]liche und liebliche farbe mit einer greulichen schwartzen farbe bestrichen, das man sich fur ihme mehr dan fur dem leidigen Teuffel gefurcht hat" [And so the desperate pope has fully torn our dear savior Jesus Christ away from our eyes, removed Him and overpainted His friendly and loveable color with a horrible black color so that one feared Him more than the loathsome devil].

¹¹² Luther WA, 45:194 no. 38, ll. 24–26 (Sermon for the 22nd Sunday after Trinity, 28 October 1537): "In hac Epistola pingitur et ipse pictor ein recht konterfet [*sic*], wie ein recht Christlich hertz gestalt sey" [In this Epistle it is painted, and He Himself is the painter, a good portrait, what the shape of a true Christian heart is]; *ibid.*, 27 no. 5, ll. 26–29 (Sermon for the first Sunday of Lent, 18 February 1537): "Denn hie ist der Teuffel gemahlet mit allen seinen farben, und ist jnn der person Christi hie fürgebildet nicht allein, was ein jglicher Christ ... leiden müsse" [For here the devil is painted in all his colors, and in the person of Christ it is shown [or: sculpted] not only, what every Christian ... has to suffer].

¹¹³ Luther WA, 1:208, ll. 27–30 (from 1517): "gleich wie ein bildmacher, eben yn dem er weg nymet und hawet, was am holtz tzum bilde nit fall, yn dem furdert er auch die form des bildes. Also yn der furcht, die denn [*sic*] alten Adam abhewet, wechst die hoffnung, die den neuen menschen format" [like a sculptor, who exactly by taking away and chopping off what of the wood does not belong to the statue, furthers the shape of the statue, so by the fear, which chops off the old Adam, the hope grows, which forms the new man].

¹¹⁴ The only reference to painting is in Hanns Greyffenberger, *Die welt sagt sy sehe | kain besserung vonn den / | die sy Luterisch nennet | was besserung sey / | ein wenig hierin | begriffen* ([Nuremberg: Gutknecht], 1523, VD 16 G 3,163), 3rd leaf, v. Here, Greyffenberger criticizes artists who, after the collapse of the market for saints, began depicting whores and rogues (see p. 100 n. 266). For his prosecution for heresy cf. p. 32.

¹¹⁵ [Heinrich Vogtherr], *Ain christlich | büchlin, wie man sych | inn gütten wercken halten | vnd | wem man sy zuschreiben sol | ain nützlich ermanung. | H Satrapitanus. P.* ([Augsburg: Ramminger], 1523, VD 16 V 2,176), A4v: "Wann so ain kunstreicher maler etwas malet / So maldt oder macht nit der benßel auß aiger nattur oder vermügen. Sonder der werckman würckt vnd zwingte den bennßel auß der gewalttigen hannd vnnd wyssens der kunnst

Besides, some texts attributed to him have commonplace references to painting.¹¹⁶

II. Lautensack and the Reformation

We have seen that Lautensack was, despite the eccentric nature of his diagrams, eager to engage with Luther and other luminaries of the Protestant movement. He also frequently referred to the dramatic events of the Reformation that he had witnessed several years before he started compiling his tracts.

Lautensack quoted few core texts of the Reformation.¹¹⁷ Most important is the German Bible with its prologues¹¹⁸ – the painter used different German editions, most of them following Luther's translation.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, one finds references to local versions of Luther's catechisms,

dahyn er in habenn will. Vnnd so bald die würcklichait des maisters höret / so heret auch der pensel vnnd vermag / noch kan nit meer würcken vnnd leeg er Tausent jar bey den farben / so nun das gemel durch oder mit dem bessel auff daß best vnd künstlichst gemalet ist / so wirt nit die grosse kunst vnd subttile des gemels dem benßel Sonder dem mayster der solliches auß seyner kunst durch den bessel volendet vnd gemalet hatt / haymgeschetzett." [When such a skillful painter paints something, the brush does not paint nor act through its own nature or power, but the worker works and forces the brush through his powerful hand and his knowledge of the skill, where he wants it. And as soon as the master stops working, so stops also the brush and cannot work any longer, even if it were lying next to the paints for thousand years. When a painting is done best and most skillfully through or with the brush, the great skill and subtlety of the painting is not attributed to the brush but to the master who has completed and painted this with his skill through the brush].

¹¹⁶ During the last decades several tracts published under pseudonyms have been attributed more or less convincingly to Vogtherr. Amongst them, Hainricus Spelt, *Ain ware Decla|ration oder Erklärung der | Profession, Gelübten und le|ben* ([Augsburg: Steiner], 1523, VD 16 S 8,209), Giv, speaks of the "schön / weyß grab / der gemalten Gaystlichait" [the beautiful, white tomb of the painted [probably in the sense of hypocritical] clergy], cf. Matt. 23:27, comparing Pharisees to whitewashed tombs. Heinrich Scharpf, *Ain grymme / grosse | ketten / darzü die hert gefäncknuß / über die kinder | Gottes auffgericht / seynd zû trymer gangen vnd zerryssen* ([Augsburg: Steiner], 1524, VD 16 K 120), A3v, has "Wye Christus der herr / vnser gaystlich hirten schön abmalet vnd jr suchen in Christo außstreycht" [how Christ the Lord here nicely depicts our spiritual pastors and paints their search in Christ], and Haynricus Spelt, *Der Ainfeltig glaub* ([Augsburg: Steiner], 1524, VD 16 S 8,207), c2v: "Auch vns Paulus vorgemalet hat in der andern Epistel zû den Thessalo." [as Paul has painted for us in 2 Thess.].

¹¹⁷ By contrast, Ginzburg's Menocchio referred to a number of devotional, historical and entertaining books (Carlo Ginzburg, *Il Formaggio e i vermi: Il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500* (Turin: Einaudi, 1976), 35–36).

¹¹⁸ The only prologue Lautensack regularly quotes is Luther's first prologue on Revelation (cf. pp. 57, 73).

¹¹⁹ For the different Bible editions used by Lautensack cf. pp. 120–25.

his *Kirchenpostille* (commentaries on the Bible readings for each Sunday)¹²⁰ and the Augsburg Confession, the definitive statement of Protestant doctrine.¹²¹ Besides Luther, the only reformer who appears with name is Philip Melanchthon, but he is only mentioned in connection with the letters sent between Lautensack and the Wittenberg theologians.¹²² Michael Stifel is, by contrast, never mentioned by name, but, as we have seen, Lautensack quoted the preface to his 1532 *Rechen Büchlin* as encouragement of his own writing. Furthermore, Lautensack's claim that it was now the time for the full truth to be revealed was derived from two chronographs proposed by Stifel. Interestingly, by then only one of them had been published – Lautensack may or may not have learned about the other through direct contact with Stifel.¹²³

An erudite preface to one of his tracts celebrates the new humanist learning and Luther's Reformation. Since its tone is alien to Lautensack's other writings, it was probably copied from an (unknown) book, and it apparently had no further influence on the painter.¹²⁴ Some drawings indicate that he was familiar with the most famous doctrinal image of Lutheranism, the so-called *Gesetz und Gnade* composition.¹²⁵ However, he showed virtually no interest in the key issue of Luther's Reformation, individual salvation through Faith alone and not through good works – Lautensack's use of the words "Gnad" [grace] and "Glawb" [faith] hardly reflects Lutheran concepts,¹²⁶ and one remark suggests that not Faith but

¹²⁰ From these catechisms he quoted the Credo, cf. p. 194, for the *Kirchenpostille* cf. p. 69 n. 131.

¹²¹ Cf. p. 56 n. 73 and p. 68 n. 130.

¹²² Cf. pp. 55–56.

¹²³ Cf. p. 49 n. 49 and p. 55 n. 69.

¹²⁴ 22:B116v–117v. This text praises the revival of classical languages, historiography and astronomy, and especially that the formerly despised and unregulated German language had been raised high enough for a translation of the Bible – a sign that God had special plans with the Holy Roman Empire. For another quotation from this text cf. p. 71 n. 137.

¹²⁵ Cf. p. 225.

¹²⁶ Of the over thirty occurrences of the word "Gnade" in manuscript N, 17 speak of the "Gnadenstuhl" [mercy seat] of the Tabernacle (cf. p. 181 n. 66), and 12 of the role of God's grace in revealing His secrets through Lautensack. Also "Glaube" and "glauben" denote the action of holding something for true (e.g. 7a:N3r: "welche / dem wort glaube sint geben," [who give belief to the Word]) or a system of doctrine (10a:N30r: "Andere gemeyn zu trösten vnd zu stercken In eynem warhafftigen Christlichen glauben," [to comfort and strengthen other communities in a true Christian Faith]), not Luther's salvific Faith. 41:B126r, contains a list of key Reformation terms like "Gesetze," "gutte werck," "Euangelium," "glaube," "Gerechtigkait," but this could well be an addition of a late 16th-century copyist.

the right understanding of the Living Book (i.e. Christ, as 'depicted' in the Bible) was necessary for salvation.¹²⁷

Apparently, only one aspect of Reformation theology was of real importance to Lautensack, the principle of *sola scriptura*, the belief that all of Christianity had to be based on the word of the Bible, and that all other doctrine was nothing but human figments. This emphasis was not uncommon amongst lay authors; for Dürer, Luther had liberated the Christians from human laws and from the greed of the papacy,¹²⁸ and according to Vogtherr he had pitted the Scripture against the hypocrisy of pope and clergy.¹²⁹ Although the anti-papal sentiment is missing from Lautensack's texts (probably because for him the papacy was no longer the main adversary), he still describes the word as a mighty power that vanquishes all human doctrine.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ 10a:N23v: "Jn Summa / wer eyndmal das warhafftige lebendige buch hat geschmacket vnd gekost / was fur sussigkeit vnd freud dar in [?] verfast ist / der gewind ye eynd gut sichers froliches gewissen Jn Gott / wan do ist er ye versichert mit Gott seynen hern vnd schöffer. Also gewiß vnd sicher das Jm alle teuffel Jn abgrunt der hellen. vnd auch dye ganzte welt nichts nit mögen abbringen von Christo dan er hat alles was Gottes ist vnd was geschaffen vnd gemacht ist durch Jn" [Altogether, who has once tasted and tried the true Living Book, what sweetness and joy is constituted in it, he gains a good, secure and happy conscience in God, for there he is assured of God his Lord and creator so surely and securely that all devils in the pit of Hell and the entire world will not be able to push him away from Christ, for he has everything what is of God and what is created and made through Him]; N28v: "wie dan paulus sacht / das vnsser Gott getrew sey welcher vnsser gewissen in seynen offenbarung werd verversichern [*sic*] das wir vnstrefflich werden seyn / auff den tag des gericht." [as Paul says that our God is faithful [cf. 1 Cor. 10:13 and other passages], who shall assure our conscience in His revelation so that we shall be unblemished at the day of judgment].

¹²⁸ These comments, made upon hearing news of Luther's supposed arrest in May 1521, come from the diary of his journey to the Netherlands and were not intended as public statements; Rupprich, *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlaß*, 1:170–72, ll. 1–132. In an earlier letter to Georg Spalatin Dürer expressed his gratitude that Luther had helped him out of great distress (January or February 1520, *ibid.*, 86, ll. 19–23).

¹²⁹ [Heinrich Vogtherr], *Ain Cristliche | anred vnnd ermanung / | sich vor den grossen Lutherischenn | schreyern vnd Cantzel schendern zû ver-|hütten ... Haynricus Satrapitanus Pictor* ([Augsburg: Steiner], 1524, VD 16 V 2,175), A2r.

¹³⁰ 9a:N7v: [for the preceding sentences see p. 59 n. 84] "Welchs wort / gotts / dan auch scharff vnd rauch ist / wider alles das / im zugegen ist. Sonder / es raumbt / vnd thut hynweg auß dem weg / Alles das im zu wider ist leben Als menschen gepot vnd satzungen dye wider gott sint. Da wider legt sich auch dye ganzt welt / vnd zurnet / das ir thun vnd weyßheyt / so gar vor Gott nichts sol gelten / So bestet dennoch / noch das gotlich wort / mit seynem furhaben / darzu es dan gesand ist. vnd festiglich streyt / vnd kempfft wider seyne feinde. vnd gewaltiglich auch bestanden ist Auff dem reychstag zu Außspurgk / Jm dreysichgsten Jar vor der ganzen gemeyn / vnd sunderlich vor den widersachern" [Which word of God is then sharp and rough against everything that is contrary to it. It clears and removes from the way all that what lives against it, as human commandments and rules that are against God. The entire world places itself against it and begrudges that its actions and wisdom do not count anything before God. Nevertheless, the divine Word wins with its intention, for which it had been sent, and strenuously battles and fights against its

However, the process of the Reformation was not yet complete. Many works of human writing had indeed disappeared, and the Bible, which had (according to Lautensack's words) been hidden for a long time under the bench, had come forward. But now God's word was in danger of being overshadowed once again by the words of men, this time by the books of the Reformation theologians. Whereas Lautensack once expressed the hope that these texts would only be needed for a short time, until the faithful had become accustomed to the pure word of the Bible,¹³¹ he

enemies, and has won mightily at the Diet of Augsburg, in the thirtieth year, before all the congregation and especially before its enemies].

¹³¹ 10a:N25r: "haben nun dye Apostel mit Jrer leer dye ganczen welt damit erleucht vnd zum Christlichen glauben / Dadurch gebracht Auch. ir leib vnd leben darob gelassen / Solt mans billich bey dem ersten vrsprung haben lassen bleyben / wer hat dye Bibel verfinstert das sie eyn lange zeyt vnder der penck ist gelegen / das ir nyemant mer hat geacht wye dan dye yczigen lerer anczeygen / Nyemants anders dan der alten [?] lerer mit iren schreyben / dye gancz welt damit erfult hetten dye zu diesen zeytten das merer teyl sint vntergangen / villeycht wurd es mit der zeyt mit den Newen buchern auch geschehen worauff solten nochmals dye gewissen besten / das dan gancz ferlich ist / wen eynem das zilmas wurd verruckt. darumb auch Christus so hart verpeut nichts darczu Noch dafon zu thun bey verlirung der seylikkeyt / vnd anders. wie auch martinus anczeygt / das sein schriff nitß anders sey / dan eyn gerüst zu paw / So dan der verpracht wirt / thut man darnach der gerust wider ab / Also sey sein meynung / der heyligen schriff zu gemanen / So wir dohinnein geleyd vnd gepracht wurden. Als dan wolt er wunschen / das seyn / vnd Aller lerer schriff zu grunt vnd boden giengen dan sie eynem Christen ... mer hynterlich dan Futterlich wern / darumb hynneyn hynneyn lieben Christen (spricht er) dan eyn wort gottis ist so reylich Jm geyst verfast das es aller menschen vernufft vbertrifft. daß dan gnugßam bekant ist." [[Since] the Apostles have enlightened the entire world with their doctrine and so brought it to the Christian faith, and by doing so they lost their life and limb. One should fittingly have left it at the first beginning; who has obscured the Bible so that it had been lying for a long time under the bench? That no-one had respected it, as the current teachers demonstrate? No-one else than the teachers of the old with their writing, who had filled all the world with it, but in this time their larger part has disappeared [thanks to the Reformation]. Maybe this will in time also happen to the new books, on which once again the consciences are supposed to be based; what is very dangerous, when the aim [or target?] is moved. Therefore Christ also forbids strictly adding or removing anything, at pain of losing salvation [cf. Rev. 22:18–19], and similarly [elsewhere]. Likewise Martinus [Luther] shows that his writing is nothing but the scaffolding for a building. When it is complete, one afterwards removes the scaffolding. Similarly his intention is to admonish us of the Holy Writ, so that we are led and brought to it, and so he would wish that the writing of his and of all teachers would perish rather than being a hindrance instead of a help for a Christian ... Therefore, come in, come in, dear Christians (says he), for one word of God is so richly written in the Spirit that it is above the understanding of all men, as is sufficiently known.] Here, Lautensack alluded to the concluding remarks of the 1522 *Kirchenpostille* Luther WA, 10/1:1:728, ll. 17–19: "Wer dahyn kund on glosiern und außlegen kommen, dem weren meyn und allen menschen glosiern gar keyn nott, ja, nur hynderlich. Darumb hynneyn, hynneyn, liben Christen, und last meyn und aller lerer außlegen nur eyn gerust seyn zum rechten baw" [Who can arrive there without glossing and interpreting, for whom the glosses by me and by all other men are not necessary, even a mere obstacle. Therefore come in, come in, dear Christians, and let the interpretations of me and all teachers only be a scaffolding for the proper edifice].

elsewhere feared that the old human doctrine would merely be replaced by new human doctrine. Supposedly, a Doctor of Divinity had confided in him that most of the new preachers in Nuremberg lacked the Spirit of the Gospel and merely regurgitated what Luther had written.¹³² As we have seen, the painter dismissed objections against his revelations as products of human vanity raging against God's word.¹³³

Therefore, Lautensack regarded the Reformation as an unfinished enterprise. He gratefully recalled that Luther had exposed human blindness and ignorance – a deed that could not receive enough praise¹³⁴ – yet the liberation from this state was only partial,¹³⁵ like being enabled to see with one eye.¹³⁶ The chaos and divisions caused by the Reformation were a further clear sign that the fullness of truth, Lautensack's understanding of the hidden structure of the Bible, was still unknown and therefore many human opinions were opposing each other.¹³⁷ Although his tracts were

¹³² 10a:N24v: "So hat mir eyn dockter der schrifft Jn dieser stat Nurenberg eyns angezeigt Jn gutem vertrauen / vnd gesacht. wir heissen all gut Ewangelisch prediger. Aber vnder zehen nit eyner / der do den Ewangelischen geist het. Sonder sye predigen allein dem guten man martino nach / wye er vns ist fur schreyben dem selbigen verstan nach / thun / sie ire predig nach" [So a doctor of the Scriptures in this town of Nuremberg once informed me confidentially, saying: We are all called good Protestant ["Ewangelisch"] preachers. But amongst ten there is not one that has the spirit of the Gospel ["Ewangelischen geist"], but they only preach according to the good man Martinus, how he is prescribing it, in that manner they follow in their sermon]. This doctor continued by comparing human efforts to explain the Scriptures to cleaning gold with excrements (N25r).

¹³³ Cf. p. 50 n. 53.

¹³⁴ 9a:N9v [this text comes from a lengthy comparison between Luther's work and the *Aspects of the Trinity*, cf. pp. 76–79]: "hat nu docter martinus luther / mit seyнем eusserlichen / matterlichen buch / Also groß thun / außgericht / Jn Der ganczen welt / dafon man nicht genußam [*sic*] kan sagen / noch schreyben / sein wolthat / die er der welt dadurch erczeigt hat / durch sein buch / welchs / er hat lassen offenbaren Jn was blintheyt vnd vnwissentheyt sye gesteckt vnd gelegen seyn vor Gott" [If Doctor Martinus Luther has now wrought with his exterior, material book such great deeds in the whole world that one cannot sufficiently speak or write about the benefit, which he has thus shown to the world, through his book, [in] which he had revealed in what blindness and ignorance before God they had been stuck and placed].

¹³⁵ 10a:N61r comments on Luther's work: "Jn was vnwissentheit wir sint gelegen / darauß wir zum teil erlediget sint worden." [in what ignorance we have been, from which we have been partially liberated, continuation in pp. 70–71 n. 137].

¹³⁶ Cf. p. 72 n. 144.

¹³⁷ 10a:N61r: "was aber noch fur spaltung Jn der ganczen welt ist / das ist auch menigklichen bekant / darauß auch folgt / das wir alle zugleych Noch Nicht in warer erkantnus gegen Gott zu fride sint / das ist vns Jhesus Christus mit Jrem werck gewaltigklich vberzeugen. Darumb es auch nicht muglich ist das frid vnd eyngikeit mag sein / vnd zu vorauß die weil wir das werck des heyiligen Geyst also sint verachten / vnd in wind zw schlagen." [But it is generally known what a division still is in the whole world, and thence it follows that we all together are not yet in peace with God through the true understanding; Jesus Christ is demonstrating that strongly through their work [i.e. He shows through the quarrels of the religious parties that they do not have the truth]. And therefore it is also impossible

clearly written for a Lutheran audience¹³⁸ the painter felt little loyalty to what had become a more or less well-defined Lutheran denomination by the 1530s. He soon gave up the anti-Catholic polemic of his early tracts¹³⁹ and compared the Lutherans who rejected his revelations to the Papists who were unwilling to listen to the Scriptures – both groups were equally guilty of putting human authority and wisdom in the place of God's truth.¹⁴⁰ Whereas Lautensack often refers to the Jews in a conventional way as warning examples of unbelief,¹⁴¹ some remarkable passages suggest that for him both Judaism and conventional Christianity were far removed from the truth, and that none of them had a real understanding of Christ.¹⁴² No human arguments,¹⁴³ only the full revelation of God's truth, could bring both parties together – one passage even seems to suggest that, once the Christians had finally rejected Lautensack's revelation, the entire truth would be granted to the Jews, so that all Christians

that there could be peace and unity, and especially not as long as we are despising and ignoring the Work of the Holy Ghost]. Surprisingly, the learned preface quoted by Lautensack (cf. p. 67 n. 124) argues in a similar way: 22:B117: "Derselben keine gewisse Einigkeit, bey so viel gaistern In der welt beschlossen oder gemacht werden kann, hoch zu bedencken ist, das kein hofnung vnnd radt erfunden wirdt, darduch man die gewissen vnnd so viel geister, In einen einigen rechten verstandt gott gemeß zu lieblicher vnd vngeferbter bestendiger ruhe damit mache" [Of the same no certain unity can be joined or made amongst so many spirits [probably "opinions"], and one must seriously contemplate that no hope or counsel is found, through which one can bring the consciences and so many spirits into the one true understanding, in accordance to God, to sweet and untainted rest]. Elsewhere the painter regarded the contemporary unrest as reaction of the world, which was overwhelmed by the truth spread by Luther (cf. p. 78 n. 165).

¹³⁸ As expressed by the "wir" [we] when speaking of followers of Luther, cf. p. 70 n. 135.

¹³⁹ Those are discussed on p. 170.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. p. 52 n. 56.

¹⁴¹ E.g. 11:g48, a passage threatening the Gundelfingerin with eternal damnation: "Darumb mein fraw ist es gantz gefährlich vnd sorglich / daß vns nicht wiederfahr wie es den Juden hat gangen / da sie Christum auch nicht wolten annehmen / darob sie vnd jhre sect zu trümmern giengen / wann man auff menschen verstand mehr gaffet vnd glaubet / dann auff Gott vnd seinem wort" [Therefore, my lady, there is much danger and worry lest it will happen to us as it happened to the Jews who also did not want to accept Christ, wherefore they and their sect was scattered; [what happens] when one stares at and believes more in the understanding of men than in God and His word].

¹⁴² E.g. 10a:N34v [Lautensack made several, partially contradictory, corrections to this sentence, for the sake of clarity some are ignored here]: "Dye weil dye Juden / vnd des gleichen / wir Christen ... nit eynigen Capittels mose seyns Jnhalts nach dem geist ... verstanden haben. So ist vns Christus auch noch nit kunth vnd Offenbar gewest. (nach dem geist)" [Since the Jews, and likewise we Christians, ... have not understood the contents of one chapter of Moses according to the Spirit, Christ has also not yet become known and revealed to us, according to the Spirit].

¹⁴³ In 10a:N2or Lautensack warns that the Christians did not yet have the necessary knowledge to prove the truth of their religion to the Jews.

would rush to join them.¹⁴⁴ Although several 16th-century authors hoped either for an eschatological mass-conversion of the Jews¹⁴⁵ or for individual conversions facilitated by a church that had shed Catholic superstition and become purely biblical,¹⁴⁶ Lautensack's statements were uniquely radical. Likewise highly uncommon was his hope that his revelations would even lead to the conversion of the Turk,¹⁴⁷ something Luther regarded as utterly impossible.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ 10a:N2iv: "Sol nun Eyn hirt / vnd eyn schafstal werden / So muß es geschehen durch diß werck Gotts. welcher vns wirt eynigen machen wie Gott vnd mensch sich verleiht haben dye weyl wir zugleych vor im streflich synd. wir haben bißher dye Juden verhönt vnd verspot / So Jnen das werck wirt kunth vnd offenbar seyn. So mögen sie vns in der warheyt auch wol verhönen vnd spotten / das wir vnssern Gott also veracht haben als fur vnnöttig das hawbt buch Also anzunemen solt seyn. So hab ich das in der warheyt von eynem Juden personlich gehort das er sacht / wir sint zugleich blind gewest Aber durch die leer Dockter martino sint wir auch widerumb / eyn yede parthey zuglich mit eynem auch sehent worden. dahin werd es auch noch komen / Eyntweder wir zu Jnen / oder sie zu vns / Auff das eyn parthey gancz sehent werd / das / sich in der warheyt wol mag zu tragen das es geschehen wirt. die weil es also eyn gewaltiges werck Gottis ist das alle creaturn das sint bekennen dar wider nyemandt mit der warheit kan handeln vnd dohin es noch sol reychen das menigklich von Gott sollen gelert werden / vnd das die Juden sollen sehen Jn wen sie gestochen haben ... So wird es gewislich geschehen das wir alle zugleich eynig werden Jm glauben an Christo." [Shall there be one shepherd and one stable for the sheep, it must happen through this work of God, which will unify us similar to as God and Man became incarnate, furthermore, we are also guilty before him. We have up to now mocked and ridiculed the Jews. If the work shall be known and revealed to them, then they can truly also mock and ridicule us that we have despised our God so much as we regarded it as unnecessary to accept the principal book. So have I truly heard from a Jew who says that we had been equally blind, but through the teaching of Doctor Martin have we become, once again each party, seeing with one eye. It shall still come to that, either we [come] to them, or they to us, so that one party shall become fully seeing. It may truly be that that happens, since this is such a mighty work of God that all creatures are confessing. No-one can act in truth against it, and it shall be achieved that the multitude shall be taught by God, and that the Jews shall see whom they have pierced (cf. p. 105 n. 287). ... So it shall surely happen that we all together shall be united in the faith in Christ]. The author plans to publish a separate study on Lautensack's attitude towards the Jews.

¹⁴⁵ This was expected by the convert Johann Pfefferkorn, who nevertheless found it necessary to hasten this event through persecution (Johannes Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel* (Nürnberg: Huber, 1507, VD 16 P 2,300), Fiv.

¹⁴⁶ This position dominates Luther's *Daß Jesus Christus ein geborener Jude sei* (1523, e.g. Luther WA, 11:314, l. 25 – 315, l. 13). Whereas Luther claimed here that the Christians could furthermore ease conversions by being friendly to Jews (e.g. *ibid.*, 336, ll. 22–24), he later suggested persecutions that would recall the divine punishment of their exile (e.g. in *Von den Jüden vnd jren Lügen*, 1543, Luther WA, 53:522, ll. 34–36), but this is a change in means (and Luther's temper), not in his theology.

¹⁴⁷ 35:t32, a passage primarily dealing with the conversion of Jews, starts with "Wenn nu ein vnglaubiger / es wer ein Jud / Heyd / Türck / zu gleich ein Christ / einer zum andern redet" [If now an unbeliever, be it a Jew, Heathen, Turk, and also a Christian speak one to each other]; 11:g43: "als / auß allen Völckern / Jüden / Heyden / Christen / Gott etliche wölle seligen" [that from all peoples, Jews, Heathen, Christians, God would want to make some blessed], cf. p. 133 n. 91.

¹⁴⁸ In the preface to his German translation of Brother Richard's Refutation of the Koran, Luther states that one had to give up on the Turks and Saracens because God's

Lautensack's belief that the Reformation was only the beginning of a radical renewal of the Church, a return to apostolic purity through expurgation of all human doctrine from her, was shared by some radical theologians and especially Anabaptist authors of the 1520s.¹⁴⁹ However, in contrast to them, the Nuremberg painter apparently never tried to found a separate conventicle or to trigger a political upheaval, and his decision to depict contemporary liturgy in his Creed illustrations suggests that he approved of the moderate Lutheran settlement in Nuremberg.¹⁵⁰

Many radicals saw in Luther a traitor who had initiated the Reformation but eventually chose a comfortable life over persecution for the gospel's sake.¹⁵¹ In contrast, Lautensack, who believed that the full truth was only revealed through himself, regarded the Wittenberg professor as a mere precursor of his, similar to John the Baptist who had cleared the way for the Messiah but at the end did not recognize Christ when He came to the Jordan.¹⁵² Likewise, Luther's preaching of the word removed wrong human

wrath had irredeemably come upon them (*Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi*, 1542; Luther WA, 53:276, ll. 7–9); their refusal to accept any argument from Scripture made discussions impossible (ll. 16–17).

¹⁴⁹ Examples in Littell, *Anabaptist View*, e.g. 2–5.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. pp. 201–6.

¹⁵¹ Most famously, Thomas Müntzer composed a pamphlet against the "Gaistloße Sanfft lebende fleysch zů Wittenberg" [the spirit-less comfortably-living flesh in Wittenberg], at the end of which he chastises "Doctor Lügner" [Doctor liar] for strengthening the ungodly so that they stayed in their old ways and for making the hearts of the just people sad (Müntzer, *Schriften*, 321, 343). The Münster Anabaptist Bernhard Rothmann complained that Luther had become stuck in his own arrogance: "(wo wal he nu leyder nicht vort wil, dan blyfft yn siner egener stoltheit vnd dreck liggen) so hefft he doch dat kindt des verderuens, den rechten Antechrist angewyßet vnnde dat rechte Euangelion begonnen ynthouörenn" [(although he unfortunately does not want to continue and remains lying in his own arrogance and dirt) so he has pointed to the son of perdition, the true Antichrist, and begun to introduce the true Gospel] (Rothmann, *Schriften*, 219).

¹⁵² E.g. 10a:N17v: "Darumb vor der welt erschröcklich zu horen ist / das eyne solch man / als luther / So gar vnwissent solt seyn / von dießen geheymnisßen / welchenn es doch vnder augen offen stet zu sehen. vnd doch Gott sunderliche gnad durch in gewirckt hat / Seyn gotliches wort zu offenbaren der welt / dadurch dan grosse datten sind außgerichtet worden / Jn der ganczen Christenheit / welchs wort auch dem herrn eyne gerust volck hat zubereyt. Darumb auch dem hohen vnd tewern man luther / vnd vorlauffer Christi / gar nicht zu verdennen sey / dye weyl doch Johannes Babtista der aller heyligs vnder den weyber geporn. Christum auch nicht erkant (Nach der person) do er schon vor Jm an dem Jordan stunt / biß so lang / das zeugnis von oben herab ob Jm erschein / als der h. Geyst vnd dye stymme des vaters gehort wurd das ist meyn lieber Sün / Jn dem ich eyne wolgefallen hab / den solt ir horen" [Therefore it must be terrible before the world to hear that such a man as Luther should be so deeply ignorant of these mysteries, which are openly standing in front of our eyes. And yet God has wrought special grace through him, to reveal His divine word to the world, through which then great deeds had been done in all Christendom. This word also has prepared for the Lord a people that is prepared. But for this reason one cannot think evil of Luther, this high and dear man and precursor of Christ, since [also] John the Baptist, the holiest of all ever born by women [cf. Matt. 11:11], did not

doctrine from the hearts of men so that they would be able to welcome Christ when He was fully revealed, similar to wiping an inn in order to prepare it for guests.¹⁵³ This allowed the painter to emphatically praise Luther's learning¹⁵⁴ but still fiercely criticize the reformer for having trusted his own human judgment¹⁵⁵ when declaring that Revelation was

recognize Christ (according to the Person) when He stood in front of him at the Jordan; until the testimony appeared down from heaven above him, as the Holy Ghost, and the voice of the Father was heard: This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased, him shall you hear].

¹⁵³ 10a:N28v: "das dye Eröffnung des götlichen worts nur eyn vorbereitung sey / dem herrn den weg zu bereitten / wye dan hernach offenbar wurd / vnd vnder augen gestelt / den / der vns verheissen hat noch eyns zu komen (Nemlich nach dem wort vnd Geyst) sich zu offenbaren / welchs wort dan seyn zeyt hat gehabt wie lang es sol zurichten / dem herrn den weg was nicht richtig noch schlegt ist zu offenbaren vnd außzureutten / vnd fegen das nicht richtig noch schlegt ist / wie dan des worts art / vnd natur ist vnd der eygen schafft / das es gar nichts wil leyden / was im zu wider ist leben vnd handeln / darwider sich auch dye welt / so hart legt das sie es nicht kan leyden noch dulden ir thun vmbzustossen / wie dan zur czeyt Johannes Baptista / Auch rauch vnd scharff was mit dem wort wider dye geystlichen welche er dan otter gezugt hies die weyl sie Jm auch so hart widerstant thetten seiner leer vnd vermanung / wie sie sich solten bereyten vnd puß soltten thun dan der herr wer nahe. Aber da wart auch nichts / auß. So ist vns ye noch vnkunth vnser eyniger Christus ... Als dan der das wort geliebt / vnd angenommen hat / Jn eynem warhafftigen Christlichen glauben / do hat es auch den menschen zugericht das er geschickter vnd empfänger ist / das groß geheymnis in Christo zu entpfahen / vnd zu verstén / wen anders dye herberig gesaubert vnd gereyniget ist / durchs wort. So wirt der herr dester herlicher empfangen vnd angenommen" [that the opening of the divine word is merely a preparation, in order to prepare the way for the Lord, as later became revealed and placed before our eyes; Him, who has promised us to come once again (thus according to the *Word* and the *Spirit*) to reveal Himself. Which word then had had its time, for how long it should prepare the way for the Lord, to reveal and to uproot what is not right nor straight, to purge what is not right nor straight, as is the word's essence and nature and property, that it does not want to suffer what lives and acts against it; and against that the world is placing itself strongly because it cannot suffer and tolerate having its actions thrown down. As in [his] time John the Baptist was also rough and sharp with the word against the clerics, whom he called a generation of vipers [Luke 3:7]; because they showed such hard resistance to his teaching and admonition, how they should prepare and do penance, for the Lord was near. But that did not work out. So we do not yet know our only Christ ... Since he who [this probably means "whosoever"] has loved and accepted the word in a true Christian faith, it has also prepared this man, that he is prepared and a receiver to receive and to understand the great secret in Christ. When the inn is cleaned and wiped through the word, the Lord will be received and accepted the more gloriously]; similar 9a:N7v, cf. p. 59 n. 84 and p. 68 n. 130.

¹⁵⁴ He calls him "hochberumbten" [highly famous, 9a:N7v], "hochgeachtet" [highly respected, 10a:N15v, N17r, N25r], "hohen vnd tewern" [high and dear, 10a:N17v], "hohen mechtigen man / in der h. schrift" [a high and mighty man in the Holy Writ, 10a:N15v]. Luther "vbertrifft / alle andere gelertten / in der welt / mit seynem verstant / seynes geystes" [surpasses all other scholars of the world with the understanding of his spirit, 9a:N9v, for the context cf. p. 76 n. 163]; he and Melanchthon are the "hochgelerste[n] mener[n]" [most highly learned men] of Wittenberg (10a:N27r).

¹⁵⁵ 10a:N15r: "Aber dagegen Dockter martinus luther / Allein auß seynem eygen kopff solche vorreth hat hynneyn geprewet wider Christum" [but against it, Doctor Martinus

not a proper apostolic Book because it consisted of strange images.¹⁵⁶ Luther's prominent role had inspired many comparisons with Daniel and Elijah,¹⁵⁷ but he had been rarely likened to the Baptist¹⁵⁸ before Michael Caelius's funerary sermon from 1546 and a poem by Melanchthon from the same year. However, Caelius focused on the Baptist's rebuke to the clergy of his day who trusted in their good works,¹⁵⁹ and Melanchthon on John's pointing to Christ, the Lamb of God, and not his function as a

Luther has brewed into it [the Bible] such a preface contrary to Christ, merely out of his own head]. Also the Catholic Bible translator Hieronymus Emser criticized Luther for being so arrogant to believe that a Book he could not understand would be incomprehensible to all, and for instructing the Holy Ghost about how He could reveal Himself (Hieronymus Emser, *Auß was grund | vnnd vrsach | Luthers dobmatschung / vber das | nawe testament dem gemeinen man | billich vorbotten worden sey* (Leypßgk: Stöckel, 1523, VD 16 E 1,089), 145v–48r – on 148r–50v he claims that Luther tried to discredit Rev. because it proved his own theology wrong).

¹⁵⁶ 10a: N15r: “Eyn solch graußam vrteil zu fellen / wider das eynige hauwbt Buch Christum / am grewcz / On allen grunt der schrift. Das es nit wunder wer / das vns Gott alles vngluck zu wendet” [to cast such a cruel verdict against the only principal book, Christ on the Cross, without any foundation in Scripture, so that it were no surprise, should God turn all misery unto us]; N15v: “So solt dye gancz welt / dyeße vorrede / des luthers / in abgrunt der hellen hinnein verdammen” [So all the world should condemn this preface of Luther into the pit of Hell].

¹⁵⁷ Examples in Wilhelm D. Gußmann, *D. Johann Ecks Vierhundertundvier Artikel zum Reichstag von Augsburg, 1530* (Kassel: Pillardy, 1930), 233–95, and Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther: Prophet, Teacher and Hero. Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), 28–52.

¹⁵⁸ In 1520, Luther had wondered in a letter if he was in fact the precursor of Melanchthon, whose way he should prepare like Elijah (Luther WA *Briefwechsel*, 2:167 no. 327, ll. 7–9, 18 August 1520; here Elijah was probably confused with John the Baptist, see Hans Volz, *Die Lutherpredigten des Johannes Mathesius: Kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1930), 65). In 1524, Luther attacked false preachers for preaching not Christ but themselves, whereas he was called to act like John the Baptist and to send his disciples to Christ (Luther WA, 15:668, ll. 7–8, 31 July 1524: “Mihi faciendum ut Iohanni baptistae, qui discipulos ad Christum misit”). Heinrich von Kettenbach stated that John, like Luther, called those regarded as pious by the world a generation of Vipers (quoted in Gußmann, *D. Johann Ecks Vierhundertundvier Artikel*, 254). The Dialogue between St Peter and a peasant by Balthasar Stanberger calls every preacher of God's word an angel, apostle or prophet, like John the Baptist, or Luther (Balthasar Stanberger, “Dialogus zwischen Petro und einem Bauern (1523),” in *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation*, ed. Otto Clemen, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Haupt, 1908), 205; quoted in Gußmann, *D. Johann Ecks Vierhundertundvier Artikel*, 255).

¹⁵⁹ Justus Jonas and Michael Celius, *Zwo Tröstliche | Predigt | Vber der Leich | | D. Doct: Martini | Luther / zu Eißeleben den XIX. | vnd xx. Februarij gethan | | Durch | D. Doct: Justum Jonam. | M. Michaelen Celium* (Wittenberg: Rhaw, 1546, VD 16 J 899), F1v–F3r, reprinted in K. Ed. Förstemann, *Denkmale dem D. Martin Luthervon der Hochachtung und Liebe seiner Zeitgenossen errichtet* (Nordhausen: Förstemann, 1846), 56–59. Here the different groups like the Pharisees or Essenes, trusting only in their own good works, are compared to the clergy and religious orders, and John the Baptist preached them penitence, like Luther would do later.

forerunner.¹⁶⁰ Lautensack's most intriguing reference to Luther takes the form of a long simile that explains a key feature of Lautensack's theology, the role of God's *Spirit*, *Word* and *Person*. These three words, in this study called the *Aspects* of the Trinity, frequently appear in his tracts, albeit (as often in Lautensack's writing) without clear definitions or even consistent meanings.¹⁶¹ In the context of this simile apparently God's *Spirit* and *Word* bring forth the three *Persons* of the Trinity.¹⁶² Lautensack explains this process by pointing to Luther: the *Person* of Martin Luther, the wisest man on earth, sits in Wittenberg in his monastery but is known by everyone in the country because he has put his *Spirit* and *Word* into the medium of a book.¹⁶³ This dead book, comprising Luther's *Spirit* and *Word* and

¹⁶⁰ This text is called an Epitaph inscribed on Luther's tomb monument. It contains the lines "Vtque agnum in media Baptista ostendit Eremo, | Qui pia pro populi uictima labe foret. | Sic quoque monstrauit re maxime Christe Lutherus, | Cum totus tenebris obrutus orbis erat" (Martin Luther, *Tomvs | Secvndvs Omnivm | Opervm Reverendi Do[m]ini Martini Lutheri, Doctoris Theolo[g]ie, Continens monumenta, quae de multis grauissimis controuersijs ab anno XX. | usque ad XXVII. annum edita sunt* (VVitebergæ: Lufft, 1546, VD 16 L 3,414), leaf marked "t, i," v).

¹⁶¹ Cf. p. 153 n. 182.

¹⁶² The most convincing version of this simile appears in **9a:Ngv–11r**, less stringent variants are in **10a:N34v–35r** and **12:B59r–60r**.

¹⁶³ **9a:Ngv**: "Zum Ersten wöllen wir / Gott / den hymelischen vater / fur vns nemen / In dem val / zuuerglichen / Dem Dockter martino luther, Der eyn person ist / wonhafft / zu wittenberg / In seynem Kloster / wer hat sunderlichs wissens / vor zwenczigk Jaren / von Jm gehabt nyemant auff erden / wye kombt es dan / das man Jczunt / von Jm singt / vnd sacht / vnd prediget / Als weyd / dye welt ist / wer hat in also ruchtbar gemacht / das die Eynige person / also weyd sol bekant seyn (Nit / an der person seyn selbst) Sonder an synem geist / vnd verstant / vnd weyßheyt / dye er hat / vor aller welt / wer gibt aber der welt solchs zu erkennen / vnd zu offenbaren / Nemlich / des luthers (Geist / vnd wort) welche / in seyner eygen person verleibt / herschen / vnd reygiren / dadurch seyn person / auch das leben vnd weissen hat / So der Geyst / nicht / in Jm wer / So wer dye person auch gar nichts / So kan der Geyst / vnd das wort / nichts wircken / oder offenbaren / on / eyn person / Dan dye drey müssen bey eynander seyn / Als / der Geyst. Person vnd das wort / So ist es / dan eyn warhafftige person / mit welcher man dan kan handel / nach aller notturfft. So ist nun luther / zu wittenberg / In seynem gemach / fur sich allein / So bin ich auch allhie / zu Nurenberg / fur meyn person / ... alleyn. Wie kan ich mundtlich mich mit sich [?] besprechen / das dan nit muglich ist / nach menschlicher weyß zu reden / Sol es aber geschehen / So muß es durch mittel gethon werden / des gleichen / luther / ist / der welt vn bekant / gewest / Aber Jczunt / weyß / das kint auff der gassen / von Jm zu singen vnd zu sagen / Wer hat nun solchs lob / der person des luthers / angericht. Nemlich des luthers geist welcher in Jm ist herschen / wie kans der gethun / die weyl er zu wittenberg / in der person / des luthers / verhembt ist / mit aller seyner / weyßheyt vnd verstants / Sol aber des geist / Inhalt / weyders offenbart werden / So muß er sich / in eyn ander mittel lassen / oder ergeben. So nymt nun dye person des luthers / eyn mittel / fur sich / nemlich / Eyn buch / vnd stelt seyenes geist furnemen vnd Inhalt durchs wort hynneyn In das buch / welchs buch / dan entpfegh wirt / vnd annymt / alles inhalt / des Eynigen Geyst wirkung / an darnach schickt / dye person des luthers das buch von sich in dye welt / welchs buch der welt

changing the thoughts of people, is likened to the second *Person*, Christ, the Son of God and the far more powerful Living Book.¹⁶⁴ Finally, the

dan ist offenbaren / was dye person des luthers / fur eyn man sey voller weyßhey / vnd verstants / vnd vbertrifft / alle andere gelernten / in der welt / mit seynem verstant / seynes geist / vnd das buch welches den geyst vnd das wort des lutherhs [sic] empfangen hat das hat nun viel außzurichten / vnd auch grosse anstöß zu leyden / nichts dester weniger bleibt dye person des luthers / zu frid vnd / rwe Jn seynen weßen / vnd lasd dye welt zörnen vnd lachen / ob seynem buch." [Firstly, we will take God, the heavenly Father, to compare him in this case with Doctor Martin Luther, who is a *Person*, resident in Wittenberg, in his monastery. Who had had any particular knowledge of him twenty years ago? No-one on earth. How does it come then, that one now sings, talks and preaches about him, as far as the world goes? Who has made him so famous, that this one *Person* should be known that widely? [This happened] not because of his *Person* but because of his *Spirit* and understanding and wisdom, which he has before all the world. But who gives these things to the world, to [be] understood and to reveal? This is Luther's *Spirit* and *Word*, which are embodied in his own *Person* and rule and govern this *Person*, through them his *Person* has also its life and being. If the *Spirit* were not within him, also the *Person* would be nothing. So the *Spirit* or the *Word* cannot achieve or reveal anything without a *Person*, for the three must be together, viz. the *Spirit*, the *Person* and the *Word*. So it is then a true *Person*, with whom one can deal in all that is necessary. So is now Luther in Wittenberg alone in his chamber, so I am also here in Nuremberg, for my *Person*, ... alone. How I can orally discuss things with [others]? It is thus not possible to speak according to human ways. If it has to happen, it must be done through media. Likewise Luther was unknown to the world, but now the child in the street can sing and speak of him. Who has caused that praise of the *Person* of Luther? His *Spirit*, which is ruling within him. How can it do it, whilst it is confined in Wittenberg in Luther's *Person*, with all its wisdom and understanding? However, shall the content of the *Spirit* be revealed further, it must let or give itself into another medium. So the *Person* of Luther is now taking up a medium, that is, a book, and places the plans and content of his *Spirit* through the *Word* into the book. This book then receives and accepts all content of the effect of the one *Spirit*. Then Luther's *Person* is sending the book from himself into the world. This book is then revealing to the world that Luther's *Person* is a man full of wisdom and understanding, who surpasses all other scholars of the world in the understanding of his *Spirit*. And the book, which has received the *Spirit* and the *Word* of Luther, has now much to effect, and also many attacks to suffer, but nevertheless the *Person* of Luther remains in peace and calm in its nature, and lets the world grudge and laugh about his book]. The *Monastery* refers probably to the former Augustinian friary in Wittenberg (Schwarzes Kloster) that had been given to Luther and his family in 1524 (Anne-Marie Neser, *Luthers Wohnhaus in Wittenberg: Denkmalpolitik im Spiegel der Quellen* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2005), 37–38). If Lautensack had never visited Wittenberg (cf. p. 56 n. 73) he could have learned of Luther's domestic arrangements from his pupil Osiander.

¹⁶⁴ 9a:Ngv: "So wollen wir nun / das buch / des luthers welchs er hat lassen auß gehen zu besichtigen Jn dem fal / dye ander person / des sūn / gottes / vergleichen. hat nu docter martinus luther / mit seynem eusserlichen / matterlichen buch / Also groß thun / außgericht / Jn Der ganczen welt / dafon man nicht genußam [sic] kan sagen / noch schreyben / sein wolthat / die er der welt dadurch erczeit hat / durch sein buch / welchs / er hat lassen offenbaren Jn was blintheyt vnd vnwissenthey sye gesteckt vnd gelegen seyn vor Gott / [10r] Hat das tode buch des Luthers / solche krafft / vnd macht / das es dye gewissen / der menschen kan endern / vnd verkeren / in eyn ander weyß / vnd verstant / wie dan das tode Buch ist anzeygen / vnd weyssen / Ey wie viel mer / das lebendige / Buch / des lambs" [So we want now to compare Luther's book, which he has issued to be inspected, in this case to the second *Person*, of the Son of God. If Doctor Martinus Luther has now wrought with

readers, whose lives are changed by the *Spirit* and *Word* of Luther's book (which so becomes incarnate in them), and who begin to act accordingly, so that they are commonly called Lutherans, are analogous to the third *Person*, the Holy Ghost.¹⁶⁵ In its naïve description of the multiplication of

his exterior, material book such great deeds in the whole world that one cannot sufficiently speak or write about the benefit, which he has thus shown to the world, through his book, [in which] he has revealed in what blindness and ignorance before God they had been stuck and placed – [10r] if the dead book of Luther has so much power and force that it can change and turn the consciences of men to a different way and understanding, as the dead book is showing and indicating; lo, how much more the Living Book of the Lamb ...]. The version in 10a:N35r speaks of two books, the whole Universe and the Living Book on the Cross. 12:B59v stresses the primacy of the Book over the physical person: “vnd doch vnter 100 tausent nicht einer ist, der ihn erkent nach der person, ob er ihn schon fur aug sehe, so wiste er dannoch nicht, was seins gaists Jnnhalt wird, dann allein Jn dem buch das er von sich hatt lassen ausgehen, darin wirdt sein geist erlernt, vnd erkant” [but among hundred thousand is no-one who knows him according to the *Person*, even if he has seen him before his eyes, but he would not know what the content of his *Spirit* is but only through the book that he caused to originate from himself, so that his *Spirit* may be learned and recognized].

¹⁶⁵ 9a:N10v: “So volgt weyders dye dritte person. Nemlich (der heylige Geyst) welchen ich / in dem fal / vergleich / der menschheit / welchs buch / des luthers / zu den menschen / kombt / vnd sehen / was darin / sey / geschrieben / vnd nemen / das selbig an. vnd geben Jm glauben / So wirt das buch / des luthers / Jn Jnen fleysch / vnd blut / dye weyl Jnen das Buch liebt / von wegen seins Jnhalts so hat es auch den menschen gefangen / durch des luthers geist / vnd wort / welchen [?] / Jm buch dan verleibt sint / dye bringen den menschen / zu solcher erkantnis nach anweyssung seynes buchs / darczu sie sunst nit kommen wern / darumb heyst man auch solche menschen / luterysch / von wegen / das / sye des luthers ler haben angenommen / vnd geglaubt ... der dye welt nit gewontt ist welche der dan gepirt allen hader / vneynigkeyt / vnd zwitracht Jm glauben des dan dye welt Jczunt vol ist. / wo aber der heylig Geyst Jm menschen ist / vnd seyn hercz entdert zur warheyt. vnd angenommen / wurd / dye Christlich lere / welche der heylig Geyst / von Ewigkeyt hat beschlossen Jn Christo / der dan dye annymbt durch anregung des heyligen Geyst / der bleibt auch Jm menschen / vnd richt auch den menschen zu / vnd treibt im zu allem gutten / was dan des geyst Jnhalt / vnd wil sey / So wirt dan der mensch new geporn / wen er sich allein richtet / Nach des geist [illegible] / Es wirt dan der mensch vorgeist / das er billich der heylig Geyst eyn person wirt geheyssen / von wegen / des wirkens [?] in Jm gethan.” [So follows furthermore the third *Person*, thus the Holy Ghost, which I compare in this case to mankind. This book by Luther comes to men and [they] see what is written in it, and accept the same, and give it credit. So Luther's book becomes in them flesh and blood, since the book pleases them for the sake of its contents. So it has caught man through Luther's *Spirit* and *Word*, which are embodied in the book. They bring man to such understanding according to the instruction of his book, to which they otherwise would not have come. And thus one calls such people Lutherans, for they have accepted and believed Luther's doctrine ... To this the world is not used and then brings forth all quarrel and disunity and discord in the faith, of what the world is now full. But where the Holy Ghost is in a man, and changes his heart to truth, and the Christian doctrine is accepted, which the Holy Ghost has completed for eternity in Christ, then [man] accepts it through instigation of the Holy Spirit, who remains in the man, and prepares the man, and drives him to all that is good, what is then the content and will of the *Spirit*. So man is born again, if he follows alone the *Spirit's* [illegible]. So man is being transformed into Spirit, that he can fittingly be called the Holy Ghost, a *Person*, owing to the effect done in him]. The section concludes with a summary: “So beschleust nu des luthers leer / drey person in

Luther's ideas through the medium of the book this short text must be considered as one of the most charming lay comments on the new role of printing in the early 16th century.

III. *Lautensack and Iconoclasm*

This last section of the chapter focuses on Lautensack's position in the debate on the legitimacy of religious images,¹⁶⁶ one of the most controversial topics of the Reformation. Once again, Lautensack's position is idiosyncratic and hard to define, but his tracts show that he was familiar with a wide range of the arguments that had been circulating. Therefore, it is necessary to start with a survey of the Reformation debate on the legitimacy of images. In contrast to theological studies it does not focus on the positions of leading reformers but rather on the arguments exchanged in vernacular tracts. This topic is made difficult by the obvious chasm between the theological discussion on the nature of images and the way they were actually perceived by the faithful. This section will follow the development of both scholarly opinion and popular reaction to images

unterschiedlicher weyß/ Als erstlich / seyn person / darnach sein buch / In welchs / er sich gelassen / vnd gesenckt hatt mitt allenn seynem verstant / seynes geyst / durchs wort / Darumb / das buch / woll billich eyn person / geheissen wirt / die weyl es des luthers geist / vnd wort empfangen hat / zu welchen dan / das buch kombt / vnd angenommen wird / der entpfegt [*sic*] / dan auch des luthers geist vnd wort / das sint ye drey vnterschiedliche personen / welche eyn geist / vnd eyn wort / Als des luthers sich vereynigt haben / eynes sins / vnd eynes verstants zu seyn / durch dye pant des geist / vnd des worts / welche ire wirkung volstreckt haben / durch dye drey person / Als. luther / vnd das buch / vnd den menschen / drum dise drey person ... welche / doch todlich sind / in diesem leben / solche grosse thaden / In dem yrdischen reych / do es dye gancz welt / mit den dreyen personen zuthun hat / Als mit dem luther / der das spiel / Erstlich hat angefangen / wolten / das er nye geporen / wer / vnd seyne bucher / zu verdammen / vnd zu verprennen / vnd dye menschen / zu veriagen / köpfen / vnd zu ertrencken" [So Luther's doctrine now includes three *Persons* in different ways, viz. firstly his *Person*, then his book, in which he has let and lowered himself with all the understanding of his *Spirit* through the *Word*, and therefore the book can fittingly be called a *Person*, since it has received Luther's *Spirit* and *Word*. He, to whom the book comes, and who accepts it, also receives then Luther's *Spirit* and *Word*. These are three different *Persons*, which one *Spirit* and one *Word*, Luther's, have united, to be of one sense and understanding, through the bonds of *Spirit* and *Word*, which have done their effect through the three *Persons*, viz. Luther, and the book, and the man [the reader]. Thus these three *Persons*, although they are mortal in this life, [can achieve] such great deeds in this terrestrial realm, for all the world is dealing with these three *Persons*. Some wish that Luther, who first has begun this game, had never been born, and that his books would be damned and burned, and that the men [i.e. the Lutherans] would be chased away, beheaded and drowned].

¹⁶⁶ The German terminology is confusing. "Bild" can both denote an image in general and a sculpted image (cf. the modern "Bildhauer" for sculptor). Here, it was rendered with 'sculpture' if the context suggested it, otherwise with 'image.'

during the period of iconoclasm, then describe the reactions of artists and the situation in Nuremberg, and finally place Lautensack's statements into this context.

Traditionally, the theology of images of the Western Church is said to begin with Gregory the Great (590–604). When this pope learned that an over-zealous bishop in Marseilles planned to destroy some statues in a church because they were worshipped by the faithful, he asked him to desist, since images allowed the illiterate to read the walls of a church like scholars could read books.¹⁶⁷ Instead of removing them, the bishop should discourage their worship.¹⁶⁸ For many centuries, these texts had functioned as legitimization of the use of images in churches, but this interpretation is problematic in several respects. First of all, images can remind the beholder of a narrative, but they are rarely clear enough to allow the 'reading' of an unknown story from them as if from a book. Furthermore, narrative images on walls only constituted a small part of the art in Gregory's Rome. Mosaics in apses at triumphal arches have often no didactic function but place the liturgy into the presence of the heavenly court. In addition, several churches possessed icons of Christ and the Virgin Mary, likewise images without a didactic function. We do not know much about their use in Gregory's time, yet more detailed records from 150 years later describe how they were carried in procession, had their feet washed, and even 'met' each other – clearly it was believed by the clergy and people that their sitters were in some way present in them.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, Gregory's text only defended a small portion of images in churches, and probably the least prominent and controversial of them. Since the Western Church experienced very little debate about images well until the late Middle Ages, there was no need to reformulate this position. The Byzantine

¹⁶⁷ Gregory addressed this problem in two letters to bishop Serenus of Marseille: Registrum IX, 209, from July 599 (Gregorius Magnus, *S. Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistularum Libri VIII–XIV, Appendix*, ed. Dag Norberg (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), 768, ll. 8–18) and Registrum XI, 10, from October 600 (ibid., 873, l. 15 – 875, l. 62). Both letters stress the use of images for the unlearned, e.g. in the first (ibid., 768, ll. 12–14): "Idcirco enim pictura in Ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui litteras nesciunt, saltem in parietibus uidendo legant quae legere in codicibus non ualent." According to the second letter a destruction of images would furthermore be unheard-of and cause scandal amongst the faithful. On these texts see also Celia M. Chazelle, "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word and Image* 6.2 (1990): 138–53.

¹⁶⁸ This appears in Gregory's second letter (Gregorius, *Registrum*, 875, ll. 54–56): "Atque indica quod non tibi ipsa uisio historiae, quae pictura teste pandebatur, displicuerit, sed illa adoratio quae picturis fuerat incompetenter exhibita."

¹⁶⁹ These rituals were part of the famous procession of the Lateran Acheiropoietos icon of Christ, for reports about it see Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich: Beck, 1990), 554–58.

Empire, however, saw fierce controversies on this matter in the 8th and 9th centuries, which were theologically dealt with in the Second Council of Nicaea (787). Since this was an Ecumenical Council, its decisions became also known in the West. The passage dealing with images again starts with a pastoral justification: here, images are not regarded as didactic means but rather their contemplation can induce more fervent devotion. Unlike Gregory, the council discussed the actual veneration (“adoratio”) of the images through kissing, prostrating and offering candles and incense. It was considered legitimate because it was, by definition, different from the worship (“latría”) of God, and all honor shown to the image did not refer to it as an object but was in fact directed to its archetype.¹⁷⁰

The philosophical basis that made the veneration of images plausible here (and probably also in the West, although hardly anything was written on it) was the essentially Neo-Platonic conviction that a portrait is always in a certain way linked with its model, so that the saints are always somehow present in their images and can be honored and asked for help through them. Throughout most of the Middle Ages, criticism of the veneration of images was very rare. The frequently quoted section on images from Bernhard of Clairvaux’s *Apologia* is part of an attack against the ostentatious lifestyle of Cluniac monks rather than an early iconoclastic tract, but some of his arguments will frequently occur in Reformation debates: admiration for craftsmanship can replace true devotion,¹⁷¹ and money should be used for the poor rather than for art.¹⁷² Some heretical movements of the later Middle Ages were said to denounce the veneration of images as pagan idolatry, but we know little about their reasoning.¹⁷³ However, in these centuries the intellectual climate changed, and slowly Nominalism

¹⁷⁰ Giuseppe Alberigo, ed., *Corpus Christianorum: Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, vol. 1, *The Oecumenical Councils from Nicaea I to Nicaea II (325–787)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 314–15, ll. 179–96, esp. ll. 193–96 (quoted according to the Latin translation commonly used in Western Europe): “Imaginis enim honor ad primitivum transit, et qui adorat imaginem, adorat in ea depicti subsistentiam.”

¹⁷¹ E.g. *Apologia ad Guillelmum Abbatem* (ca. 1125), XII.28, Bernardo, *Trattati* (Milan: Scriptorium Claravallense, 1984), 210, ll. 9–10: “Ostenditur pulcherrima forma Sancti vel Sanctae alicuius, et eo creditur sanctior, quo coloratur;” ll. 16–17: “Quid, putas, in his omnibus quaeritur? Paenitentium compunctio, an intuitum admiratio?” (ll. 16–17). Bernhard also criticized having images of saints that were not for veneration but merely for decoration (ll. 22–23) and therefore implicitly allowed the veneration of images.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 210, ll. 19–22.

¹⁷³ Virtually all information on these groups comes from their opponents and therefore should be used with care. Moneta Cremonensis, *Adversus | Catharos et Valdenses | Libri Quinque*, ed. Thomas Augustinus Ricchini (Romae: Palearini, 1743), 460: “dicentes, quod nos sumus Idololatras, qui imagines adoramus;” Petrus Vallium Sarnaii, *Hystoria Albigensis*, vol. 1, ed. Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon (Paris: Champion, 1926), 17, § 17: “imagines que fiunt

became predominant in academic debate, a concept regarding anything more general than individual objects as ‘names,’ as mere tags developed by the human mind. Since it is impossible for a Nominalist to acknowledge, for instance, any connection between the wooden image of a saint and his real existence as a bodiless soul in heaven, it became increasingly difficult to justify the veneration of images.¹⁷⁴ Indeed, some heterodox tracts from 15th-century Bohemia stress the absurdity of venerating wood or stone in lieu of God.¹⁷⁵ Others adopted a naïve Biblicism and, following Exod. 20:4, condemned images of anything on heaven and earth.¹⁷⁶ These two sets of arguments will remain crucial for the Reformation period.

Direct precursors of the Reformation debate on images can be found in the writings of Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466/69–1536).¹⁷⁷ His *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, which saw numerous editions at the eve of the Reformation, does not condemn traditional forms of piety. However, those who go on pilgrimages to famous relics without trying to imitate the virtues of these saints, or those who venerate images of Christ while ignoring his most perfect image, the words of the gospel,¹⁷⁸ had a merely external

in ecclesiis dicebant ydolatriam;” Ilarino da Milano, “Il ‘Liber *supra* stella’ del Piacentino Salvo Burci contro i Catari e altre correnti ereticali,” *Aevum* 19 (1945): 311: “dicent eretici non est ex voluntate apostoli quod homines sint ydolatri neque ydola adorare debeant ... et ibi magnas reverentias et adoraciones facitis? Ergo estis cultores ydolorum, ergo estis gentiles.” See also Arno Borst, *Die Katharer* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1953), 219; Georg Schmitz-Valckenberg, *Grundlehren katharischer Sekten des 13. Jahrhunderts: Eine theologische Untersuchung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von ‘Adversus Catharos et Valdenses’ des Moneta von Cremona* (Munich: Schöningh, 1971), 251. Slightly more concrete is an earlier (maybe late 10th century) tract against the heretical Bogomiles in Bulgaria. Here, the author derives the iconoclastic position of this group from St Paul’s condemnation of pagan idols (Acts 17:29), Henri Charles Puech and André Vaillant, *Le Traité Contre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le Prêtre* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1945), 70–71, cap. 18, see p. 24 for the date of the tract). For similar statements amongst the Thuringian flagellants see Augustinus Stumpf, “Historia Flagellantium, praecipue in Thuringia,” ed. Henricus Augustus Erhard, *Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen* 2 (1835): 31, § 46.

¹⁷⁴ Erwin Iserloh, “Bildfeindlichkeit des Nominalismus und Bildersturm im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Bild – Wort – Symbol in der Theologie*, ed. Wilhelm Heinen (Würzburg: Echter, 1969), 119–38.

¹⁷⁵ Examples in František M. Bartoš, *Puer Bohemus: Dva projevy husitské propagandy* (Prague: Rivnáč, 1924), 9, 47.

¹⁷⁶ František Palacký, ed., “Akta veřejná i sněmowní v Čechách i v Moravě,” *Archiv Český* 3 (1844): 224; German translation in Robert Kalivoda and Alexander Kolesnyk, eds., *Das hussitische Denken im Lichte seiner Quellen* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1969), 302. According to the Old-Testament ban on consuming blood these articles also proscribed black pudding.

¹⁷⁷ For Erasmus’s position on images see Carlos M.N. Eire, *War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 28–53.

¹⁷⁸ Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, vol. 1, *Epistola ad Paulum Volzium*, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, ed. Werner Welzig (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), 202: “Honores imaginem vultus Christi saxo lignove deformatam

and worthless faith. Although “the flesh profiteth nothing,”¹⁷⁹ such devotional practices could nevertheless be helpful to those weak in faith and hence they should be tolerated.¹⁸⁰ Erasmus's later statements point in the same direction: although ultimately irrelevant, images can support some of the faithful, and therefore they should be tolerated, although abuse – especially obscene depictions – needed to be corrected as thoroughly as possible without creating a scandal.¹⁸¹

The earliest statements on religious images in the Reformation debate do not come from its chief protagonists but rather from vernacular tracts by little-known authors. In 1521 Johann Eberlin († by 1533) described the churches of the Utopian country Wolfaria (literally “faring well”) as having no sculptures but only painted images, without great material value, and showing only saints mentioned in the Bible.¹⁸² The knight Franz von Sickingen (1481–1523) was worried that artful images could distract the faithful from their prayers and hence he recommended removing them from churches – since it would be a shame to destroy them they should be

aut fucata coloribus, multo religiosius honoranda mentis illius imago, quae spiritus-sancti artificio expressa est literis euangelicis. Nullus Apelles sic effingit penicillo lineamenta figuramque corporis” In his *Praise of Folly* Erasmus denounced this outward piety as foolish (Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, 42 vols. to date (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1969–), 4/3:134, ll. 170–79).

¹⁷⁹ John 6:63/64, quoted in Erasmus, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 1:198. Later, Erasmus went as far as to claim that Christ had to ascend into heaven so that His disciples could move on to a more mature faith that did not depend on His bodily presence (pp. 204/6).

¹⁸⁰ Erasmus, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 1:206.

¹⁸¹ So in *Modus orandi Deum* (1524), Erasmus, *Opera*, 5/1:156, ll. 200–16 – the following lines point out that images were still less inappropriate than boastful tombs and displays of heraldry. More complaints against obscene images are in the 1526 *Christiani Matrimonii Institutio* (ibid., 242, ll. 383–89). In a later letter (to Jacopo Sadoletto, 7 March 1531, Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. 9, ed. Percy Stafford Allen (Oxford: Clarendon, 1938), 157–68), Erasmus criticized superstitious practices in the veneration of saints (162, ll. 202–26) and expressed doubt if there was really a difference between the pagan worship of idols and the veneration of Christian images (p. 163, ll. 228–41). The *Explanatio Symboli* from 1533 contains Erasmus's most extensive comment on the veneration of images – an uneasy synthesis that includes some arguments proposed by his contemporaries (Erasmus, *Opera*, 5/1:304, l. 919 – 305, l. 964): Images are not banned by the Old Testament, and they are useful to teach the faithful and inspire more fervent devotion, and most Christians know that venerating them means venerating their archetypes. However, since vestiges of superstition are hard to remove, and owing to the model of the primitive Church, it may be appropriate to have only a crucifix inside the church, and to move other images into the narthex (This is stated in 304, l. 927, whereas 305, ll. 960–61, even rules out a crucifix).

¹⁸² [Johann Eberlin], *New statuten | die Psitacus gebracht hat vß dem land Wolfaria wel|che betröffendt reformie|rung geystlichen stand. ... Der X. bundt. | gnoß* ([Basel: Gengenbach, 1521], VD 16 E 113), A5v, see Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 102–3.

brought into private houses.¹⁸³ The minister Heinrich von Kettenbach regarded spending on images as waste of money, enjoying their beauty was no better than other sensual pleasures like dancing.¹⁸⁴ Other texts primarily criticize the decoration of altars or the lighting of candles in front of images,¹⁸⁵ and some authors regarded the presence of images in churches as an obstacle to the imminent conversion of the Jews.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Franciscus von Sickingen, *Ain Sendbrief so der Edel | vnd Ernuest Franciscus von Sickingen | seim schwäher / dem Edlen vnd Ernuesten Junnckerr Diethern | von Henschüßheim / zû vnderrichtung | ettlicher art|ckel Christ|liches | Gelaubens / | kurtzlich zûgeschick hat* ([Augsburg: Otmar], 1522, VD 16 S 6,310), b3r: "Jch besorg aber das solchs wenig geschach / sonder meer die kunst vnd schöne der gezierd in denen angesehen wird / vnd dardurch das gemüt vnd rechte innerliche betrachtung im gebeet vom rechten hohen auffsteigenden weg in got / abgezogen werde / darumb sy schier meines achtens / in schönen gemächern zû zieren nützer / dann in der kirchen wärn / damit nit der kost vnd vergebne mü vnnützlich verloren wär" [However, I am worried that that [contemplation of the saints' faith] happens little, but that primarily the craft and beauty of the decoration in them is beholden, and through that the spirit and the true internal contemplation in prayer are distracted from the right, high, uprising path to God. Therefore they are in my opinion probably more useful as decoration in beautiful rooms than in churches, so that the costs and the work spent on them are not lost without profit], see also Ulrich Oelschlager, "Der Sendbrief Franz von Sickingens an seinen Verwandten Dieter von Handschuchsheim," *Blätter für Pfälzische Kirchengeschichte und religiöse Volkskunde* 37/38 (1970/71): 723. Otherwise, von Sickingen regarded images as ambiguous, they could both invite idolatry and encourage the faithful to lead a virtuous life like the depicted saints.

¹⁸⁴ Heinrich von Kettenbach, "Ein Gespräch mit einem frommen Altmütterlein von Ulm," in *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation*, ed. Otto Clemen, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Haupt, 1907), 58, 61–62. Id., "Ein Sermon zu der löblichen Stadt Ulm zu einem Valet," in *ibid.*, 116 nos. XXXV–XXXVII, an excerpt of his farewell sermon from Ulm, calls for anathema against those spending money on the decoration of images or vestments while neglecting the poor, and against those burning candles in the church or bringing offerings at pilgrimages, again, instead of helping the poor.

¹⁸⁵ "Ain schöner Dialogus | zwischen | Aim Pfarrer und aim Schulthaisz | Betreffend allen Übel Stand der Gaistlichen und Bös Handlung | Der Weltlichen | Alles mit Geizigkeit Beladen," in *Satiren und Pasquille aus der Reformationszeit*, ed. Oskar Schade, vol. 2 (Hannover: Rümpler 1856), 135–59, probably from 1521 (*ibid.*, 339), criticizes the efforts spent on setting up an altar for Mass that can persuade simple minds to adore the idols placed on it (p. 138, ll. 6–20). "Ein Klegliche Botschaft | An Den Bapst Die Selmess Betreffend | Welche Krank Ligt Und Wil Sterben," in *ibid.*, 252–63 no. 23, a text inspired by Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (Manuel, *Werke*, 463) and written after 1524 (*ibid.*, 379), asks why candles have to burn in churches all night, when no living person needs them (p. 261, ll. 3–8). "Ein Wegsprech | gen Regensburg zû ins Concilium | Zwischen einem Bischof | Hürenwirt und Künzen seinem Knecht," in *Satiren und Pasquille aus der Reformationszeit*, ed. Oskar Schrade, vol. 3 (Hannover: Rümpler, 1858), 159–95, from 1525 (*ibid.*, 264), asks in a parody of visitation questions if the candles were burning in front of the wooden idols (p. 181, ll. 31–33). Cattelspurger, *Missive*, B3r, from 1524, calls almsgiving worth more than donating a hundredweight of wax, the saints are nothing but the blind and numb idols mentioned in the Psalter.

¹⁸⁶ Zyepler, *Kurtz Register*, azv (cf. p. 42); "Ein Unterredung vom Glauben durch Herr Micheln Kromer, Pfarrherr zu Kunitz, und einen jüdischen Rabbiner (1523)," in *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation*, ed. Otto Clemen, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Haupt, 1907), 430.

However, this marginal debate entered center stage when in 1522 a mob that included Luther's colleague Karlstadt (Andreas Bodenstein from Karlstadt, † 1541) not only attacked Anti-Lutheran clergy in Wittenberg but also their churches and the images within. Afterwards, Karlstadt defended his action with the two arguments we have already encountered. Firstly, sculptures and paintings – the latter called “Ölgötze” [oil idol] – were nothing but man-made objects, so that their veneration could never be worship of the transcendental God but was always idolatry.¹⁸⁷ For this reason God had strictly forbidden honoring images in the Old Testament (even if they are venerated to honor Him), a ban that was still in force.¹⁸⁸ Contrary to St Gregory's defense of images, Christ's word alone had to teach the faithful,¹⁸⁹ and images could only reflect the carnal, not the transcendent realities of faith.¹⁹⁰ The Brazen Serpent, according to the Bible a licit image (Num. 21:9), was made according to God's explicit command and later rightly destroyed when it attracted sacrifices.¹⁹¹ With dismay Karlstadt observed how strongly the fear of images had invaded even his heart,¹⁹² hence it was praiseworthy to remove them as King Hezekiah

¹⁸⁷ Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, *Von Abthieung [sic] der Bylder / Vnnd das keyn | Betler vnder den Chris|ten sein solt* ([Straßburg: Morhart], 1522, VD 16 B 6,213), A2v–A3v. A passage on A3r lets God speak: “Wie darffestu so kün vnd keck sein / dastu dich in meinem hauß gegen bildnis neygest vnnd buckest welche mensche händ geschaffen haben. Diße ere stet mir zû.” [How can you be so daring and insolent to nod and bow in my house towards images which were made by human hands? This honor is due to me]. For this tract see also Carl C. Christensen, *Art and Reformation in Germany* (Athens/Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1979), 24–35; Eire, *War against the Idols*, 57–61.

¹⁸⁸ Karlstadt, *Von Abthieung der Bylder*, A4v and D2v–D3r. According to the order of the Commandments, veneration of images was a graver sin than adultery.

¹⁸⁹ Karlstadt, *Von Abthieung der Bylder*, B1r: “Christus spricht Mein schefflin hören mein stym. Er sagt nit. Sie sehen meine / oder der heiligen / bilder” [Christ says: My sheep hear my voice. He does not say: they see the images of me or of the saints].

¹⁹⁰ Karlstadt, *Von Abthieung der Bylder*, B1v: “Auß dem bild des gecrützigten Christi lernestu nicht / dan das fleischlich leyden Christi. Wie Christus seyn haupt geneigt / vnd der gleychen. Nun sagt Christus / das sein eigen fleisch nit nütz sy / sondern das der geist / nutz sey vnd lebendig thûn machen” [From the image of the crucified Christ you learn nothing but the carnal suffering of Christ, how Christ bowed His head, and similar things. Yet Christ says that His own flesh profits nothing, but that the spirit is profitable and vivifying].

¹⁹¹ Karlstadt, *Von Abthieung der Bylder*, B3v. Furthermore, the serpent was not a likeness of God.

¹⁹² Karlstadt, *Von Abthieung der Bylder*, D1v: “Hette ich den geyst gottes nit wider die ölgetzen hören schryen / vnnd sein wort gelesen. So het ich also gedacht. Jch hab kein bild lieb. Jch fürcht kein bilde. Aber yetzt weiß ich / wie ich in diesem vall / gegen got vnd den bildern stehen / vnd wie vest vnd tieff bilder in meinem hertzen sitzen” [Had I not heard God's spirit shout against the oil idols, and read his word, I would have thought that I loved no image, that I feared no image. But now I know where I stand in this case towards God and towards the images, and how fixed and deep images sit in my heart].

had removed the pagan idols from Israel.¹⁹³ In a later tract he warned that images were leading the weak into perdition¹⁹⁴ and therefore had to be destroyed immediately, just as one would forcefully take a knife away from a small child so that it could not hurt itself.¹⁹⁵ His arguments were repeated even more aggressively in a pamphlet by Ludwig Haetzer (ca. 1500–29) who later became an Anabaptist; here the cult of man-made images is denounced as adulterous betrayal of the one God.¹⁹⁶ Karlstadt's violent

¹⁹³ Karlstadt, *Von Abthieung der Bylder*, D2r: "hetten aber vnseren übersten iren götlichen rat vnd beschluß volendet vnd die bübische vnd verführische klötzer auß der kirchen zů gebürlicher straffe geiaget" [If our superiors had completed their divine counsel and decision and chased the roguish and seducing chunks out of the church to a fitting punishment].

¹⁹⁴ Andres Carolstadt, "Ob man gemacht | faren / vnd des ergernüssen | der schwachen verschonen | soll / in sachen so | gottis willen an|gehen," in *Karlstads Schriften aus den Jahren 1523–25*, vol. 1, ed. Erich Hertzsch (Halle (Saale): Niemeyer, 1956): 88, ll. 9–11: "das vnser bildnus dem menschen zum fall vnnd zum strick gelegt oder vffgestellt sein / vnd zu einem verderbnus / als gott durch Mosen vnnd seine propheten geredt hat" [that our image is placed to a fall or a rope for man and for his perdition, as God has spoken through Moses and His prophets].

¹⁹⁵ Carolstadt, "Ob man gemacht," 88, l. 33–89, l. 2: "Demnach frag ich / wenn ich sehe / das ein klein vnmündig kindelin ein spitzig scharpff messer in seiner handt hett / vnd wölt es gern behalten / ob ich jm denn brüderliche lieb beweiset / wenn ich jm das schedlich messer vnd seinen willen ließ / damitt sichs verwundet oder ertödt / oder denn / wenn ich jm seinen willen breche / vnd das messer näm? Du must ie sagen / wenn du dem kind nimbst / [p. 89] das im schaden brengt [*sic*] / so thustu ein väterlich oder brüderlich Christelich [*sic*] werck" [Accordingly I ask: if I see that a small, immature child has a pointed and sharp knife in its hand and would want to keep it; would I show brotherly love for it if I left it with the noxious knife and its will, so that it wounds or kills itself; or rather, if I broke its will and took the knife? You must say that, if you take from the child what causes damage to it, you do a fatherly or brotherly Christian work]. Luther later retorted to that that adults were allowed to use knives, and that likewise the ban on images only bound the still immature Israelites, cf. p. 89 n. 212.

¹⁹⁶ Ludwig Haetzer, *Ein vrteil gottes vn|sers ee gemahels / wie | man sich mit allen götzen und | bildnussen halten sol* (Zürich: Froschouer, [1523], VD 16 H 140). The following passage is typical for its polemical tone: cir: "So ein touffter Christ hinuff stünde / so wurdest du jnn fast bald heissen hinab gon / der ein glid Christi ist / vnd du setzest ein rüssigen ölgöczen dar. Jtem du seczest sy in die kilchen die ein huß gottes ist / da got allein gebryßt vnd angerüfft sol werden / vnd machen also ein mörder grüb darus / Sind die bild vnd ölgöczen nit mörder so sy die seelen töden vnd sy von got jrem eegmahel abfuren? Huss mit jnen in ein für / da gehört das holtz hin. Jtem man spricht das sind heilig / das ist vnser frow / das ist sant Anna &c. Sind sy heilig so mag ein jeder bildmacher ein heiligen machen / ja der Bapst vnnd der bildmacher mögends glych wol." [If a baptized Christian was standing on [the altar], you would tell him very quickly to come down, although he is a member of Christ. And you place a sooty oil-idol there! You also place them in the church, which is a house of God, where God alone shall be praised and invoked, and they turn it into a den of murderers [cf. Matt. 21:13 in Luther's translation]. Aren't the sculptures and oil-idols murderers, since they kill the souls and remove them from God, their spouse? Out with them, into a fire, that is where wood belongs to. Also one says that they are saints, this is Our Lady, this is St Anne &c. If they are saints, then any sculptor can make a saint, yes, the pope and the sculptor could do so equally]. Haetzer also maintains that the Old-Testament ban against

actions and words alarmed both Catholic authors¹⁹⁷ and Martin Luther.¹⁹⁸ In his *Invocavit* sermons, destined to restore order after the riots,¹⁹⁹ the Reformer paid little attention to Karlstadt's argument; since the faithful knew that images were mere signs, there was no danger of idolatry at all.²⁰⁰ Luther's own theology of salvation through Faith alone caused him, however, to be wary because the veneration of images had close links with the practice of good works.²⁰¹ For this reason it would be better not to have them in churches. However, the freedom of the gospel permitted both keeping and removing images,²⁰² and they should probably be tolerated as long as some of the faithful were edified by them.²⁰³ In another text from the same year he admitted, however, that idolatry could be a problem.

images was still in force, and that they could neither teach the faithful nor make them more pious. For this work see J. F. Gerhard Goeters, *Ludwig Hätzer (ca. 1500 bis 1529), Spiritualist und Antitrinitarier: Eine Randfigur der frühen Täuferbewegung* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1957), 17–19; Charles Garside, "Ludwig Haetzer's Pamphlet against Images: A Critical Study," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 34 (1960):20–36.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. p. 91.

¹⁹⁸ For Luther's position on images see Christian Rogge, *Luther und die Kirchenbilder seiner Zeit* (Leipzig: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1912); Hans Preuß, *Martin Luther: Der Künstler* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1931); Hans Campenhausen, "Die Bilderfrage in der Reformation," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 68 (1957): 96–128; id., "Zwingli und Luther zur Bilderfrage," in Wolfgang Schöne, Johannes Kollwitz and Hans Campenhausen, *Das Gottesbild im Abendland* (Witten: Eckart, 1959), 139–72; Margarete Stirm, *Die Bilderfrage in der Reformation* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1977), 17–129; Christensen, *Art and Reformation*, 42–64; Elfriede Starke, "Luthers Beziehung zu Kunst und Künstlern," in *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526 bis 1546: Festgabe zu seinem 500. Geburtstag*, ed. Helmar Junghans (Berlin (East): Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1983), 1:531–48, 2:905–16. Eire, *War against the Idols*, 65–73; Rainer Wohlfeil, "Lutherische Bildtheologie," in *Martin Luther: Probleme seiner Zeit*, ed. Volker Press and Dieter Stiermann (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1986), 282–93; Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant image question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1993), 1–42.

¹⁹⁹ The section of these sermons that discusses images was printed in the same year – the seven surviving editions (VD 16 L 6,184–90) indicate its wide distribution.

²⁰⁰ Luther WA, 10/3:31, ll. 6–9: "Dann ich vermeyn, es sey kein mensch oder jr gar wenig, der nit den verstandt hab: das crucifix, das da steet, ist mein got nicht, dann mein got ist jm hymmel, sonder nur ein zeychen" [For I assume that there is no man, or very few of them, who does not understand: this crucifix that stands there is not my God, for my God is in heaven, but [it is] only a sign]. Soon afterwards, Albrecht Dürer uttered the same optimistic idea, cf. p. 102 n. 273.

²⁰¹ Luther WA, 10/3:31, ll. 3–5.

²⁰² Luther WA, 10/3:26, ll. 3–7.

²⁰³ Luther WA, 10/3:32, ll. 2–8. This does naturally not imply that all current images were legitimate; in his works Luther criticized quite a few iconographies as theologically incorrect; and he probably wanted those depictions removed (examples in Rogge, *Luther und die Kirchenbilder*, 15–19, and Stirm, *Bilderfrage in der Reformation*, 75–76). Earlier in his life Luther had regarded images as helpful for the immature only but explicitly did not suggest their removal (Luther WA, 56:493, l. 31 – 494, l. 17, a lecture on Romans from 1515/16 and Luther WA, 1:271, ll. 8–13, a sermon for the Wednesday after Laetare (17 March), 1518, see Starke, "Luthers Beziehung," 531).

Like wine and women, images might be misused but nevertheless could not be outlawed – it might, however, be safer not to place them on altars.²⁰⁴ The Brazen Serpent and the Cherubim on the Ark were examples of the legitimate use of images in the Old Testament.²⁰⁵ Soon afterwards Luther encouraged painting biblical stories in houses and producing picture bibles for the unlearned.²⁰⁶ In 1525 he characterized idolatry as an attitude of the heart, which therefore could only be rooted out through preaching, not through iconoclasm²⁰⁷ – although it might be laudable to remove some images that are objects of superstitious veneration.²⁰⁸ For those in a right mind images in churches were mere memorials, such as had also been allowed to the Israelites.²⁰⁹ This use was furthermore legitimate since human memory normally worked in images – Luther could not think of Christ without seeing a crucified man before his inner eye.²¹⁰ This passage indicates that the Reformer thought of ‘images’ as abstract concepts, similar to, as will be shown later, Lautensack. Luther’s later writings add little to these arguments:²¹¹ images were legitimate if the faithful

²⁰⁴ *Von beider Gestalt des Sakraments zu nehmen*, 1522, Luther WA, 10/2:33, l. 18–34, l. 3. Many of these ideas also appear in his letter to Count Ludwig of Stolberg, from 25 April 1522, Luther WA *Briefwechsel*, 2:513, l. 9–514, l. 32 (no. 482).

²⁰⁵ In an earlier remark, however, Luther regarded the Ark not as a man-made image but as a sign of God’s presence, similar to Jacob’s vision of the ladder, or the sacraments (Sermons from 1519–21, collected by Johannes Poliander, Luther WA, 9:348, l. 17–349, l. 5).

²⁰⁶ Luther WA, 10/2:458, l. 16–459, l. 3.

²⁰⁷ *Wider die himmlischen Propheten*, 1525, Luther WA, 18:67–84, e.g. p. 67, ll. 9–13: “Das bilder stürmen hab ich also an gryffen, das ich sie zu erst durchs wort Gottes aus dem herten rysse und unwerd und veracht machte, wie es denn auch also schön geschehen ist, denn D. Carlstadt vom bildestürmen trewmete. Denn wo sie aus dem herten sind, thun sie für den augen keynen schaden” [I have begun the iconoclasm in the way that I have torn them firstly through the word of God out of the heart, and made them worthless and despised, as already had happened nicely, when Dr. Carlstadt was still dreaming of an iconoclasm. For, where they are out of the heart, they cannot do harm if they are before the eyes.]. This may be a reaction to Carlstadt’s complaint that the idols had invaded his heart, cf. p. 85 n. 192.

²⁰⁸ Luther WA, 18:74, l. 21–75, l. 4.

²⁰⁹ Luther WA, 18:69, l. 26–70, l. 36, esp. p. 70, ll. 33–36: “So werden myr auch meyne bildstürmer eyne crucifix odder Marien bilde lassen müssen, ia auch eyne abgotts bilde, auch nach dem aller gestrengsten gesetz Mosi, das ichs trage odder ansehe, so ferne ichs nicht anbete sondern eyne gedechtnis habe” [So also my iconoclasts will have to leave me a crucifix or an image of Mary, even the image of an idol, also according to the strictest law of Moses, that I carry or behold it, as long as I do not adore it but keep it as a memorial]. Memorials were allowed according to Josh. 24:26. According to *ibid.*, 76, ll. 4–8, the ban of images from the Ten Commandments was not binding for Christians, anyway.

²¹⁰ Luther WA, 18:83, ll. 6–15, e.g.: “Jsts nû nicht sunde sondern gut, das ich Christus bild ym herten habe, Warumb solts sunde seyn, wenn ichs ynn augen habe” [If it is not a sin but good that I have the image of Christ in my heart, why should it be a sin if I have it in my eyes?].

²¹¹ Luther did not quote the section banning images as part of the Ten Commandments in his catechisms and therefore did not comment on it in this context, e.g. *Ein kurz form*

did not believe that they were different from other pieces of wood and stone or that venerating them was a good work.²¹² On the other hand, some iconoclasts would commit idolatry by believing that they were doing a good work by destroying them.²¹³ Altogether, Luther's position that images legitimately functioned as didactic memorials of the history of salvation yet were in their essence different from the divine reality²¹⁴ and thus deserved no veneration, was surprisingly similar to the official Catholic position formulated by Gregory the Great²¹⁵ – albeit different from religious practice.

The Zurich reformers, led by Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) and Leo Jud (1482–1542), systematically removed images from churches in the city and defended their position many times – but their tracts were considerably less wide-spread than Luther's.²¹⁶ Here, Karlstadt's arguments are paramount – images are mere pieces of wood and have nothing to do with God

der zeehen [sic] gepott, 1520 (Luther WA, 7:205); *Betbüchlein*, 1522 (Luther WA, 10/2:377–78 and 380–81); *Der kleine Katechismus*, 1529 (Luther WA, 30/1:285); *Der große Katechismus*, 1529 (Luther WA, 30/1:32–39). It is likewise not discussed in the Augsburg Confession (*Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952), 50–137). In his sermons on the Great Catechism Luther was apparently uncertain whether the biblical ban of images was a ritual law of the Old Testament superseded by the New or was merely a ban of the veneration of other gods that had been over-interpreted by the Jews (Luther WA, 16:441, l. 12–442, l. 27, cf. p. 86 n. 195).

²¹² *Auslegung der Zehen gepot*, 1525, Luther WA, vol. 16:440, l. 9–441, l. 11, esp. 440, ll. 14–16: “Den wir haben bisher unser Frawen, Sant Annen, Crucifix und der gleichen bilder gemacht und die meynung darzu gehabt, das besser weren denn ander holtz und steyn” [For up to now we have made Our Lady, St Anne, the crucifix and similar images and believed that [they] were better than other wood and stone]. Similar is Melancthon's *Apologia Confessionis* from 1531, which parallels the supposed numinous power of the images with magical images of planets, referring probably to the Seals of the Planets, cf. p. 262 n. 194 (*Bekenntnisschriften*, 324, ll. 3–6).

²¹³ Luther WA, 16:444, l. 30–445, l. 13.

²¹⁴ This aspect becomes most clear in a commentary on the Creed that contrasts Christ as the true image of the substance of the father with portraits that merely display external shapes (*Die drey Symbola oder Bekenntnis des Glaubens Christi*, 1538; Luther WA, 50:276, l. 37–277, l. 23).

²¹⁵ However, Luther's only reference to Gregory's defense of images comes from his *Table Talks* in the 1530s: “Bilder Gregorius appellat laicorum libros. Sic pictura Christophori” (Luther WA *Tischreden*, 3:514 no. 3,674, ll. 1–2). Since the image of Christopher was hardly didactic (although Luther tried several times to justify it with an allegorical interpretation, e.g. *ibid.*, 6:308–9 no. 6,990) Luther used this example to ridicule the church father.

²¹⁶ Zwingli and Jud argued for the removal of images in the Zurich disputation from October 1523 (Huldreich Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Emil Egli et al. (Leipzig: Heinsius, and other publishers, 1905–68), 2:690, l. 1–721, l. 20). Zwingli wrote on this topic in the *Christliche Einleitung* from the same year (*ibid.*, 654, l. 10–658, l. 23), and furthermore in his 1525 *De vera et falsa religione commentarius* (Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke*, 3:900, l. 1–906, l. 9). His most extensive comments come from his Reply to Valentin Compar, likewise from 1525 (*ibid.*, 4:84, l. 7–152, l. 7), and he returned to this topic in a Sermon from 31 January 1528 (*ibid.*, 6:1497).

and the saints, their veneration is always idolatry akin to pagan worship²¹⁷ and banned by the Second Commandment, which is still in force.²¹⁸ Whilst Zwingli partially agreed with Luther's stance that idolatry could only be rooted out through preaching, he insisted that a removal of images was nevertheless necessary to prevent a relapse, and that not only venerated images but all images that could conceivably be venerated had to be removed – the artists and scholars had to show this much consideration for the weak.²¹⁹ Similar arguments were used by the Straßburg reformer Martin Bucer²²⁰ and the minister Wolfgang Rüß who defended an outbreak of iconoclasm in Ulm.²²¹

By 1530 most of the debate on iconoclasm was over, and some authors used the topic of the expulsion of idols for moralizing purposes. In the broadsheet *Lament of the Persecuted Idols* the images admit that their removal was justified and admonish the reader to banish also idols like adultery and gluttony from their lives,²²² and Paracelsus angrily remarked

²¹⁷ E.g. Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke*, 2:656, ll. 4–14: “Er verbüet aber hie alle eere, also, das man vor inen nitt nigen, biegen, knüwen, zünden noch reucken sol. Eret man sy nit, was thünd sy denn uff dem altar? Ja, man eeret sy nüt minder denn die Heyden ire bilder der abgöten; die hand sy genempt nach dem namen des abgots. also hand ouch wir gethon. Wir nemmend die höltzer mit dem namen der säligen. Ein holtz nennend wir Unsere Frowen und die Mütter gottes, das ander nemmend wir S. Niclaussen etc.” [But here he forbids all honor, so that one shall not nod, bow, kneel, light candles nor burn incense in front of them. If one does not honor them, what are they then doing on the altar? Yes, one honors them no less than the pagans [honored] their images of false gods. They named them after the name of the false god, and so have also we done. We call the planks according to the name of the blessed. One plank we call Our Lady and Mother of God, another we call St Nicholas, etc.].

²¹⁸ Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke*, 2:690, l. 15–691, l. 24.

²¹⁹ Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke*, 4:138, ll. 4–6: “Das ist alles den künstleren gesagt. Ir sind gelert und meinend, man müg die götzen wol haben; umbsehend aber üch, das ir die schwachen nit verergrind.” [This is all said to the artists: you are learned and believe that one well can have the idols; be careful that you do not scandalize the weak]. Only a few types of images, like stained glass and sculptures at church façades, were regarded as harmless, see *ibid.*, 95, l. 9–96, l. 2, p. 130.

²²⁰ *Das einigerlei Bild bei den Gotgläubigen*, 1530 (Bucer, *Deutsche Schriften*, 4:161–81).

²²¹ Wolfgang Rüß, *Waher die Bilder | oder Götzen mit jrem gepreng / Baid der Haiden | vnd genanten Christen kumen* ([Augsburg: Ulhart], 1532, VD 16 R 3,859). Interestingly, this author regarded Christian art as an invention from Justinian's time, which primarily should allow to boast with individual wealth (Cgr).

²²² *Klagrede der armen verfolgten Götzen vnd Tempelpilder / über so vngleich vrtayl vnd straffe*, col. 3: “Und ist man vns wol pillich feind | So wir jm tempel also gstanden | Vnd jr gemaint Gott wer verhanden | ... Wie wir dann willig sind fürwar | Weren wir nûr auß tilget gar | Vnd ließ man nûr kain uber bliben” [And one is rightly hostile towards us because we have been standing in the temple, and you believed that [in us] God was present ... Truly we now happily accept it, if only we were totally obliterated, and none of us be left]. The woodcut is given to Erhard Schoen, ca. 1530 (*Geisberg* 1,145; *Hollstein* 47: 24–25, H. 5), a former attribution of the poem to Niklaus Manuel is no longer maintained, cf. p. 99 n. 264.

that instead of the external purge of harmless wooden images from churches the Christians should rather have cleansed themselves of the idols of vices – once again, ‘image’ stands for an abstract concept.²²³ Paracelsus strongly advocated images not only for teaching but also for inspiring pious thoughts on Christ’s Passion and compared their emotional value to portraits of a deceased person.²²⁴ Likewise another dissenter, Casper Schwenckfeld von Ossig (1489–1561), believed that, since the Old Testament contained many images prefiguring Christ, Christians were allowed to use images in order to be constantly reminded of His life.²²⁵

The first Catholic author who tried to counter iconoclastic propaganda was Johann Eck, one of Luther’s fiercest opponents. He treated it as mere revival of the Byzantine iconoclasm and accordingly regurgitated arguments from this time:²²⁶ The Brazen Serpent and the Cherubim on the Ark

²²³ So he stated in his *Sermo de imaginibus* (ca. 1530, Theophrast von Hohenheim, genannt Paracelsus, *Theologische und Religionsphilosophische Schriften*, vol. 3, *Dogmatische und Polemische Einzelschriften*, ed. Kurt Goldammer (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1986), 283–84): “Aber ir des gemeinen verstands wolt das gebott Christi und gott des vatters nit recht verstohn. ir werfent die hölzerne bilder aus der kirchen. was tunt sie euch? sie beißen nit, sie pellen nit, sie liegen nit, sie betrügen nit. warumb werft irs in ofen? warumb verbrint irs? verbrinnet die bilder, die euch leib und seel verdamben! ... du sollt reinigen den tempel deines herzens und aus demselben werfen die bösen bilder, die du darinnen hast, nit aus dem gemäur. das gemäur und das auskeren und heiligen auswerfen und götzen &c rechtfertiget dich nichts, dann es ist nur ein gleisne[p. 284]rei. sonder gehe in den tempel, der inwendig ist. da würf heraus von dir stuprum, adulterium, dein totschiag ...” [But you of a simple understanding cannot understand the commandment of Christ and of God the Father correctly. You throw wooden images out of a church, how are they harming you? They do not bite, they do not bark, they do not lie, they do not cheat, why do you throw it into the oven? Why do you burn it? Burn the images that condemn your body and soul! ... You shall cleanse the temple of your heart and throw out of it the evil images, which are inside, not from the building. The building and the cleaning of it and the throwing out of saints and idols &c. does not justify you, it is only for boasting. But go into the temple that is inside, and throw out from yourselves unchastity, adultery, your murder ...]. Whereas this text claimed that true idolatry would only be committed by very few fools and that therefore iconoclasm was a pointless exercise, Paracelsus’s *De septem punctis idolatriae Christianae* strongly warned against any acts of external veneration – like Gregory he there defined images as books for the unlearned, and hence they should be treated with as much honor as books (ibid., 3–57, esp. 55).

²²⁴ Paracelsus, *Archidoxorum | Deß Hochgelehrten | vnd weit berühmtesten Herren D. | Theophrasti Paracelsi X. Bücher / so wir | die Vorred de Mysterio Microcosmi | für | das erst Büch achten wollen* ([Basel: Perna], 1572, VD 16 P 396), A2v–A3r.

²²⁵ Caspar Schwenckfeldt von Ossing, *Epistolar | Des Edlen, von | Gott hochbegnadeten | theuweren Manns Caspar Schwenckfeldts von Ossing / seliger gedächtnis Christliche Lehrhafft | Missiuen oder Sendbriefe*, vol. 1 (n. p., 1566, VD 16 S 4,831), 845.

²²⁶ Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock: Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren* (Berlin: Mann, 1997), 88. The title of the earliest of these texts, Johann Eck, *De Non Tollendis | Christi & sanctorum Imaginibus, | contra haeresim Felicianam sub | Carolo magno damnatam, & iam | sub Carolo .V. renascentem decisio* ([Ingolstadt (Lutz)], 1522, VD 16 E 388), refers

of the Covenant²²⁷ showed that images were never totally banned in the Old Testament, and, anyway, all restrictions had been superseded by Christ's incarnation, a concept Eck attributed to John of Damascus.²²⁸ He likewise justified the veneration of images through the Byzantine concept that the honor done to an image was translated to its sitter and contrasted it strongly with the supposed pagan belief that the images had actual saving power.²²⁹ However, he spent more time arguing that images were useful tools for teaching and could encourage more fervent piety. Like many later Catholic authors, Eck also vindicated images through non-biblical Tradition. Naturally, this argument had no weight amongst Protestants. Christ had given an image of Himself to King Abgar,²³⁰ and several councils had permitted the use of images.²³¹ Eck was likewise typical in not defending all current practices and admitting that licentious images could give cause to evil thoughts,²³² and that some of the faithful indeed adored images as if they contained something divine – but this abuse could be overcome by instruction.²³³ Hieronymus Emser used similar arguments in his considerably more substantial refutation of Karlstadt's tract.²³⁴

to the condemnation of the Byzantine iconoclasm in the time of Charlemagne. For this text see Erwin Iserloh, "Die Verteidigung der Bilder durch Johannes Eck zu Beginn des reformatorischen Bildersturms," *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 35/36 (1974): 75–85. Eck repeated most of his arguments in his later *Enchiridion* against Luther: Johann Eck, *Enchiridion*, | *Handbüch|lin gemayner stell | vnnd Artickel / der jetzt | schwebenden Newen | leeren* ([Augsburg: Weißenhorn], 1533, VD 16 E 358), 94r–98v (German); Johann Eck, *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutherum et alios hostes ecclesiae* (1525–1543), ed. Pierre Fraenkl (Münster: Aschendorff, 1979), 191–98 (Latin).

²²⁷ Eck, *De non tollendis imaginibus*, a4r. For the role of Old-Testament objects in the defense of images see Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie*, 95–104.

²²⁸ Eck, *De non tollendis imaginibus*, a2v–a3r: "Sicut enim oculis humanis obiecit praesentiam suam: ita & pictor prius [a3r] visa potuit exhibere humano sensui & visui."

²²⁹ Eck, *De non tollendis imaginibus*, b1r: "imaginis honor ad exemplaris transfertur honorem;" c2v–c3v. As stated before (pp. 81–82), this argument had lost much of its force through the development of Nominalism.

²³⁰ Eck, *De non tollendis imaginibus*, a3r–a4v.

²³¹ Eck, *De non tollendis imaginibus*, c1v–c2v.

²³² Eck, *De non tollendis imaginibus*, c3r [The foliation in this edition is confused, this is the penultimate leaf].

²³³ Eck, *De non tollendis imaginibus*, c3v: "Pestifera autem est imaginum adoratio, sicut idololatrae adorant, quasi sit aliquid diuinitatis in eis ... quoniam unica & facili directione rectificant vsum imaginum."

²³⁴ Hieronymus Emser, *Emser's vor|antwortung / auff das ketze|rische buch Andree Ca|rolstats von abthul|ung der bilder* ([Leipzig: Landsberg, 1522], VD 16 E 1,109). This text was reprinted soon afterwards as Hieronymus Emser, *Das man der heyl|igen bilder yn den kirchen nit abthon / noch | vnehren soll / Vnnd das sie yn der | schrift nyndert verboten seyn* ([Dresden: Emserpresse, 1524], VD 16 E 1,108); see also Heribert Smolinski, "Reformation und Bildersturm: Hieronymus Emser's Schrift gegen Karlstadt über die Bilderverehrung," in *Reformatio Ecclesiae: Beiträge zu kirchlichen Reformbemühungen von der Alten Kirche bis zur Neuzeit: Festgabe für Erwin Iserloh*, ed. Remigius Bäumer (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1980), 427–40.

For him, the ban of images in the Old Testament only ever meant pagan idols²³⁵ (whereas heretics who follow their own opinions instead of the Church's teaching and regard them as the gospels metaphorically created such idols).²³⁶ By contrast, the images in churches had for the true Christian nothing alive or divine in them and were merely signs pointing to God.²³⁷ They should be kept in churches to remind the faithful of the saints and increase devotion, reverence and gratitude towards God, and they could be compared to honorific monuments of great benefactors.²³⁸ Likewise, the veneration of images (which always means veneration of their archetype, as the Greek theologians had stated) was akin to the honor shown to fellow humans, many of whom deserved it much less.²³⁹ Like Eck, Emser was skeptical about some current practices. The lighting of candles, one of the most popular devotional acts, was a naïve and pointless exercise. However, since it caused no harm and showed good intentions it should be tolerated.²⁴⁰ Less welcome were other developments: greedy clergymen encouraged pilgrimages to images that had never been proven miraculous,²⁴¹ in recent years images had become too elaborate so that too much money was spent on them rather than on the poor,²⁴² and

²³⁵ Emser, *Vorantwortung*, Hiv.

²³⁶ Emser, *Vorantwortung*, Eir.

²³⁷ Emser, *Vorantwortung*, B4r: "das die Christen vilgedachte Bild nit fur lebendig / oder fur goet halten / sonder aleyn fur figuren vnd antzeigung gotes vnd seyner liben heyiligen" [that the Christians do not regard those often-mentioned images as alive or as gods but only as figures and signs of God and of His dear saints]. In *ibid.*, G1r, he stated that images could neither help no harm unless they fall on someone's head, but the saints depicted could assist the faithful.

²³⁸ Emser, *Vorantwortung*, B4r–v.

²³⁹ Emser, *Vorantwortung*, D1r, speaks of bowing to men and to giving precious stones to evil women, cf. *ibid.*, D3r.

²⁴⁰ Emser, *Vorantwortung*, F4v.

²⁴¹ Emser, *Vorantwortung*, H2v.

²⁴² Emser, *Vorantwortung*, H2r: "so haben die alten wie ich in vil alten Clostern vnd stiftkirchen gesehen / gar viel schlechte bild in die kirchen gestelt / nit auß gebrechen der kunst (dann vor czeitn geleych so wol kunstliche maler gewest / wie wol sie nit so gar gemeyn / als sie itzo seyn) sonder auß zweyerley andren vrsachen / namlich das sie das vberig gelt vnnd vncost / den wir auff bilder legen / vnd offt fur ein tafel sechs / siblen / achthundert Ja etwan ouch tausent gulden geben / liber vnd seliglicher armen lewten außgespendet / vnd damit enthalten habenn / Die ander vrsach ist die das ye kunstlicher die bildt gemacht seyn / ye mehr sie ire anseher in beschawung der kunst / vnnd art der bossen auffhalten wolche beschawung / wir von den bilden auff die liben heiligen keren vnd wenden solten / ia es verglafft sich mancher an den bildern / vnd vorwundert sich so ser ab der kunst / das er nymmer an die heiligen gedencket / Darumb so wer es vil besser / wir volgeten in dem den alten nach / vnd hetten gantz schlechte bilder in den kirchen" [so the old people like me have seen in ancient monasteries or collegiate churches many plain images placed in the churches, not for a want of skill (for in old times, there were also skillful painters, although not as commonly as they are now) but for two other reasons, this is,

images had become so licentious that the Iconoclasm seemed like divine punishment of their makers.²⁴³ Also Hugo of Hohenlandenberg, bishop of Constance, quoted church fathers and council decisions in his defense of images. Although he referred to John of Damascus who had said that the veneration of images meant veneration of the saints and ultimately of God, and not veneration of earthly objects,²⁴⁴ he saw the main advantage of having images in a church in their emotional appeal to the beholder.²⁴⁵ Also he warned against an idolatrous attitude amongst the ignorant, unauthorized pilgrimages and overly artful images,²⁴⁶ but cautioned that attempting to root out these abuses once and for all would cause more

that they donated the surplus money and expenses we pay for images, so that we often pay six-, seven-, eight-hundred or even thousand guilders for one panel-painting, rather, and more blessedly, to the poor people and thus sustained then. The other reason is that the more skillfully the images are made, the more they keep their beholders looking at the craft, and the type of the decoration, which contemplation we should move and turn from the images to the dear saints. Yes, some become so transfixed with the images and are so much admiring the craft, that they never think of the saints. Therefore it would be much better if we followed the Fathers and had very plain images in the churches].

²⁴³ Emser, *Vorantwortung*, H2v: "vnuerschembt, hurisch vnnd bubisch / das ouch weder Venus noch Cupido so schandtlich vonn den Heiden ye geschniczt oder gemalt / worden ist ... dann wann wir die alten bild ansehen / so ist es gar ein erber ding / vnd alle gelider bedeckt / das keyner keyn boss begir oder gedanken darauß schopfenn kann / Derhalben ich halt das got die maler iczo darumb straffen / vnd in das hantwerck legen wird wo sie nit von dieser schandtlichen weyß ablassen / dann vil besser wer solche vntzuchtige vnd vnuerschampte bild legen in dem fewer / dan das sie auff dem altarien oder in der kirchen stehen." [shameless, whorish and rogue-like, that neither Venus nor Cupid had ever been so infamously sculpted or painted by the heathen ... for when we look at the old [Christian] images, it is an honorable thing, and all their limbs are covered, so that no-one can get any evil desire or thought out of it. Therefore I believe that God will now punish the painters and shut down their trade, unless they desist of this infamous habit. For it would be much better to put such immoral and shameless images into the fire, than that they stand on altars or in the church].

²⁴⁴ Hugo von Hohenlandenberg, *Christenliche vnderrichtung | des Hochwirdigen Fürst|en vnd Herren | herren Hugo Bischoffen | zû Constantz | die Bildtnüssen vnd das Opfer der Meß betreffend* ([Straßburg: Knobloch, 1524], VD 16 K 2,017), C4r–D1r. Hugo, the Bishop of Constance, addressed this text to the city council of Zurich, which was in his diocese but had introduced the Reformation under Zwingli's leadership. The council replied that all venerated images were idols and proscribed by the Ten Commandments (*Christenlich Antwort | Burgermeisters vnd Rad|tes zû Zürich / dem Hochwirdigen &c. Herren | Hugen / Byschoffe zû Constantz / über die | vnderricht beyder articklen der Bil|der vnd Meß inen zû geschickt* (Zürich: Froschouer, 1524, VD 16 Z 588)).

²⁴⁵ Von Hohenlandenberg, *Christenliche vnderrichtung*, D2v–D3r.

²⁴⁶ Von Hohenlandenberg, *Christenliche vnderrichtung*, G1r: "das die so die bild schnitzlent oder malent &c. zum offtern mal zû vil kunst daran legen / dardurch dann der gemeyn mensch mer synnet vnd betrachtet / was kunst an dem bild sey / dann wen es bedeüte oder anzeyg" [that those who thus carve or paint the images etc. frequently put too much craft into them so that the common man thinks and contemplates more what craft is in the image, than whom it means or signifies].

harm than good.²⁴⁷ Bishop Berthold Pürstinger of Chiemsee (1465–1543) compared the legitimate veneration of images to the honor shown to the arms of a prince and encouraged a wide range of traditional devotions.²⁴⁸ He furthermore regarded artistic talent as divine gift that was used most fittingly to glorify Him through the decoration of churches.²⁴⁹ Further arguments were brought forward by Nicolaus Herborn OFM (or Ferber, † 1535) who deduced from the presence of images in the Temple of Solomon that the Ten Commandments only banned pagan depictions, and that the Church was doing nothing but honoring the saints, those whom God had chosen,²⁵⁰ whereas Georg Neudorffer regarded military victories of those venerating an image of Mary as sign that God was pleased with their piety.²⁵¹

All in all, the Reformation debate on images shows both broad agreements between many groups and many different lines of arguing. For all authors the images are worldly objects that have no share in the nature of

²⁴⁷ Von Hohenlandenberg, *Christenliche vnderrichtung*, F4r: “Es ist war vil mißbreuch sind vnder den einfeltigen vnnd abergläubigen Christen der bilder halb / daran ist aber die Christlich kirch inn keinen weg schuldig. Sy braucht (als vil an jr ist) die bild wol ... Sy muß inn dem vnnd anderm das größer ist gedult haben / weytzen vnd vnkraut miteinander vffwachsen lassen / mag es on schaden nit als außreuten. Es sollen auch die ding (so an jnen selbs güt vnd fruchtbar seind) darumb nit abthon werden / das sy dieser oder ihener mißbraucht / sonst würd weder Sacrament noch anders inn der kirchenn bleyben” [It is true that there are many abuses amongst the simple and superstitious Christians because of the images, but the Christian Church is in no way liable for that. She uses (as much as it pertains to her) the images well ... In this and other [cases] that are graver she must have patience, let the wheat and the cockle grow together, and cannot root it all out without damage [cf. Matt. 13:29–30]. Things (that are in themselves good and fruitful) should also not be abolished because one or the other misused them, otherwise neither the Sacrament nor anything else would remain in the church].

²⁴⁸ Berthold Pürstinger, *Bertholds, Bischofs von Chiemsee, Tewtsche Theologye*, ed. Wolfgang Reithmeier (Munich: Literarisch-Artistische Anstalt, 1852), 599: “Vor den pilden magstu dich puckhen, knyen, hend awfreckhen, petten, liecht auwfzünden, wax, klainat vnnd ander gab dafür hengen vnd die pilde zieren nach deimm [*sic*] geuallen” [In front of the images you may bow, kneel, stretch out your arms, pray, light candles, hang there wax, jewels or other gifts, and decorate the image as you like].

²⁴⁹ Pürstinger, *Tewtsche Theologye*, 592: “Darawf ist billich, daz die werchlewt, als goldsmid, seydenmater, maler, snitzer, stainmetz vnd ander die zuo zier der kirch sonderlich gewibent seinn, ir arbit vnd kunst gebürlich anlegen, in der kirch sehen lassen vnd got damit eren” [Therefore it is fitting that the craftsmen, as goldsmiths, embroiderers, painters, woodcarvers, stonecutters and others, which are specially dedicated to the beauty of the church, make use of their work and skill fittingly, let it be seen in the church, and thus honor God].

²⁵⁰ Nicolaus Herborn, *Locorum Communium Adversus Huius Temporis Haereses Enchiridion* (1529), ed. Patricius Schlager (Münster i. W.: Aschendorff, 1927), 151–52.

²⁵¹ Georgius Newdorffer, *Von der heiligen erung | vnnd anruffen / sampt ettlicher ein|red wider der heiligen bild* (Tüwingen: Morhart, 1528, VD 16 N 565), E1v.

God and the Saints. Those who regarded images as legitimate saw their principal purpose in instructing the unlearned, recalling the history of salvation and (only Catholic authors) inspiring more fervent devotion, therefore their nature was primarily didactic. By arguing this way Catholic authors failed to protect the 'cult images' that were under the strongest fire from the iconoclasts.

Despite the stress on didactic images most authors also address the question of the veneration of images. Whereas Zwingli regarded any honor shown to an image as potentially idolatrous and Luther only spoke of images as signs, Catholic writers maintained that the veneration of images was legitimate, either through the essentially Neo-Platonic conception of honoring the archetype through the image, or through comparison with displays of respect shown towards lords and benefactors in ordinary life. Nevertheless, most authors admitted that there was also a superstitious abuse – although the boundaries are not always precisely defined. Some authors regard it as a harmless misunderstanding, but others suggest that it had to be countered not with drastic actions, but with careful catechesis. Also Luther believed that preaching was most effective in rooting out idolatry (although for him this was a minor problem in comparison to the belief in good works), whereas Zwingli demanded the removal of anything that could possibly seduce someone to idolatry. There is much controversy about the ban of images in the Second Commandment, some (especially Karlstadt and Zwingli) regarded it as still in force, while others saw it as superseded by the New Covenant, and again others believed that it was still valid yet did not ban traditional Catholic practices. Most defenders of images sharply criticized more recent works of art for their lasciviousness and their ostentatious character.

The theological consensus that images were ontologically separate from transcendent reality had, however, little to do with the role images played in the Late Medieval Church. Doubtlessly, many of them had catechetical or decorative functions and some were venerated in a conventional way, which the apologists of images would have called polite signs of respect or veneration shown through the image to the prototype. Also the habit of honoring images if the prayer to the depicted saint was successful and punishing them otherwise can still be explained with the Neo-Platonic link between image and sitter. However, some texts suggest a relationship between the image and the saints that goes well beyond established doctrine, like the famous episode in which an enraged merchant scourged a statue of St Nicholas for failing to protect him from theft, and the badly injured saint then appeared to the thieves and commanded

them to return their loot.²⁵² The identification between saints and individual images of them goes even further in other legends that report how images could spring to life and become like apparitions of the saint – in one of the most dramatic reports the Virgin Mary saw a woman being raped in her church in Canterbury and commanded her image to arm itself with a candlestick and to knock down the perpetrator.²⁵³ Whereas in theory each image of a saint should, by virtue of being an image of the same person, have the same status and receive the same veneration, these visible signs of a ‘numinous presence’ became only evident in a few of them, which were in many cases specially venerated. This presence was not the result of a special dedication or blessing by ecclesiastical authorities – more or less any image could show signs of it, be it a famous ‘authentic portrait’ like the Volto Santo in Lucca that was supposedly carved by Nicodemus and famously gave one of its silver shoes to a minstrel playing for it,²⁵⁴ be it the small Pietà placed by pious locals into a hedge that caused the pilgrimage of Grimmerthal, which attracted thousands of pilgrims at the eve of the Reformation.²⁵⁵ However, although these cults often began in a spontaneous and unpredictable manner, they were not part of a ‘folk religion’ independent of the clergy and of official doctrine. The veneration of these ‘special’ images through the building of churches, pilgrimages and the publication of miracles was only possible with the support of the church hierarchy – despite the fact that it found little resonance in theological literature outside legends.

Only a wide-spread belief in this numinous presence within images can explain the riotous scenes that frequently accompanied the removal of images during the Reformation.²⁵⁶ In many places images were carried around the town, publicly humiliated and finally destroyed (sometimes by

²⁵² Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Galluzzo, 1998), 45, § 130 – 46, §138 (cap. 3), for similar occurrences see Guy P. Marchal, “Das vieldeutige Heiligenbild: Bildersturm im Mittelalter,” in *Macht und Ohnmacht der Bilder: Reformatorischer Bildersturm im Kontext der europäischen Geschichte*, ed. Peter Blickle et al. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002), 316–19.

²⁵³ Giraldu Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London: Longman, 1862), pp. 106–7 (Dist. I, cap. 34), see also Marchal, “Das vieldeutige Heiligenbild,” 312.

²⁵⁴ Gustav Schnürer and Joseph M. Ritz, *Sankt Kümmeris und Volto Santo: Studien und Bilder* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1934), 159–78.

²⁵⁵ Mötsch, Wallfahrt zu Grimmerthal, 8, cf. p. 11 n. 5.

²⁵⁶ Many of these riots have been analyzed by Bob Scribner, e.g. “Volkskultur und Volksreligion: zur Rezeption evangelischer Ideen,” in *Zwingli und Europa: Referate und Protokoll des Internationalen Kongresses aus Anlaß des 500. Geburtstages von Huldrych Zwingli vom 26. bis 30. März 1984*, ed. Peter Blickle, Andreas Lindt, and Alfred Schindler (Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 151–61; “The image and the Reformation,” in *Disciplines of Faith: Studies in Religion, Politics and Patriarchy*, ed. Jim Obelkevich and

use as fire-wood) in order to demonstrate to everyone that they were merely material objects and had no supernatural powers.²⁵⁷ Other images were subjected to trials for having deceived the faithful, but also in these cases the subsequent ‘torture’ and ‘execution’ could demonstrate that the image was a powerless, dead object.²⁵⁸ As we have seen, this belief in a ‘numinous presence’ in images was for some reformers so deeply ingrained in the faithful that it could only be rooted out by such drastic means. However, the development in Nuremberg, where soon after the Reformation the numerous images in the town’s churches were merely regarded as harmless pieces of decoration, supports Luther’s claim that preaching would quickly end idolatrous practices.²⁵⁹

The condemnation of images by some of the Reformers meant for artists not only the loss of commissions, and in many cases of their livelihood,²⁶⁰ but also questioned the legitimacy of their craft – they had become prime collaborators of a monstrous forgery that had enticed many of their fellow Christians into terrible sins. This accusation must have

L. Roper (London: Routledge, 1987), 539–50; “Ways of Seeing in the Age of Dürer,” in *Dürer and His Culture*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 93–117; also Sergiusz Michalski, “Das Phänomen Bildersturm: Versuch einer Übersicht,” in *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Bob Scribner (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), 69–124, esp. 95, 105–7; Michalski, *Reformation and the Visual Arts*, 75–98. In other places, such as Zurich, images were removed quietly behind closed doors (Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke*, 4:150, l. 6 – 151, l. 8).

²⁵⁷ Gudrun Litz, “Die Problematik der reformatorischen Bilderfrage in den schwäbischen Reichsstädten,” in *Macht und Ohnmacht der Bilder: Reformatorischer Bildersturm im Kontext der europäischen Geschichte* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002), 106, describes how a barber took the wooden donkey used for the Palm Sunday procession home to mock it and announced that he would use it to heat water for a bath. Marchal, “Das vieldeutige Heiligenbild,” 320–30, pointed out that already before the Reformation soldiers occasionally destroyed religious images, and primarily the image of the patron saint of their own country, in churches belonging to their enemies in order to demonstrate that the saints were not really present in these places and therefore did not protect these congregations.

²⁵⁸ E.g. Scribner, “Image and the Reformation,” 542. The concept of images as fraudsters precedes the Reformation: already Heinrich Bebel tells of a fool who discovered the crucifix that was every Ascension Day drawn up through a hole in the vault in the attic of the church, called it an impostor who was hiding to make people believe that he ascended, and finally broke it to pieces (Heinrich Bebel, *Heinrich Bebel's Facetten: Drei Bücher*, ed. Gustav Bebermeyer (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1931), 172–73 no. 181, see Michalski, “Phänomen Bildersturm,” 106).

²⁵⁹ Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 108, cf. p. 19.

²⁶⁰ The virtual collapse of commissions for religious art was not only due to the iconoclasm. The belief in salvation through faith alone, which rendered good works like the endowment of chapels and the donation of religious imagery pointless, probably had more devastating consequences, since it also concerned moderately Protestant regions that tolerated images.

been especially worrying for those artists who, like many fellow craftsmen, had been eager supporters of the Reformation.²⁶¹ Some may have abandoned their craft for religious reasons although it is not easy to establish the true motives behind such a change.²⁶² It is, for instance, unclear if the Berne-based painter Niklaus Manuel († 1530) drastically reduced his output after 1520 because of religious scruples or because his activities as politician and playwright left no time for his craft. One of his last drawings, a design for stained glass made shortly before the Berne iconoclasm, showed the destruction of idols under King Josiah;²⁶³ and his plays ridicule the veneration of images with Protestant stereotypes, yet betray no particular interest in this topic.²⁶⁴ Other artists continued their work while privately

²⁶¹ Some statements by artists are collected in Georg Stuhlfauth, "Künstlerstimmen und Künstlernote aus der Reformationsbewegung," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 56 (ser. 3, 7), (1937): 498–514, and Franz-Josef Sladeczek, "Das wir entlichs verderbens und des bettelstabs sind." Künstlerschicksale zur Zeit der Reformation," in *Macht und Ohnmacht der Bilder: Reformatorischer Bildersturm im Kontext der europäischen Geschichte* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002), 273–304; see Carl C. Christensen, "The Reformation and the Decline of German Art," *Central European History* 6 (1973): 207–32.

²⁶² Supposedly, the painter Hans Herbst, who was later known for dissent and refusing to take Communion, gave up painting after the Reformation, in order not to support idolatry (Theodorus Zwinger, *Theatrum | Hymanæ | Vitæ | Theodori Zuingeri Bas. | Tertiatione*, vol. 20 (Basileæ: Episcopius, 1587, VD 16 Z 757), lib. 3, 3,701), see Lukas Wüthrich, "Quellen zur Biographie des Malers Hans Herbst (1470–1552)," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 35 (1978): 182 no. 62. However, he may have merely conformed to the new legal situation (ibid., 189 n. 54), and he was still paid by the town for some, although wholly profane, paintings (ibid., 183 no. 76). According to Vasari, some decades earlier Fra Bartolommeo and Lorenzo di Credi had burnt their studio drawings under the influence of Savonarola's preaching (Vasari, *Vite*, Testo, 4:91 ll. 23–25; see David Freedberg, "The Structure of Byzantine and European Iconoclasm," in *Iconoclasm: Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. University of Birmingham, March 1975*, ed. Anthony Bryer and Judith Herrin (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1977), 169).

²⁶³ Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. U. I. 77; Lucas Marco Gisi, "Niklaus Manuel und der Berner Bildersturm 1528," in *Macht und Ohnmacht der Bilder: Reformatorischer Bildersturm im Kontext der europäischen Geschichte* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002), 144–57.

²⁶⁴ E.g. the *Sickness of the Mass* has a discussion on whether the sick Mass could be healed on a pilgrimage, but "Niclaus Welenmann" (a pseudonym for Niklaus Manuel) reports that that was no longer possible: "dann die häcks / so die selb wallfahrt vß geheiß jrs bü lens des tüfels verursacht / hat man zû Bern verbrent / demnach die capel sampt huß vnd hoff zerstört / vnd sind die wurmstichigen götzen verruckt / radthen wohin" [for the witch who had caused this pilgrimage, according to the command of her lover, the devil, has been burnt in Berne, then the chapel was destroyed with its house and court, and the worm-eaten idols have been removed, guess where to], Manuel, *Werke*, 460. In the *Mass's Last Will* it is commanded to cook a strengthening brawn of all cradles, crutches and waxen limbs left next to the images, "zû zeichen jr Göttlichen krafft" [as signs of their divine power], ibid., 470. The attribution of the *Lament of the Persecuted Idols* (cf. p. 90) to Manuel is refuted in ibid., 633–35.

salutary, be it out of prudence or conviction.²⁶⁹ Although a broadsheet showed Luther criticizing the artists for opposing the Reformation in order to continue their crafts,²⁷⁰ we know of no German painters or sculptors trying to defend their works – with the exception of Albrecht Dürer. However, his interest was not so much in protecting individual works of

the economic difficulties caused by the radical Reformation introduced in Augsburg in 1537, which led to iconoclasm and the expulsion of many clergy, yet strangely mentions only tailors and shoemakers by name (Roth, *Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte*, 77, ll. 11–14).

²⁶⁹ A petition of artists to the Straßburg city council from 3 February 1525, states: “als nunmer durch das wort gottes die achtung der bilder mercklich abgefallen und noch täglich abfellet, des wir, dwyl sie ye mißbrucht worden sint und noch werden, wol zufriden sint; seitmal aber wir nichts anders dann malen, bildhowen und derglichen gelernet haben, domit bishere unser weib und kind mit unser erbeit, als fromen burgern züstöt, erneret, wil uns an solicher notturftiger narung und der unsern mercklich abgon” [Since now through the word of God the respect for images has dropped considerably and is still dropping day by day. About that we are well pleased because they have been and still are much misused. However, since we have not learned anything but painting, sculpting and similar things, through which we have up to now fed our wife and child with our work, as is right for good citizens, we are now lacking considerably of nourishment both for us and the ours], Rott, *Quellen und Forschungen*, vol. 1 (*Quellen, Baden etc.*), 304. According to *ibid.*, 305 n. 1, the (lost) minutes of the council recorded this petition with “Moler u. Bildhauer suppliciren, dieweil durch das wort gottes ihr handtierung abgond, sie mit empter vor andern versehen” [Painters and sculptors petition that, since their profession is failing through the word of God, they shall be preferred in receiving offices]. Heinrich Vogtherr, author of several pamphlets supporting the Reformation (cf. p. 40 n. 5 and p. 66 n. 116), wrote in the introduction of his pattern book: “Nachdem der barmherzig Gott, auß sonderer schickung seines Heyligen worts, jetz zu vnsern zeiten in Kunsten, ein merckliche verkleynernung vnd abbruch mitgebracht hat” [Since the merciful God, through sending His holy word in such a special way, has now in our time caused a considerable reduction and collapse of the crafts], Muller, *Heinrich Vogtherr*, 369. He feared that this decline of the crafts would lead to dwindling number of craftsmen, and in order to maintain their skills he published this collection of ornaments. At least some later editions remove, however, the reference to the Reformation and interpret this downfall as sign of divine punishment, e.g. Heinrich Vogtherr, *Kunstbüchlin / | Vonn allerly seltzamen / | vnd wunderbaren frembden Stucken / so ge|meinlich viel sinnens vnnd nachdenckens haben wollen: | Allen Mahlern / Bildschnitzern / Goldschmidten / Steinmetzen / | Waffen vnd Messerschmidten nothwendig / vnd sehr | nutzlich zu gebrauchen. | Gestellt | Durch weyland Heinrich Vogtherr / Mahler vnd | Burger zu Straßburg* (Straßburg: Bertram, [c.1580], VD 16 deest), A2r: “Nachdem der barmherzig Gott / zur straff vnserer sehr grossen vndanckbarkeit / jetz zu vnsern zeiten in gantzer Teutscher Nation / allen subtilen vnnd freyen Künsten / ein merckliche verkleynernung und abbruch mit gebracht hat” [Since the merciful God, in order to punish our very great ingratitude, has caused in our times a reduction and stop of all subtle and liberal arts in the entire German nation].

²⁷⁰ *Geisberg* 222, attributed to Hans Sebald Beham, with verses by Hans Sachs: “Seyt diß Apgötterey entnimpt / | Also seynd vber mich ergrimt. | Von erst des Baals Tempel knecht / | Den jr jarmarck thut nimmer recht. | Vnd Demetrius der werckman / | Dem sein handwerck zu ruck wil gan.” [Since this takes away idolatry primarily the servants of the temple of Baal are furious about me, for their fairground no longer does well, and the craftsman Demetrius, whose craft is going down]. Demetrius was a silversmith in Ephesus who led a revolt against St Paul because his business was damaged by the spread of Christianity (Acts 19:24–27).

art but rather in preserving the artists' knowledge. The arts had suffered terribly when their rude despisers used wars and religious changes (he probably thought of the Christianization of the Roman Empire) to destroy most classical treatises on art theory – whereas, in fact, any attack against skills does stir the wrath of God, who had given mastery to the artists, and the sorrow of all right-thinking men.²⁷¹ Consequently, in the draft for the dedication of his *Four Books on Human Proportions*, he appealed to his colleagues to write down all their knowledge so that the iconoclasm would not cause a similar disaster.²⁷² Furthermore, in this text and in the earlier introduction to his *Art of Measurement*, he made the naïve claim that it would be as unlikely for a Christian to be seduced by images to superstition as it would be for an honest man to be tempted by his sword to commit a murder – possibly an allusion to Karlstadt's comparison of iconoclasm to taking a knife from a toddler to prevent accidents. Idolatry would mean adoring paint, wood or stone, and only an utter fool would commit such an absurd crime.²⁷³ By contrast, most defenders of images had admitted

²⁷¹ Draft introduction for his book on painting, 1512, Rupprich, *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlaß*, 2:113, ll. 81–94: “Doch sind dy selben jre löblich pücher vns pis her verporgen vnd villeicht gar verloren, etwan geschehen durch krig, awstreibung der fölker oder verenderung der gesetz vnd gelawben, daz do pillich zw berewen ist van [sic] einem jtlichen weisen man. Es geschicht oft durch dy groben kunst vertrücker, daz dy edlen jngenij aws gelescht werden. Dan so sy dy getzognen figuren sehen jn etlichen linien, vermeinen sy, es sey eytell tewfelß pannung, eren got mit einem wyderwertigen. Dan menschlich zw reden so hat got ein misfall über all vertilger großer meisterschaft, dy mit großer müe, arbeit vnd tzeit erfunden würt vnd allein van got verilihen ist.” [But those their [the ancients'] praiseworthy books are up to now hidden from us and may be totally lost, what happened through war, expulsions of peoples, or changes of laws and faith. This must justly be regretted by any wise man. It often happens through the rough suppressors of craft that the noble *ingenii* are being extinguished. For, when they see figures drawn in some lines, they believe it is a mere conjuring of the devil, [and so they] honor God with something averse to him. For, to speak in human words, God is displeased with all destroyers of great mastery, which is discovered with much toil, labor and time, and which is alone granted by God].

²⁷² Rupprich, *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlaß*, 3:438, ll. 38–47: “Dann so itz etlich bildstürmer solche künst undt gaben gottes ferdilgen wöllen, wolte ich, daß alle künstner ein itlicher etwas, so uiel jm möglich, beschrib. Dann wir wissen, wie schwerlich diese kunst zu lehren ist. Es ist auch kein abgötterey jnn dieser kunst, man wöll dann mutwillen mit geprauchen. Ich glaub auch, dos nymand so unsinig sey, der holtz, stein, metall oder farben anpette. Doch werden mich die rechten meister in diesem fürnemen, hoffe ich, fertedingen.” [As now some iconoclasts want to exterminate such crafts and gifts of God, I would wish that all craftsmen would describe [their knowledge], everyone something as much as possible for him. For we know how difficult it is to learn this craft. There is also no idolatry in this craft, unless someone wanted to judge arbitrarily [?]. I also do believe that no-one would be mad enough to adore wood, stone, metal or pigments. But I hope that the true masters will defend me in this undertaking].

²⁷³ Albrecht Dürer, *Vnderweysung der messung / mit dem zirckel vnd richt[scheyt] / in Linien ebenen vnd gantzen corporen / | durch Albrecht Dürer zů samen getzogen* (Nürnberg: [Andreae], 1525, VD 16 D 2,856), A1v: “das itzt bey vns vnd in vnsern zeyten die

that superstitious practices existed and had to be rooted out through preaching. Possibly, Dürer was inspired to this claim by Luther's Invocavit sermons that strongly denied the risk of idolatry (they describe, however, other dangers in the veneration of images, which the painter ignored).²⁷⁴ Dürer continued claiming that images that were made well, honorably and skillfully would cause more good than evil but does not elaborate on their usefulness – in a much earlier draft he had stated that art was used by the Church because it allowed to display the suffering of Christ. If one can deduce so much from this short passage one could assume that for Dürer religious art was primarily a didactic tool to encourage pious meditations.²⁷⁵ One of his criteria, the “erberlich” [honorable] may echo the common criticism of lascivious images in churches, but his demand for skillfully and well-made works is contrary to the likewise wide-spread accusation that religious art had already become too ostentatious and expensive.

After this long excursus we can now examine the situation of religious painting in Lautensack's Nuremberg. In the early years of its Reformation, when Dürer worked on his books, there was some danger of iconoclastic riots,²⁷⁶ and in 1524 the theologians of the neighboring Ansbach drew up

künst der malerey / durch etliche seer veracht vnd gesagt will werden / die diene zû Abgötterey / dann eyn yeglich Christen mensch / wirdet durch gemel oder byldnüß als wenig zû einem affterglauben getzogen / als eyn frümer man zû eynem mord / darumb das er ein waffen an seiner seyten tregt / müst warlich eyn vnuerstendig mensch seyn / der gemel / holtz / oder steyn anbetten wölt / Darumb gemel mehr besserung dann ergernuß bringt / so das erberlich kunstlich vnd woll gemacht ist” [that now where we are and in our time the craft of painting is much despised by some, and it is said that it led to idolatry. [However,] every Christian is drawn as little to superstition by a painting or a sculpture as a worthy man [is drawn] to a murder, merely because he is carrying a weapon at his side. It truly has to be a non-understanding man who would want to adore a painting, wood or stone. Therefore painting brings more improvement than scandal, if it is made honorably, skillfully, and well]. The painter had developed this metaphor long before the iconoclasm: in a draft notice from ca. 1511/13 he defended studying crafts (“künst”) against the accusations that they would only lead to arrogance and other evils – instead, he stressed that the crafts were good even if employed for evil purposes, a good sword remained a good sword even if used for a murder (Rupprich, *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlaß*, 2:107, ll. 9–12). For the motif of the knife cf. p. 86 n. 195.

²⁷⁴ Cf. p. 87 n. 200.

²⁷⁵ Rupprich, *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlaß*, 2:113, ll. 51–54: “Dan dy kunst des molens würt geprawcht jm dinst der kirchen vnd dordurch angetzeigt daz leiden Christi, behelt awch dy gestalt der menschen noch jrem absterben” [For the art of painting is used in the service of the Church, and through it the Passion of Christ is displayed, it also keeps the shape of men after their death].

²⁷⁶ Carl C. Christensen, “Iconoclasm and the Preservation of Ecclesiastical Art in Reformation Nuremberg,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 61 (1970): 207. In 1524 a nobleman enquired if it was still worth putting up an epitaph, or if it was likely to be destroyed soon.

fierce condemnations of virtually every type of religious image.²⁷⁷ However, Nuremberg's Osiander followed a strictly Lutheran course and, while vehemently opposing the veneration of images,²⁷⁸ he believed that the freedom of the gospel forbade removing all images.²⁷⁹ At first he was stricter than the Wittenberg reformer and wanted to banish images that were historically inaccurate like those based on hagiographic legends, images that were only useful for superstitious veneration, and several side-altars that were no longer needed.²⁸⁰ However, in the end the only images removed in the entire town were one popularly venerated statue and several side-altars that obscured the view to the pulpit.²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ Wilhelm Ferd. Schmidt and Karl Schornbaum, *Die fränkischen Bekenntnisse: Eine Vorstufe der Augsburger Konfession* (Munich: Kaiser, 1930), 32, 314–16 (from 1524), 375–78 (1525). A few years later, both towns agreed on a joint catechism (*Catechismus oder Kinderpredig* / *Wie die in meiner gnedigen herrn / Marg[rauen zu Brandenburg /] vnd eins Erbarh Raths | der statt Nürnberg ob|erkait vnd gepieten / allent|halben gepredigt werden / | Den kindern vnd iungen | leuten zu sonderm nutz al|so in schrift verfasst* ([Nuremberg]: Petreius, 1533, VD 16 O 1,037), new editions in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, part II, *Bayern*, vol. 1, *Franken*, ed. Emil Sehling (Tübingen: Mohr, 1961), 135–205; Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 5:282–334 no. 177.

²⁷⁸ Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 2:172: “Man sol weder die [*sic*] pildnus Christi noch den andern goczen kain ere anthun” [One shall honor neither the image of Christ nor the other idols]. This comes from a sermon from 1525 in which he tried to pressure the Poor Clares into accepting the Reformation; since it was recorded by Clara Pirckheimer, one of the sisters forced to attend, it may exaggerate his hostility.

²⁷⁹ Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 2:287: “So wollen wir nun wider die bilder in gemain nichts reden noch handeln, sonder sie nach der paurn schrift und denckzaichen lassen sein, allain das man sie nicht eere oder anpette” [Thus we shall not speak nor act against the images in general but leave them as the peasants' writing and signs for memory, only that one shall not honor nor adore them].

²⁸⁰ Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 2:287: “Der maßen sein der heiligen bilder, die nie gelebt oder nicht also gelebt haben, wie man schnitzt und malet etc.” [Of that kind are the images of saints who had not lived, or had not lived as one carves or paints them] and 288. He made similar instructions in his visitation articles (*ibid.*, 3:164): “darumb were gut, das man die pilder, die ettwas guts anzaigen aus der schrift, lies pleiben. Aber die pild, die nichts nutz sein, dann das mans anbett und lichtlen davor prent, auch die, die nichts aus der schrift, sonder nur ertichte legenden anzaigen, ist die oberkeit als wol schuldig abzuthun” [Therefore it would be good if one let the images that show something good from Scripture remain. But the authorities are obliged to remove images that are useful for nothing but that one adores them and burns candles in front of them, also those that show nothing from Scripture but only man-made legends]. By contrast, Luther had only advocated removing images that were openly heretical or attracted superstitious cults (cf. p. 87 n. 203 and p. 88 n. 208).

²⁸¹ An image of Our Lady in the Frauenkirche was removed in 1529 (Christensen, “Iconoclasm,” 208), and side altars from several churches in the 1540s (*ibid.*, 219), see Gottfried Seebass, “Mittelalterliche Kunstwerke in evangelisch gewordenen Kirchen Nürnbergs,” in *Die bewahrende Kraft des Luthertums: mittelalterliche Kunstwerke in evangelischen Kirchen*, ed. Johann Michael Fritz (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1997), 34–53; Gudrun Litz, “Nürnberg und das Ausbleiben des ‘Bildersturms,’” in *Bildersturm: Wahnsinn oder Gottes Wille?* (Zurich: NZZ-Verlag, 2000), 90–96; Bridget Heal, “Images of the Virgin Mary and Marian Devotion in Protestant Nuremberg,” *Religion and Superstition in*

Therefore the churches in Lautensack's Nuremberg looked very similar to what they had been before the Reformation – but the images had lost their function and were no longer venerated, clad differently for feasts or carried around. As Luther had envisaged they had become mere memorials of the virtuous life of saints but also of the munificence and taste of their donors.²⁸² Although in some towns in South-West Germany iconoclastic outbursts only occurred in the 1530s,²⁸³ by the time Lautensack began to compile his tracts, much of the debate on images was over by then, and their presence in Nuremberg's churches was probably no longer controversial.

Nevertheless, Lautensack recalled that in 1530 he felt that his craft was no longer respected but rather linked with idolatry and he therefore wanted to abandon it. After Osiander's admonitions, he remained a painter,²⁸⁴ but hardly a conventional painter. As far as his surviving works show he restricted himself to a very narrow range of subject-matter, motifs that had in common that God had displayed them to men and therefore authorized their depictions.²⁸⁵ Most important are the *Two Images* from Rev. 1 and Rev. 12 together with their stars and candlesticks that God had shown to John (Rev. 1:12–16; Rev. 12:1–2).²⁸⁶ The crucified Christ could be justified through the phrase “they shall look on Him Whom they pierced” (John 19:37).²⁸⁷ The robes of the High Priest and the furnishing of the Tabernacle were made by the Israelites not only in obedience to God's

Reformation Europe, ed. Helen Parish and William C. Naphy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 25–46; Heal, *Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 64–115.

²⁸² The loss of ritual involvement with these images is traced in Heal, *Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 99–100.

²⁸³ According to Litz, “Problematik der reformatorischen Bilderfrage,” 107, major outbreaks of iconoclasm took place in Ulm in 1531, and in Augsburg in 1534 and again in 1537 (for the latter see Jörg Rasmussen, “Bildersturm und Restauration,” in *Welt im Umbruch: Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Barock* (Augsburg: Augsburgischer Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1981), 3:95–114.

²⁸⁴ 32:u594–95, especially p. 594: “Ich Paulus Lautensack der älter / ein Mahler und Mithürger zu Nürnberg bekenne / daß ich des Handwerck mit der Mahlerey gepflegt hab / des man dann nicht vielmehr geacht / für Götzen-Werck geacht / des ich mich hab abgethan dieweil die auch für Götzen geacht / die sie machen / denselbigen gleich seyn” [I, Paulus Lautensack the older, a painter and citizen of Nuremberg, confess that I was used to paint as my craft, which was, however, then no longer respected, and regarded as idol-work. I gave it up because also those who made them were likewise regarded as idols].

²⁸⁵ These images already play an important role in the tracts from 1535 (1–5), and become virtually exclusive subject-matters from 1538 onward.

²⁸⁶ The same could be said about other scenes from Revelation that are depicted in tract 1.

²⁸⁷ Lautensack quoted this passage several times as chronograph of the year 1533, cf. p. 49 and also p. 72 n. 144.

command but partially even according to templates He had shown to Moses (Exod. 25:9). For this reason they frequently feature in the Reformation debate about images. Sun, moon and stars had been created by God as “signs” (Gen. 1:14), thus as objects that should be beheld, and the same was naturally true for comets and other celestial prodigies, which were obviously harbingers of important events. Whilst artists working for Protestant patrons normally avoided problematic subject-matters like non-biblical legends and hagiographic scenes and in some environments even depictions of God the Father,²⁸⁸ Lautensack’s restriction to images that are clearly marked out in the Bible as to be gazed upon was probably unique in the 16th century.

One would assume that Lautensack therefore disapproved of most subject-matter chosen by his colleagues and predecessors and welcomed the removal of their works. However, in his tracts he voiced his opposition to iconoclasm.²⁸⁹ He was hardly motivated by fear for the survival of his own speculative works – even the most radical Zwinglians permitted book illustrations. His few recorded large-scale paintings had not been placed within churches²⁹⁰ and were not designed to attract veneration but rather to help understand the true meaning of God’s revelation.²⁹¹ Lautensack’s statements on images even fail to make clear if he was referring to material images or rather to the concept of the visual presence of Christ, and of His ‘portrait’ in the Bible. In tract 10a he began by praising the art of painting as a special gift of God.²⁹² However, it had been badly abused through the devil’s influence that instilled the desire to impress the world with external splendor and display of skills and the belief that the donation of elaborate works of art constituted a good deed conferring special merits before

²⁸⁸ Frank Muller, “Les premières apparitions du tétragramme dans l’art Allemand et Néerlandais des débuts de la Réforme,” *Bibliothèque d’humanisme et Renaissance* 56 (1994): 327–46, linked images that replaced God the Father with the Tetragrammaton to Strasbourg dissenters, but this device appears occasionally elsewhere, e.g. at the Small Altar from St George in Nördlingen (Peter Poscharsky, “Lutherische Altarbilder aus Nördlingen,” in *Rieser Kulturtage: Eine Landschaft stellt sich vor. Dokumentation*, vol. 11 (Nördlingen: Verlag Rieser Kulturtage, 1997), 381 fig. 3).

²⁸⁹ He commented on this topic in 10a:N20v–21r and again in the frequently copied tract 12, e.g. V131r–v.

²⁹⁰ His late Ayrer Epitaph was naturally made for a church, but it is a relatively conventional work that Lautensack probably produced for money rather for propagating his insights, cf. p. 36.

²⁹¹ Lautensack suggested painting the *Two Images* from Revelation on the wall of Oswald Ruland’s rectory, explicitly in order to make his friend’s sermons more clearly understandable (26:S69r, cf. p. 36 n. 125).

²⁹² Cf. p. 60 n. 88.

God.²⁹³ The later complaint followed Luther; the former echoed the unease about overly artful works, which had been expressed by many early Reformation pamphleteers²⁹⁴ and even by defenders of images.²⁹⁵ Because of these abuses the Word of God (that is, the Reformation) had caused the downfall and contempt of the arts. However, some persons, who regarded themselves as the best Christians, wanted to remove all images from churches so that they would have nothing but God alone.²⁹⁶ Here the painter combines Luther's claim that some iconoclasts regard their actions as meritorious works with Karlstadt's and Zwingli's argument that religious images in churches were idols rivaling for veneration with God, an idea alien to the Wittenberg reformer.²⁹⁷

Lautensack's counter-argument is utterly idiosyncratic. The Living Book can only have effect on those people who already have the image of Christ or yearn for it – and those who reject Christ's image by necessity put their trust in another image, that of the devil who hates Christ's image because he knows that a secret is hidden behind it.²⁹⁸ It is difficult to interpret this

²⁹³ 10a:N20v: "Aber allein mit dem eusserlichen gepreng von den [?] kunst ist man damit vor der welt handeln / vnd hoffren Sonderlich dye do kunstlich gemacht / dye hat man auch hoch geacht. Auch damit grosse hoffert geschichte [?] vor Gott / vnd der welt / Solch eusserlich gepreng hat man getrieben / do bey hat mans auch lassen bleyben / vnd doch damit vermeynt eyn grossen gottes dinst auffzurichten / vnd auch als eyn gut werck / vnd verdienst bey. Gott zu erlangen / Das ist dan der teuffel gar gewesen." [But one is only acting and courting with the external splendor of the craft before the world. Especially, what is done with much craft, this is also highly respected. So has also great vanity happened [?] before God and the world. Such external splendor was done, but one had left it at that, and nevertheless believed to do a great service to God, and also to achieve a good work and merit before God. This was totally the devil].

²⁹⁴ E.g. Franz von Sickingen (p. 84 n. 183) and Heinrich von Kettenbach (p. 84 n. 184). Whilst not referring to artistic quality, Zwingli criticized the use of precious materials that should better be spent on the poor (Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke*, 4:146, ll. 3–7).

²⁹⁵ So by Emser (cf. p. 93 n. 242) and Hugo von Hohenlandenberg (cf. p. 94 n. 246).

²⁹⁶ 10a:N20v: "Also hat es auch eynen außgang vnd grunth / das es durch das götlich wort Gottis. dohin ist gefallen / vnd gar zu nichten worden / mit allen Jren gecziert vnd gepreng. das man ir gar nicht mer also ist achten / So faren nun etlich zu / vnd wollen ir gar nicht mer haben ... / noch leyden in den kirchen / Sonder sint sie gar auß reutten vnd verwerffen / dye vermuden nun dye besten Christen zu seyn dye weil sye nun mals gar keynen Als Gott mer haben / noch hinfurt leyden wollen." [So it has the consequence and [that is] the reason that it fell through the divine word of God thither, and has become nothing, with all its decoration and splendor, that one does not respect it at all. So some are rushing forward, and [they] do not want to have nor ... tolerate it in the church but are totally eradicating and rejecting it. They believe to be the best Christians since they have now nothing but God, nor want to tolerate it in the future].

²⁹⁷ Cf. p. 85 n. 187 and p. 89 n. 213.

²⁹⁸ 10a:N20v–21r: "was wyl nun das lebendig Buch bey solchen Christen außrichten / oder nucz zu schaffen / wen sye das bildnus Christi nit haben / noch forder weder wissen noch haben wollen. So müssen sie ye eyn anders haben darauss sie puchen vnd trutzen wollen. Ist es nit Christus / So muß es ye der teuffel seyn / welcher dan nichts kann [21r]

passage – most probably Lautensack does not speak here of a concrete image but rather of the concept of an image of Christ, possibly his ‘portrait’ in the Scriptures, thus something that would normally not be called an image at all and would not be endangered by iconoclasm. Then the painter becomes more polemical, he states that the Iconoclasm was not warranted by Scripture but that the foes of images were acting in obedience to Satan and therefore would have difficulties in freeing themselves from his yoke; one day (probably, at the Last Judgment) Christ will convict them of having blasphemed His divine image.²⁹⁹ The tone of these sentences astonishes. Since the opponents of the Iconoclasm regarded images merely as aids for catechesis and devotion, their removal could at worst be inopportune and pastorally imprudent.³⁰⁰ Accusations of blasphemy, by contrast, were hardly ever made,³⁰¹ and also Lautensack’s equation of iconoclasts with devil-worshippers appears to have no contemporary parallel.³⁰²

leyden / was Jm zu nahen wil / Jm auch zu wider ist / dan er wol weylß / was noch fur eyn geheymnis dohinden ist / Als mit dem bild Christi” [What can now the Living Book achieve with such Christians, or what use can it bring, if they do not have the image of Christ and do not want to know or possess it in the future. So they must have something else from which they can insist and resist. If it is not Christ, it must be the devil, who cannot tolerate what wants to approach him [as a rival], and it is also odious to him, for he knows well, what a secret is behind it, as [it is] with the image of Christ].

²⁹⁹ 10a:Nz1r: “haben sie den vnrad angericht wider dye bilder zu stürmmen / on allen grund der schrifft des Newen Testaments / wirt es Jnen warlich widerumb schwerlich sein / Sollen sye dem teuffel widerstant thun / die weyl sie sich eynmal dareyn haben ergeben / vnd webilliget / des sie gar keynen befelg haben auß dem wort Gottis sondern [?] / das widerspil haben gepflegt / das wirt sie auch Christus selbert vber zeugen / das sie Jm seyn götlichs biltus haben geuneret / vnd zu schanden gemacht öffentlich vor der Christlichen gemeyn.” [Have they committed the abuse of running against the images, without any foundation in the Scripture of the New Testament, it will be truly difficult for them if they want to put up resistance against the devil, since they once have given themselves to and approved of, for which they had no command from God’s word but rather acted against it. Christ himself shall testify against them that they have dishonored His divine image and put it publicly to shame before the Christian community].

³⁰⁰ However, the belief that images were forbidden could be regarded as heretical, cf. the title of Eck’s tract, pp. 91–92 n. 226. Emser, *Vorantwortung*, B4v, claimed that the destruction of images was inspired by the envy of the devil, who had been used to be worshipped in this form in pagan times and resented to see others honored in this way.

³⁰¹ Whereas there existed a rich tradition of miracles showing divine indignation about mocking or mutilating an image both before and after the Reformation (some examples in Leopold Kretzenbacher, *Das verletzte Kultbild: Voraussetzungen, Zeitschichten und Aussagewandel eines abendländischen Legendentypus* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977)), apparently very few such legends emerged during the iconoclasm (the flogging of a crucifix that caused a rain of blood in 1524 should rather be seen in the context of the traditional punishment of images than iconoclasm, Scribner, “Ways of Seeing,” 93).

³⁰² Several authors believed that the veneration of images could lead to eternal damnation and therefore called them murderers of the soul (e.g. p. 86 n. 196), but the persons venerating the images are regarded as deluded rather than evil.

Lautensack then discusses the Old-Testament ban against images and counters it – like many Catholic authors – by stating that God could not be depicted in the Old Testament because He only became incarnate and therefore depictable in Christ.³⁰³ The painter combined this argument with some of his own ideas. Although God had been invisible for the Jews He was nevertheless present in the void between the Cherubim atop of the Mercy Seat³⁰⁴ and expected to be worshipped in this place. Through the incarnation He became visible to everyone in Christ, and He deserved now even more honor in His image than the Jews had shown to the Mercy Seat.³⁰⁵

³⁰³ So Eck (cf. p. 92 n. 228). Interestingly, this idea seems to play an important role amongst Catholic defenders of images only but not of Protestant authors.

³⁰⁴ For Lautensack, the Mercy Seat was not the lid of the Ark of the Covenant but an independent object, cf. p. 181 n. 66.

³⁰⁵ 10a:N21r: “Das man aber bilder gar nicht solt haben / wye dan etliche haben furgeben / Noch der in keynerley weyß der zu geprauchten / vnd dargegen das Alt Testament hoch anzuziehen / darin dan mangerley verpot sint angezeigt / das man keyn gleichnus noch bilder nach Gott zu machen. Das dan billich vnd recht ist geredt / wan domals Jm Alten Testament / Nyemant gott yemals hat gesehen. Jdoch haben sie warhafftiges götlichs / vnd vygurlichs zeygen gehabt (An dem Gnaden stül) mit sambt den zwayen Cerubin drob welche Cerubin anzeygen den eyngen Geyst des vaters / vnd seyn wort / welche zukunfftig herschen vnd reygiren [*sic*] sollen Jn der zukunfftigen Person Christi in seyner wirdigen menscheit welchen gnaden stül / von Gott ward befohlen wie der solt gemacht sein / darbey er sich wolt lassen finden / mit den Juden zu handeln zwischen den zweyen Cherubin gehort wurd was dye Juden anzeygten vmb Rad vnd hilff vnd beystant / des wartten sie erhört vnd gewert dan sie hetten / do eyn gewisßheyt vnd zusagung von Jrem eyngen Gott. welchs dan das gancz hawbtstück ist gewest Jm ganczen Judenthumb doselbestmals. Auch darczu Jm alle eer zu erbitten vnd zu erzeygen wye dan dye schrift gewaltig ist anzeygen vns fur eer erbittung vor dem Gnaden stül erzeygt ist wurden dan ers auch also wolt haben vnd wo sie seynen befelg nach theten. So wolt er ir gnediger Gott seyn. wo aber solchs nit gesche. So was auch dye straff als bald da vor handen. sye darumb zu straffen. hat nu das gancz Judenthumb keynen andern Gott gehabt dan / bey dem Gnaden stül domals wirt erkant vnd erlangt worden nun wye er bey den Juden ihr Gott vnsichberlich was. So haben wir in nunmals bey vns sichtberlich bey dem Gnaden stül do wirt er ersehen Jm .12. Capittel offenbarung Jhesu Christi Jn eynes kleynes kintdes weyß bey seyner liebsten muter marie / von ir geborn. Als eyn warer Gott vnd. Als eyn warer mensch ... wye vill mer wir Christen vnssern Gott solten erwirdigen der sich bey vns sichberlich vnder augen hat gebildet mit seyner wirdigen menscheit des wir noch nye erkant noch gewist haben / Jn seynem eygen Corpus do dan auch der warhafftig lebendig Gnaden stül erzeygt wirt / mit sambt der person vor augen stet. ya wir Christen nur haben veracht geschent vnd verlestert. vnd sünderlich dye aller hochgelarsten solchs haben angericht “[But that one should not have images at all nor use them in any way, as some have claimed and quote especially the Old Testament against them, in which many prohibitions are shown not to make any likeness or image after God, that is said justly and rightly. For by then in the Old Testament no-one had ever seen God. However, they had had a truly divine and typological [“vygurlichs”] sign in the Mercy Seat, together with the two Cherubim above. These Cherubim show the one Spirit of the Father, and His Word, which shall in future reign and govern, in the future person of Christ in His worthy Human Nature. God had commanded how this mercy seat should be made, and he wanted to be found there, to interact with the Jews, [and] he was heard between the two Cherubim. When the Jews presented there

For Lautensack, images are therefore not mere memorials or signs, as Gregory and Luther had suggested, not even objects allowing the vicarious veneration of transcendental powers as the Second Council of Nicaea had defined, but places in which a direct contact with God was possible – not dissimilar from the way many images were actually venerated before the Reformation. Naturally, it remains open what type of image is meant, and we should not forget that Lautensack frequently regarded the Holy Scripture as the perfect image of Christ.³⁰⁶ However, instead of merely writing on the divine authority of Scripture – a topic that would have kindled little controversy – Lautensack decided to clothe it in the metaphor of an image, and hence he had to defend it against the iconoclasts.

Many Reformation tracts discussed the question of images together with the cult of saints, but Lautensack commented on this controversial

something [asking] for counsel, help and assistance, it was heard and granted. For there they had a certainty and promise from their only God, which was the principal element of all Judaism in this time. [They also came] to render and show Him all honor, as the Scripture tells us with authority what honor was rendered to the Mercy Seat. For he wanted it like that; and when they acted according to His command then He wanted to be their merciful God; but where that did not happen, then the punishment, to punish them for it, was close at hand. As the entire Judaism had had no God but the God who was then recognized and reached at the Mercy Seat, and as He was for the Jews their invisible God, so we have Him with us now visible next to the Mercy Seat where He can be seen, in the 12th Chapter of the Revelation of Jesus Christ, in the shape of a small child next to His most dear mother Mary and born from her, as a true God and as a true Man ... how much more must we Christians honor our God who has depicted Himself visibly in front of our eyes in His worthy Human Nature, which we would have neither recognized nor known, in His own body where then also the true living mercy seat is shown and stands before our eyes, together with the *Person*. Yes, we Christians have only despised, dishonored and blasphemed, and especially the most highly learned have committed such things].

³⁰⁶ This becomes clearer in a shorter second text on this topic: 12:V131v: “dann damalß niemand Gott Jemalß hatt gesehen. Aber im N Test kein verbott darwieder sondern nuemalß aufgedeckt vnnd offenbar worden das man numalß vor augen hat Zursehen [*sic*] vnnsern Einigen Gott Nemblich vnsern Herrn Jhesum Christum in leyblicher gestaltdt in eines bildes weys / sich abconterfeyenn hatt lassen, daß man nu gewiß ist wie man Christo durch die gantze Schrifft sein Bildnüs solle mahlen denn er sich selbst anzeigt vnnd offenbartt wie dann Johanneß anzeigett Niemandt hat Gott Jemalß gesehen dan der Eingeborene Sohn der in des Vaters schos ist hats vnnß verkundigett Weiters wer an mich gleubett der gleubett nicht an mich Sondern an denn der mich gesandt hatt Vnnd wer mich sihet der Siehett auch den der mich gesandt hat.” [For then [in the Old Testament] no-one had ever seen God. But in the New Testament there is no prohibition against it, but [He] was now revealed and became manifest, so that one has [him] now there before the eyes, to see our only God, that is, our Lord Jesus Christ in his bodily form in the manner of an image, [who has] allowed to be portrayed, so that one is now certain how one could paint Christ's portrait through the entire Scripture, for He shows and reveals Himself, as then John shows: No man hath seen God at any time: the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him [John 1:18], furthermore: He that believeth on me, believeth not on me but on him that sent me. And he that seeth me also seeth him that sent me [John 12:44–45]].

topic rarely. Although the reformers held the Virgin Mary in high regard, both as biblical figure and as example of how God's grace could transform a humble human being,³⁰⁷ the end of the belief in the intercession of saints made her cult, once a defining feature of Christian piety, all but disappear³⁰⁸ – a turnabout that perturbed many persons who otherwise had sympathies for the Reformation.³⁰⁹ Lautensack frequently referred to Christ's incarnation, which he saw depicted in the vision of the Apocalyptic Woman of Rev. 12, and hence he identified this woman with Mary, a traditional interpretation that had become uncommon in the Reformation.³¹⁰ In this context he once remarked that the Reformers treated Mary as badly as the Book of Revelation, notwithstanding the real importance of Rev. 12, and expressed regret that the Reformation had not acted more softly in this respect.³¹¹

Although a closer analysis reveals that Lautensack's defense of images was only marginally a contribution to the iconoclastic debate because his arguments did not really defend the works of art that were attacked (an action he nevertheless strongly disapproved of), his comments shed an interesting light on this controversy. Whereas most of his tracts indicate that the Nuremberg painter had read very little apart from the Bible, his comments on the iconoclasm allude to the arguments of several different parties, like Karlstadt's and Zwingli's 'God alone,' Luther's condemnation of trust in good works, the Catholic emphasis on the Incarnation and a wariness about external splendor mooted by several authors. Most likely he had not learned about these positions through systematic reading but rather through discussions with colleagues – one can assume that painters

³⁰⁷ E.g. in Luther's *Das Magnificat Vortdeutschet und außgelegt*, 1521, Luther WA, 7:568, ll. 11–20.

³⁰⁸ Heal, *Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 53–63.

³⁰⁹ Erasmus published a fictive letter by Mary, in which she thanks the Reformers for no longer having to listen to requests for intercession in many morally dubious cases but complains of being totally ignored; she asserts that she cannot be removed from the church without dislodging her Son, too. (Erasmus, *Opera*, 1/3:472, l. 79 – 474, l. 129).

³¹⁰ Hans Düfel, *Luthers Stellung zur Marienverehrung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), 231; Hofmann, *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse*, 603.

³¹¹ 35:t21: "Wie mit dem Buch wird gehandelt / also zu gleich gehet man mit der Jungfrauen Maria auch vmb / daß man jhr gar nichts nicht mehr acht / ja also verächtlich / der jhrer nur ist gedencken / der muß ein abgötter seyn / ... also zu verachten / man het wol andere mittel vnd weise gebraucht / die sach linder anzugreifen / dann mit einem solchen sturm." [As one treats the Book [the Book of Life], so also does one deal with the Virgin Mary, so that one does no longer respect her, yes, [one makes her] so despicable that anyone who is merely remembering her must be an idolater. ... So to despise [her]! One would have better used other means and ways, to deal with this matter more softly, than with such a storm].

tried to be well-informed about debates that threatened their livelihood and the moral standing of their craft. His idiosyncratic concepts of God's presence in His images may well derive from the belief – present in numerous legends but not formulated by learned theologians – that there was indeed a connection between religious images and their sitters. Lastly, Lautensack's comments on images, as well as his statements on the development of the Reformation or the Biblical canon,³¹² show how theological debates of the Reformation were echoed, albeit often in mutilated and misunderstood forms, amongst craftsmen and other lay-people.

Surprisingly, many of the debates Lautensack commented on, for instance the disputes about images, had been most fierce in the early 1520s but had become more or less settled by the time he completed his tracts. It is possible that Lautensack already had thought about these topics when he was still in Bamberg and in contact with Johann Schwanhauser. However, none of his surviving tracts predate 1531, and this material suggests that his first longer texts come only from 1538. Although for scholars most of the Reformation was settled by the time of the Augsburg Confession, many old questions were probably still under discussion outside scholarly circles, and it is also possible that Lautensack had access to some old tracts and did not know that the questions they dealt with were no longer controversial.

³¹² Cf. p. 126.

CHAPTER THREE

LAUTENSACK'S DIAGRAMS: AN INTRODUCTION

After an introduction to Lautensack's life and some central points of his theology, this and the following two chapters will be dedicated to an analysis of his diagrams. In the early 1530s Lautensack began to express his unconventional theological views in highly complex drawings, which by 1535 were integrated into diagrams. However, the painter soon radically simplified these compositions and especially suppressed all but a few pictorial elements in them, so that the diagrams he composed around 1538 are much plainer than their precursors. In the following decades until his death in 1558 Lautensack enriched his designs once again, both as regards form and content.

Because of the great complexity and sheer eccentricity of Lautensack's diagrams it is better not to present them in chronological order but to begin, in this chapter, by introducing the reader in a systematic way to his key 'grammar' and 'vocabulary.' For the sake of clarity most of the material presented here comes from tracts written around 1538,¹ which, as stated above, contain the simplest, and unfortunately also the visually least appealing, diagrams. Armed with this knowledge the reader should then be able to study Lautensack's early tracts, which combine these diagrams with elaborate drawings (Chapter 4), and his later works that add numerous elements to his compositions (Chapter 5).

Since Lautensack's diagrams are both complex and absurd, it is not easy to explain them, and it is necessary to ask for the reader's patience. In particular, two difficulties will occur. Firstly, many diagrams go over several (up to 30) pages, and hence only parts can be reproduced. Secondly, the elements of Lautensack's diagrams will be explained systematically, but most diagrams display more than one type of content, and hence many illustrations and their captions will confront the reader with some material that is only explained later in the book.

A typical example of a simple diagram by Lautensack can be seen in Fig. 5, which reproduces an opening from one of Lautensack's autograph

¹ Most examples shown here come from the autograph tracts 3, 5 (both from 1535), 10a (1538), as well as tract 26, which was compiled some time later (probably between 1544 and 1546) but is in parts similar to the earlier work.

manuscripts and can be dated to around 1538.² It shows the last two pages of a three-page diagram. Each page is structured in a rectangular grid. Some larger fields contain drawings, some short passages of text, and others are so small that they only house a word, a number or a single letter. Further letters and signs are placed in small circles or in arched spaces at the margins. When reading all the entries one realizes that they seem to be a random assembly of very disparate items. The small fields give names of biblical Books and Ancestors of Christ, whereas the larger sections present biblical quotations, which break off in mid-sentence, with a letter in a circle and an isolated noun written in bold as the heading. Drawings show single stars and candlesticks as well as two scenes from Revelation. In the following pages these elements shall be explored systematically.

I. *Grids*

We should start this survey with the layout of the diagrams that forms the framework for all the diverse elements. As Fig. 5 shows, Lautensack combined elements that had nothing in common with one another, not only in their content but also in their form – like drawings of stars and biblical quotations. His preferred way of arranging them on the same level and so making them comparable was to place them into fields defined by a larger grid. This diagram shows that Lautensack handled his grids very freely. Each page is divided into three horizontal blocks, and each of these blocks has two halves with similar structures. The left section of each half is divided into two columns, each with eleven narrow rows, which are filled with numbers, letters or words. The right section of each half is not subdivided by lines and contains two distinct texts. On the right-hand page only the top block is structured in this way; the middle block has two large images, and the bottom block has two longer passages of text. All rows in a block are joined together by arches³ in the margin. Here is only

² 10a:N46v–47r.

³ In the earlier diagrams (e.g. Fig. 8, but also sometimes later, for instance, in 10a:N54r–57v) these arches consist of a small semicircle extended by leaf-like structures to the corners of the cell; later, this is replaced by a flat segment of a circle reaching to the corners, which can be decorated with leaf-work on the inside (e.g. Figs. 5, 16). Similar arches can also create frames around diagrams (e.g. Fig. 8). In some later copies the arches are replaced by other forms, so in tract 12 (e.g. W36v–42r) by pediment-like triangles and in tract 17 (e.g. U140r) by zigzag forms – these elements may go back to Lautensack's design or be a simplification introduced by a copyist.

one series of them, but in other diagrams there can be a hierarchy of up to four systems overarching one another (Fig. 6).⁴

When setting out to find sources for Lautensack's diagrams one should begin by considering which books he would probably have been most familiar with. Since Lautensack apparently had no knowledge of Latin,⁵ we have to focus on the considerably more limited field of vernacular literature (not excluding, naturally, that Lautensack could have copied images from a book he was unable to read). Most important in this group are cheap books that Lautensack may have used for his education, such as primers or introductions to mathematics, and prints that were addressed to a broad readership, like calendars and broadsheets. Although we can assume that such material was wide-spread in the early 16th century, most of it was not regarded worthy of collecting, and hence many examples only survive today in one copy, and many more are probably lost.

In contrast to virtually all other publications, some of the books mentioned above, especially calendars, were produced with the old-fashioned block-book technology well into the late 15th century, and hence Lautensack had probably grown up with such prints. Whereas normally the texts were set with moveable lead type and the images added as wood-blocks, in a block-book everything is cut out of one wood-block. This technique is cumbersome to handle and normally leads to clumsy-shaped letters, but it makes it much easier to combine texts and images – or gridlines – since everything is cut out of the same medium.⁶ Lautensack may have first encountered such grids when he was learning multiplication with the help of tables,⁷ and again in astronomical diagrams, which were common in

⁴ 5a:A4v (Fig. 6) is, for instance, a grid consisting of twelve columns, each with a small semicircle at the top and bottom, joined together by three more systems of semicircles.

⁵ Cf. p. 11 n. 3.

⁶ Accordingly, one of two nearly contemporary works on arithmetic from Lautensack's home-town Bamberg is a block-book that has diagrams with grid-lines (*Das Bamberger Blockbuch: Ein xylographisches Rechenbuch aus dem 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Kurt Vogel (Munich: Saur, 1980), e.g. 1v), while the other is typeset and without lines ([Ulrich Wagner?], [Colophon:] In zale Xpi. 1483 kalendas .17. des Meyen Rechnung | in mancherley weys in Bamberg durch henricus | petzensteiner begriffen volendet (Bamberg: Petzensteiner, 1483, GW M 37,209; facsimile Zurich: Schweizerische Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft, 1966).

⁷ E.g. Johannes Widman, *Behennde vnnd | hübsche Rechnung auff allen | Kauffmanschafften* (Augsburg: Stayner, 1526, VD 16 W 2,480), 17r, has 9×9 fields; Petrus Apianus, *Eyn Newe | vnnd wolgegründte | vnderweysung aller Kauffmanß Rech|nung* (Ingolstadt: Apianus, 1527, VD 16 A 3,094), A4v, even shows grid-lines but places the numbers at the intersections of the lines, not in the fields. A grid of 20×20 fields appears in Jakob Köbel, *Von vrsprung der Teil|lung / Maß / vnd Messung deß Ertrichs* (Oppenheim: n.p., 1522, VD 16 K 1,672), 4r, an introduction to land surveying, but is only partially filled in. Smaller grids were more common, so in *Bamberger Blockbuch*, 1v and 14r, and Stefan Deschauer, "Lern wol mit vleiß

popular printed calendars⁸ – prints that were also a source for other devices employed by him.⁹ I have not found a grid that rivals Lautensack's examples in complexity and flexibility, but many of the features he used also occur in other contexts.¹⁰ Lautensack's semi-circular arches in the margin have superficial parallels in diagrams of harmony, proportion and affinity,¹¹ but Lautensack used them in the same way as others used large brackets.¹²

daß eyn mol eyn / Szo wirt dir alle Rechnung gemeyn.' Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kopfrechnens," *Mathematische Semesterberichte* 37 (1990): 13–17. Grids were, however, not used in accounting, the field of mathematics that was probably most familiar to Lautensack, e.g. Wolfgang Schweicker, *Zwifach | Buchhalten, | sampt seinen Giornal / des | selben Beschlus / auch Rechnung zuthun &c.* (Nürnberg: Petreius, 1549, VD 16 S 4,775), other examples in Balduin Penndorf, *Geschichte der Buchhaltung in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Gloeckner, 1913), and Wolfgang von Stromer, "Das Schriftwesen der Nürnberger Wirtschaft vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert: Zur Geschichte oberdeutscher Handelshäuser," in *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Nürnbergs*, vol. 2 (Nuremberg: Stadtarchiv, 1967), 751–99.

⁸ Several editions of the popular prayer book *Hortulus animae* have an astronomical diagram of 19×23 fields (e.g. *Hortulus | anime no|uiter ac di|ligenter im|pressus* (Argentina: Knoblouch: 1516, VD 16 H 5,064), 10r). Grids also appear in lists of eclipses in calendars by Regiomontanus, such as *Kalendarium teütsch Mai|ster Joannis Künigspergers* (Augsburg: Syttich, 1512, VD 16 M 6,539), D4r–5r (this edition furthermore displays constellations in a grid-like diagram on H2v).

⁹ Cf. p. 233.

¹⁰ Smaller grids inserted into individual cells of a large grid appear, for instance, in a French Easter-table displaying nineteen small grids arranged on a page (*Le kalendrier | des bergiers* (Genesue: Belot, 1500, GW 5,913), 20th leaf, v). A close parallel to the distinct blocks of Fig. 5 are the lists of Ancestors of Christ by Hugh of Saint-Victor (Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, eds., *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 34), but these were not printed in Lautensack's lifetime. A printed example of a similar layout is *Julius Firmicus Jnn Teutsch | von den herrn der zeytt* ([Nuremberg: Peypus, 1515], VD 16 F 1,122), an astronomical treatise. Small circles within cells appear in a calendar printed ca. 1470, Paul Heitz, ed., *Hundert Kalender-Inkunabeln: Mit begleitendem Text von Konrad Haebler* (Straßburg: Heitz & Muendel, 1895), 15 and plate 1; Schreiber 4:67 no. 1,903.

¹¹ They appear in tables of harmonic intervals, as in a South-German Hausbuch (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagelliońska, 35/64 Acc., 104r, made in Bavaria ca. 1512/13 and studied in Ewa Chojacka, *Bayerische Bild-Enzyklopädie: Das Weltbild eines wissenschaftlich-magischen Hausbuches aus dem frühen 16. Jahrhundert* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1982), fig. 122) or Franciscus Georgius, *Francisci Georgii | Veneti | Minoritae Familiae | De Harmonia | Myndi Totivs | Cantica | Tria* (Venetiis: Bernardinus de Vitalibus, 1525), 88r. In mathematical textbooks they indicate proportions between numbers (e.g. Widman, *Behennde vnnnd hübsche Rechnung*, 28v, similar Schramm 13, plate 4 no. 10), and in *Arbores affinitatis* they signify relationships (e.g. Isidore of Seville, [Colophon:] *Isidori iunioris hispalensis episcopi Ethimologiarum libri | numero viginti finiunt foeliciter* ([Augsburg]: Zainer, 1472, GW M 15,250), 139v (manuscript foliation from the copy München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2° Inc. c.a. 129), Schramm 2, plate 32 no. 283). In most examples the arches are not used to join together neighboring fields (as in Lautensack's tracts) but to link two distant items, hence they normally come in different sizes and can cross over each other, an exception is a small diagram in Georgius, *De Harmonia*, 82v (recte 86v).

¹² E.g. *Bamberger Blockbuch*, 2v (with chevrons and braces). In the only known copy of Adam Riese's second book on Arithmetic, braces were added by hand (facsimile in Stefan

Whereas the opening discussed up to now is executed in brown ink only, in other places Lautensack employed up to four colors – always yellow, blue, red and green in this order¹³ – to structure his diagrams.¹⁴ He experimented with both writing in colored ink on plain background and writing in brown ink on colored backgrounds, and eventually settled for the latter (e.g. Fig. 62).¹⁵ In later diagrams he frequently described celestial prodigies, and in this context he associated these four colors with the rainbow.¹⁶ Although books were often printed in black and red,¹⁷ and

Deschauer, *Das 2. Rechenbuch von Adam Ries: Nachdruck der Erstaussgabe Erfurt 1522 mit einer Kurzbiographie, bibliographischen Angaben und einer Übersicht über die Fachsprache* (Munich: Institut für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, 1991), 7). Braces on five different levels are used in the Latin *Ars memorativa* Thomas Murner, *Charti|ludium Institute summarie | doctore Thoma Murner | memorante et ludente* (Argentinae: Knoblauch, 1518, VD 16 M 7,028), a2v–a3r, and braces were furthermore employed by the lawyer and religious dissenter Christiannus Entfelder (Christannus Entfelder, *Von den ma|nigfaltigen im glauben zer|spaltungen / dise jar erstanden. |Jnn sonderhait von der Tauff|spaltung vnd jrem vrtail / | Ain bedacht* ([Augsburg: Ulhart, 1540], VD 16 E 1,362), B1v and B2r, cf. Packull, *Mysticism and the early Anabaptist Movement*, 163, 169. Occasionally, semicircles were used in a similar way, as in *Der doernen krantz van Collen* (Coellen: Koelhoff, 1490, GWM 16,401), C2v, with a hierarchy of 1, 3, 9 and 27 semicircles (Schramm 8, plate 55 fig. 319) or a circular diagram of winds and cardinal directions (Isidore of Seville, [Colophon:] *Liber sancti ysidori episcopi de responsione mundi & astrorum ordinati|one finit feliciter* ([Augsburg]: Zainer, 1472, GWM 15,281), 14th leaf, v, Schramm 2, plate 34 no. 293).

¹³ In most manuscripts the 'yellow' is a dirty light brown, the 'blue' greyish, the 'red' a dull, brownish color, and the 'green' bluish. The colors appearing in the individual manuscripts are described in the catalogue of manuscripts in the appendix. Very rarely, five colors are employed: 2:L21v re-uses blue at the end, 26:W87v introduces purple.

¹⁴ Amongst the early manuscripts, the four colors appear only in L (tracts 1b, 2, 3a, 4b) and the appendix of K (1c, 4a). Later tracts using colors are 12, 24–26, 29, 30, 33, 35, 42, 49, preserved in manuscripts B, Q, S, T, V and W. Sometimes the colors were abandoned by copyists (so naturally in the printed edition of 35 in t; and in the copies of tracts 33, 35 and 42 in manuscript R, 34:U154r indicates the colors used in its model), but in other cases they were added, to make an uncolored diagram more similar to its colored neighbors. This was probably the case with 13a:B110v which is placed after the long, colored tracts 12 and 26 (its parallel 13b:U13v is uncolored, as is the following B111r) and the spurious 33:V207r. The scribe of W sometimes made mistakes in this process (37:W54v and W73v; 49:W109r is probably a pastiche and not the copy of an authentic diagram by Lautensack).

¹⁵ In the colored autograph manuscripts tracts 1b (with numerous errors), 1c and 3a use both systems, 4b colored ink, 2 and 4a background colors only. All later tracts only survive in copies, and we naturally do not know how faithfully the copyists rendered this merely formal aspect. They virtually never show writing in colored ink (the only exception is 12:B14r–v, but for the first section, on B13v, a yellow background is used instead of yellow ink, in the parallel copies T88v–89 and V145v–46r everything is on colored backgrounds, whereas W8v–10r ignores the colors entirely). Some tracts in manuscript V have many words written or underlined in red and green (1e and 21, 21:V260 has also writing in yellow). The rationale of that system, which may be a later addition altogether, is not obvious.

¹⁶ Cf. p. 249.

¹⁷ In texts, the colors normally have a significance (e.g. in liturgical books red is used for headings and instructions); but in diagrams they often simply alternate to increase the

colored backgrounds appear in some diagrams in block-book calendars,¹⁸ the four colors red, yellow, green and blue did not form a group of principal colors as they do nowadays,¹⁹ nor were they commonly all used in the same diagram.²⁰

legibility (e.g. Regiomontanus, *Kalendarium teütsch*, Azv, or diagrams of Joannes Trithemius, *Steganographia*: | Hoc est: | Ars Per Oc|cyltam Scri|ptvram Animi Svi Vo|lvntatem Absentibvs | aperiendi certa (Francofurti: Berner, 1606, VD 17 23:277600X), e.g. p. 11, where 'r' and 's' probably refer to red and black ink in the manuscript models).

¹⁸ An Easter Table has the column with the Golden Number colored in yellow (Schreiber 4:68–69 no. 1.904m, reproduced in *Blockbücher des Mittelalter: Bilderfolgen als Lektüre*, exh. cat. Mainz, 1991 (Mainz: Zabern, 1991), 197 no. 51a). Two copies of a block-book calendar by Regiomontanus show a very similar coloring of columns in pink, brown and green ink, and this suggests that the colors were added by the printer, not the owner (Johannes Regiomontanus, [*Calendar for 1475–1530*] ([Nuremberg: Sporer, ca. 1475]), see W. L. Schreiber, *Manuel de l'Amateur de la Gravure sur Bois et sur Métal au XVe Siècle*, vol. 4 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1902), 406–10, the two copies compared here are München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Xylogr. 46 and ibid., Universitätsbibliothek, Cim. 40).

¹⁹ If one can speak of a standard list of colors in the late Middle Ages, it would comprise red, yellow, green, blue, white, grey and black, in different orders. Karl-August Wirth, "Neue Schriftquellen zur deutschen Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts: Einträge in einer Sammelhandschrift des Sigmund Gossembrot (Cod. Lat. Mon. 3941)," *Staedel-Jahrbuch*, new ser., 6 (1977): 356, quotes verses associating these colors with the Liberal Arts and related images (330–34, 340–41 figs. 11–13, 357). These colors are also once linked with the seven parts of the Our Father (by Hans Paur, Hollstein 31:94, H. 1; Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunser-Erklärungen*, 1994, 166–70), and they feature in tracts on the *Ars memorativa* by Hartlieb (Bodo Weidemann, "Kunst der Gedächtnüß" und 'De Mansionibus' zwei frühe Traktate des Johann Hartlieb" (Ph. D. diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 1964), 117, § 9, and Sabine Heimann-Seelbach, *Ars und scientia: Genese, Überlieferung und Funktionen der mnemotechnischen Traktatliteratur im 15. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), 33, ll. 222–24) and Ulrich of Straßburg (ibid., 297, ll. 138–145), whereas the anonymous *De Scientia* (ibid., 309, ll. 132–33) omits grey. The song-book of Clara Hätzlerin gives two variations: one omits white (Carl Haltaus, ed., *Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin: Aus der Handschrift des Böhmisches Museums zu Prag* (Quedlinburg: Basse, 1840), 168–70 no. 21), the other adds brown (165–66 no. 19). For Luther's allegorical interpretations of colors see Preuß, *Martin Luther: Der Künstler*, 49–50.

²⁰ Few examples of late medieval diagrams with four colors could be found, including the unusual diagrams of the Metten *Biblia pauperum* (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8,201, 90r–94r), lines of descent in genealogical diagrams (e.g. Cgm 564, 110r, a Petrus Pictavensis from 1455), a diagram of the four temperaments in a House-Book made in Nuremberg in 1524 (Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 1,463, 38v, described in Eberhard Lutze and Ernst Kyriss, *Die Bilderhandschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen / Die Einbände* (Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek, 1936), 61), or a mnemonic diagram in the *Schatzbehalter*, an incunabula from Bamberg ([Stephan Fridolin], [Colophon on hh 9 r]: Also endet sych hye das Büch. der | Schatzbehalter oder schrein der waren | reichtümer des heils vnnd ewyger selig|keit genant. Zu lob vnd ere dem göttlich|en vnd cristenlichen namen (Nurmberg: Roberger [sic], 1491, GW 10,329), fiv, see Wolfgang Brückner, "Hand und Heil im 'Schatzbehalter' und auf volkstümlicher Graphik," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* 1965: 64. Lautensack was probably familiar with this book since he had used the woodcut on g2v for his panel-painting Creation of Eve, München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. R. 631).

When writing into his grids, Lautensack filled each column with a series of related elements. The grid is then read row by row, combining elements from the different series. Further material could be placed in the arches that hold several rows or columns together. Each element featuring in the diagrams has to fulfill two conditions: it has to be small enough to fit into a cell, and it has to be a part of a series of similar elements. Some series are very large, like the 77 Ancestors of Christ, whereas others consist only of two or three items, as, for instance, groups of theological terms like *Gott* and *Wort*. Such small series are either repeated several times, often with permutations, or put into arches in the margin.

The texts and images in Lautensack's tracts can be grouped into several classes that will be discussed in turn in the remainder of this chapter: quotations from the Bible, lists of names, letters, theological terms and small images.

II. *Biblical Quotations*

Lautensack regarded writing his tracts as 'unlocking' the Bible, as revealing its hidden meaning through a restructuring of the text but without adding human comments.²¹ It is therefore not surprising that Biblical quotations play a crucial role in his diagrams.

Before the Reformation it was unusual for lay-people to study the whole Bible (in contrast to excerpts like *Postillae*), and indeed few vernacular Bibles had been printed in Germany in the 15th and early 16th centuries.²² Everything changed with Luther's 1522 New Testament, which was met with such great interest that it had to be re-issued three months later.²³ In the following years both the Wittenberg printers and many other workshops throughout Germany produced numerous reprints. Meanwhile, Luther began translating the Old Testament, and its first three volumes (the Pentateuch, the Historical Books, and the Poetical Books, published

²¹ Cf. p. 46 n. 40.

²² In German-speaking countries vernacular Bibles were never banned and there are some spectacular manuscript examples commissioned by prominent patrons like the Ottheinrich Bible (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 8,010). However, there was apparently little demand for complete editions of the Scriptures, and so only three German Bibles were printed between 1501 and the beginning of the Reformation.

²³ In his list of editions of Luther's translation printed during the reformer's lifetime, Pietsch lists over 80 Wittenberg editions of the Bible and parts thereof and more than 250 reprints. This excludes Low German versions and all translations done by other authors than Luther.

1523–25) were similarly successful. Since his publication of the Prophets and the ‘Apocrypha’²⁴ was delayed, other authors translated them in the meantime and enjoyed similar popularity.²⁵ For each new Wittenberg edition Luther revised his texts to a greater or lesser degree,²⁶ and the copies executed elsewhere differ from their Wittenberg models not only due to misprints but also due to a different dialect or a different layout of the text. As a result, every ‘Bible’ published before Luther’s first complete edition from 1534²⁷ was a set of six volumes translated by different persons. In most cases they would also have been printed at different times and by different workshops.²⁸

Since Lautensack quoted lengthy passages from the Bible and copied some woodcut illustrations I could identify several of the Bible editions he used.²⁹ Although his first surviving speculative tracts cannot predate 1531,³⁰ he normally quoted from some of the earliest editions that had appeared on the market. One of his quotations from the Pentateuch must come from the first Wittenberg edition of 1523 or from an unknown reprint of it,³¹ and some pictorial details derive from a similar

²⁴ In this book this word shall be used in the Protestant sense, i.e. for the parts of the Old Testament that are only preserved in Greek and that are called deuterocanonical by Catholic exegetes.

²⁵ The Prophets were translated by Ludwig Haetzer and Hans Denck, whilst Leo Jud worked on the ‘Apocrypha.’ These versions disappeared quickly after the completion of Luther’s translation.

²⁶ A critical edition of the Wittenberg prints, showing their changes over time, is Luther *WA Bibel*.

²⁷ *Biblia / das ist / die | gantz Heilige Schrifft Deusch. | Mart. Luth.* (Wittenberg: Lufft, 1534, VD 16 B 2,694, Pietsch *50).

²⁸ Only in rare cases was a complete set of these partial translations published together, e.g. *Biblia | beyder Allt vnd | Newen Testaments | Teutsch* (Wormbs: Schöfer, 1529, VD 16 B 2,681, Pietsch 140), and occasionally booksellers or owners bound several independently published editions into one volume, cf. Christman, *Lay Response*, 43.

²⁹ Today, some editions are extremely rare, and a number of them had not been available for comparison in this study. We can furthermore be sure that several others are lost without trace. Some quotations in non-autograph manuscripts are additions by the copyists and hence follow a later version of the biblical text, cf. p. 128 n. 61.

³⁰ Cf. p. 168.

³¹ Several times, so in 1b:L30v, Lautensack wrote “onigen” instead of “konigen” [kings] in Gen. 49:20. This word makes no sense, but in the first Wittenberg edition of the Pentateuch, and only in this edition (*Das Allte Testament | deutsch | M. Luther* (Vvittenberg: [Lotther, 1523], VD 16 B 2,894, Pietsch *4)), the *k* is set with a damaged type which makes it illegible in some copies, resulting in “onigen” (e.g. Cambridge University Library, BSS.228.B24.1). However, when quoting another sentence from the same passage Lautensack corrected a misprint (Gen. 49:3, L23v). Since this correction appears amongst the Errata at the end of this edition he could have amended the text accordingly, but he also could have used a reprint that already took the Errata into account. However, although some reprints had problems with the damaged *k* in the passage mentioned beforehand and rendered the

source.³² Some other drawings are copied from the woodcuts of the first edition of the Historical Books of the Old Testament from 1524 or from some copies thereof,³³ and excerpts from the Psalms reflect Luther's wording from 1524 or 1525.³⁴ For the Prophets and the Apocrypha, the painter used the short-lived translations published before Luther had completed these sections.³⁵ Lautensack's New Testament quotations

word as "Ionigen" (e.g. *Das Alte Testa|ment deutsch* (Basel: Petri, 1523, VD 16 B 2,892, Pietsch 15²)), I have not been able to discover any reprint with the word "onigen." Other quotations from the Pentateuch could come from any Wittenberg edition from the 1520s or from the following reprints: *Das Alte | Testa|ment | Deütsch* (Augsburg: Ramminger, 1523, VD 16 B 2,890, Pietsch 10); *Das Allt | Testament yetzt | recht grüntlich auß dem | Ebreischen teutsch* (Basel: Wolf, 1523, VD 16 B 2,893, Pietsch 19); *Das Alte Te|stament mit fleyß | verteutsch* (Nürnberg: Peypus, 1524, VD 16 B 2,677, Pietsch 41); *Das alt Testa|ment teutsch* (Nürnberg: Künigund Hergottin, 1530/31, VD 16 ZV 1,557, Pietsch 154). Some quotations of the first words of Genesis (e.g. 3a:L15r) have "Geist" instead of "Wind" in Gen. 1:2, this word appears in Wittenberg editions from *Das All|te Testa|ment | deutsch | M. Luther* (Wittenberg: Lotther, 1523, VD 16 B 2,895, Pietsch *5) onward as alternative to "Wind" in the marginalia but in some reprints it replaces "Wind" in the text (e.g. *DAs Alt Testa|ment dütsch* (Zürich: Froschouer, 1525, VD 16 B 2,918, Pietsch 80). In other cases Lautensack used "Wind" – whether this hints at two different sources or at absent-mindedness is not clear.

³² Also some of the drawings of the Tabernacle used in his early tracts (cf. pp. 179–81) come from one of the first Wittenberg editions, *Allte Testament* (1523, Lotther, VD 16 B 2,894 and B 2,895) or a re-impression or copy of that series, such as *Die fünff bücher Mose, | des alten testaments / Teutsch* ([Augsburg: Grimm?], 1523, VD 16 B 2,980, Pietsch 24); *Das Allte | Testament | deutsch. | M. Luther* (Wittenberg: Lufft, 1523, VD 16 B 2,896, Pietsch *6); *Das Allte | Testa|ment | deutsch* (Augsburg: Ottmar, 1523, VD 16 B 2,889, Pietsch 9); *Allt Testament* (1523, Wolf); *Das alt testa|ment teütsch* (Colmar: Farkal, 1524, VD 16 B 2,903, Pietsch 37); *Das Alte | Testament deutsch | nach vrspringlicher | Hebreischer | warheit* (Straßburg: Knobloch, 1524, VD 16 B 2,905, Pietsch 48); *Alt Testament* (1525, Froschouer); *Das | Allte | Testament | Deütsch* (Augsburg: Stainer, 1527, VD 16 B 2,923, Pietsch 110); *Biblia* (1529, Schöfer); *Alt Testament* (1530/31, Hergottin), and *Biblia | Das ist / die gantze | heilige Schrift | Deudsch. | D. Mart. Luth.* (Augsburg: Steyner, 1535, VD 16 B 2,696, Pietsch 182). These compositions were used as models for tracts 1a and partially 1b, as is evident from the flat heads of the Cherubim lying on the top of the Mercy Seat (e.g. 1a:D850) and the horns and the smoking bowl at the center of the misunderstood Ark of the Covenant (D851), cf. p. 125 n. 48.

³³ *Das Ander | Teyl des alten | testaments* (Wittenberg: [Döring / Cranach, 1524], VD 16 B 2,909, Pietsch *11³); further possible sources are the reprints *DAs Annder | teyl des alten | Testaments* (Straßburg: Knoblauch, 1524, part of VD 16 B 2,906, Pietsch 50); *DAs ander tail | des alten Testaments* (Augsburg: Ottmar, 1524, VD 16 B 2,897, Pietsch 26); *DAs Ander tail | des Alten Testaments* (Augsburg: Ottmar, 1528, VD 16 B 2,925, Pietsch 120); *Biblia* (1535, Steyner). The only quotation from this book is difficult to date (1 Kings 6, in 21:V267v, not an autograph).

³⁴ They are not preserved in autographs; the early date is evident in the quotations on 44:B130r.

³⁵ A quotation from Dan. 12 (10a:N32v, Fig. 73) follows the translation by Haetzer and Denck and could come from several editions published between 1527 and 1531 (Georg Baring, "Die 'Wormser Propheten,' eine vorlutherische evangelische Prophetenübersetzung aus dem Jahr 1527," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 31 (1934): 23–41 nos. 1–12, as well as *Propheten | Alle groß vnd klein. | Hastu Läser yetz gar jm Teutschen* (Durlach: Köpfel, 1530, part of his first Bible, VD 16 B 2,680, Pietsch 146)) but not from the revised version in the

come from at least three different editions. Some quotations³⁶ and pictorial motifs in his Apocalypse drawings³⁷ are once again taken from Luther's very first edition of this text, dating from September 1522, while others follow the text of a Wittenberg edition from 1526,³⁸ probably taken from a

Zürich Bible, e.g. *Das Vier|de teyl des alten | Testaments. | Alle Propheten / auß | Ebraischer sprach* (Zürich: Froschouer, 1529, part of the six-part Bible, VD 16 B 2,682, Pietsch deest). A text from the 'Apocrypha' comes from Leo Jud's version (*Diß sind die bücher | Die bey den alten vnder | Biblische gschrifft nit gezelt | sind* (Zürich: Froschouer, [1529], part of the six-part Bible, VD 16 B 2,684, Pietsch deest), or [*Apocrypha, Title missing*] (Straßburg: Köpphel), 1529, part of his first Bible, VD 16 B 2,680, Pietsch 146), or *Biblia*, 1535 (Köphl), most other versions have a different wording). Surprisingly, Lautensack's list of titles of Biblical Books (cf. p. 138) differs from all his potential sources, by speaking of "Dye sprüch Syrach" and of "Schön Susannah" [*sic*] (e.g. 3a:A34v).

³⁶ E.g. tract 3. If all these quotations come from the same edition it must be the original *Septembertestament* (*Das neue Testa|ment Deutzsch* (Uuitemberg: Lotther, [September 1522], VD 16 B 4, 318, Pietsch *1)), but it is also possible that Lautensack used two or more different reprints of it for different sets of quotations. Plausible sources for some (but not all) of these quotations would be *Das new | Testament / | yetzund recht grünt|lich teutsch* (Basel: Petri, 1522, VD 16 B 4,317, Pietsch 1); *Ihesus. | Das New Testament | teütsch* (Straßburg: Schott, [1522/23], VD 16 B 4,333, Pietsch 243); *Das Gantz | Neüw Testament recht | grüntlich teutsch* (Basel: Petri, 1523, VD 16 B 4,328, Pietsch 14); *Das büch | des Newen Testa|ments Teütsch* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1523, VD 16 B 4,323, Pietsch 11); *Das ne|we Testament | yetz klärlich auß dem re|chten grundt Teütsch* (Basel: Wolff, 1523, VD 16 B 4,329, Pietsch 17); *Das gantz neuw | Testament recht grünt|lich teütsch* (Basel: Cratander, 1524, VD 16 B 4,337, Pietsch 56); *Das Gantz | Neüw Testament | recht grüntlich teütsch* (Hagenaw: Farckal, 1524, VD 16 B 4,342, Pietsch 36); *DAs neuw | Testament recht | grüntlich teütsch* (Straßburg: Knoblouch, 1524, VD 16 B 4,346, Pietsch 46); *Das gantz | neüw Testament | recht grüntlich | teütsch* (Straßburg: Köpphel, 1524, VD 16 B 4,348, Pietsch 52); *Jesus. | Das New | Testament | Teütsch mit schö|nen Figuren* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1524, VD 16 ZV 1,839, Pietsch 27a); *Das ne|we Testament | gantz / yetzt klärlich | auß dem rechten grundt teut|sch* (Basel: Wolf, 1524, VD 16 B 4,339, Pietsch 33¹); *DAs neüw | Testament / | Recht grüntlich teütsch* (Straßburg: Knoblouch, 1525, VD 16 B 4,362, Pietsch 75); *DAs neuw | Testament recht | grüntlich teütsch* (Basel: Petri, 1525, VD 16 B 4,356, Pietsch 63); *Das Neüwe | Testament / | Recht grüntlich teütsch* (Augsburg: Stayner, 1528, VD 16 B 4,380, Pietsch 121), and *Das neu testament | Grüntlich vnd recht / durchauß mit | schönen figuren* (Straßburg: Grieninger, 1532, VD 16 B 4,405, Pietsch 114³).

³⁷ Many editions of the New Testament from the 1520s have a series of 21 woodcuts illustrating Revelation, which are more or less closely based on the woodcuts of the 1522 *Septembertestament*, and Lautensack copied motifs from them in tracts 1a, 1b and 1d, cf. pp. 181–83, 189–91. In 1b:L41v he depicts the celestial battle, similar to the nineteenth of these woodcuts. He shows the leader of the army at the left with an imperial crown, his hand raised to protect his face, and his opponent still in the process of drawing his sword. Amongst New Testaments published before 1535 this unusual combination of gestures only occurs in the original *Septembertestament* woodcuts (ee2v, reproduced in Albert Schramm, "Die Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," in *Luther und die Bibel: Festschrift zum Lutherischen Weltkonvent, Eisenach, August 1923*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1923), plate 21) and the close copy *Das büch | des Newen Testa|ments* (1523, Schönsperger), Ee1r. I am currently preparing a catalogue of illustrated New Testaments from 16th-century Germany.

³⁸ This is the case with tracts 1b, 1d and the entire Nuremberg manuscript. This version of Luther's translation (called 1526¹ in the critical edition *Luther WA Bibel*, vols. 6–7) only

reprint published in Nuremberg in the same year, which also contains woodcuts by Hans Sebald Beham that are copied in some of Lautensack's drawings.³⁹ Furthermore, Lautensack used at least one edition produced between 1522 and 1526. This is indicated not only by the wording of a number of short texts,⁴⁰ but also by motifs in the drawings that echo illustrations by Barthel Beham for some Nuremberg editions from this time.⁴¹ Furthermore, a lost copy of one of the 1524 Wittenberg editions was heavily annotated with Lautensackian terms and marked up with his four colors. Most probably this book was a 'working copy' used by the painter for the preparation of his tracts.⁴²

survives in a handful of very rare editions. Several minor aberrations from the standard Wittenberg text (such as "Da sie in aber sahe" instead of "Da sie aber in sahe" in Luke 1:29, 1c:L4iv, and "hat sie nicht gepüsset" instead of "hat nicht gepüsset" in Rev. 2:21, in 10a:N40v) suggest that Lautensack used the reprint *Das new Testament | Teutsch* (Nürnberg: Hergot, 1526, VD 16 B 4,369, Pietsch 95). Also in this case Lautensack took the Errata (which are at the back both of the Wittenberg and the Nuremberg editions) into account (e.g. "satanas schüle" (Rev. 3:9) on 1d:A43v, Fig. 39) – but the only identified version that integrates these corrections into the text could not have been Lautensack's source because of its many textual variants (*Biblia. | Das ist: die gantz | Heilige Schrifft | Deütsch* (Straßburg: Köpfl, 1535, VD 16 B 2,697, Pietsch 190)).

³⁹ Lautensack copied from Hans Sebald Beham's woodcuts used in Hergot's 1526 edition (see pp. 122–23 n. 38), for instance, the very unusual square pit fed in one instance with a water-pipe (Max Geisberg, *Die deutsche Buchillustration in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Munich: Schmidt, 1932), plate 436 nos. 1,157/58, cf. 1d:A45v and A46v), a motif lastly going back to Dürer's woodcut to Rev. 8 (Bartsch VII.128.68; Hollstein 7:139, H. 170).

⁴⁰ The passages quoted by Lautensack have virtually the same text in all of these editions, and hence it is virtually impossible to determine his source. Only one quotation by Lautensack, not in an autograph, can clearly be linked to the Wittenberg 1525 edition (12:B54v–57v), some others could come from 1524 or 1525 (e.g. the text in the other half of 5a:A13r–14v) and some from them or from Luther's second 1522 edition, the *Dezember-testament* (5a:A8r–12r; *Das neue Testament Deütsch* (Uuitemberg: Lotther, 1522 [December], VD 16 B 4,319, Pietsch *2)).

⁴¹ This series (Geisberg, *Deutsche Buchillustration*, vol. 1, plates 202–7 nos. 400–20, 409) was used by the Nuremberg printer Hergot in several editions between 1524 and 1526. Some of them, so *Das new Testament Deütsch* (Nürnberg: Hergot, 1525, VD 16 B 4,360, Pietsch 72)), and *Das New Testament teutsch. | mit Christlichen Vorreden* (Nürnberg: Herrgot, 1526, VD 16 B 4,368, Pietsch 94), could have been sources for Lautensack's quotations. A mirrored copy appears first in *Das new | Testament | Teütsch* (Nürnberg: Gutknecht, 1527, VD 16 B 4,376, Pietsch 113), a version that has some textual variants and thus can be ruled out as a source for Lautensack's biblical quotations. Similar to either of the two are the symmetrical arrangement of the Clothing of the Souls (Geisberg, *Deutsche Buchillustration*, vol. 1, plate 202 no. 403, 1a:D685) and the largely empty Heavenly Jerusalem (ibid., plate 206 no. 420, 1b:L42v, Fig. 38).

⁴² This copy of *Das neue / testament | deütsch | Mart. Luther* (Wittenberg: Lotther, 1524, VD 16 B 4,351, Pietsch *9) had the class-mark B.g.luth. 27 or 27a of the Bayerische Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Munich and was, together with most of the Bible Collection, destroyed in 1944. For its marginal entries see Pietsch, p. 270. Dr. Kudorfer, then Deputy Head of the Rare Books Department, kindly informed me that this volume must have been

What do these observations reveal about Lautensack's way of working? It may be that he already harbored Protestant leanings in the early 1520s, when he was still working for the Prince Bishop of Bamberg (his friendship with Johann Schwanhauser would speak for that) and eagerly bought every volume of the new German Bible as soon as it was available. This would leave a hiatus of nearly ten years between Lautensack's first contact with the Biblical text and the production of his first surviving speculative works (not before 1531). Since these drawings are already highly complex they may be the product of a longer, undocumented development. It is equally possible that Lautensack first studied the Bible in a more conventional way and only in the early 1530s developed his idiosyncratic theology. This change could have been related to his experiences of being called by God in the early 1530s (although his reports about them are, as we have seen, problematic).⁴³

There is no obvious reason why Lautensack used so many different versions of the New Testament. In his tracts texts taken from different editions stand side by side,⁴⁴ so he can hardly have been concerned always to use the most recent and hence best text. Since the 1524 New Testament that probably belonged to the painter was full of marginal notes and colored markings he may have needed several copies that were marked up differently.⁴⁵ Buying them fresh from the press would have been a costly enterprise. However, he might have been able to acquire older editions with obsolete earlier versions of the text more cheaply from the second-hand market.⁴⁶

By contrast, any parts of the Bible published in 1530 or later, as well as the complete Luther Bibles available from 1534 onwards, are never quoted at length in Lautensack's diagrams.⁴⁷ This does not mean that the painter

in the collection by 1840 but there are no further records on its provenance. Naturally, these notes could equally well come from an unknown early disciple of Lautensack.

⁴³ Cf. pp. 22, 112.

⁴⁴ The quotation from 1 John on 5a:A6v is from the *Septembertestament* or a reprint of it, whereas the more ample excerpts from the same book on A8r–12v reflect the *Dezembertestament* or an edition from 1524/25.

⁴⁵ However, some mistakes occurring in several manuscripts suggest that Lautensack also made some intermediary manuscript copies of Biblical texts, probably to try out several ways of dividing them (e.g. 1b:L35r and 1d:A52r omit the word "auch" in Rev. 14:1, but it occurs in 10a:N33v, N37r, N48r and N56r, which otherwise use the same version of the text).

⁴⁶ Unfortunately, there seem to be no studies on the second-hand book market in Reformation Germany.

⁴⁷ Lautensack only used later editions with some regularity for the (scarcely quoted) prophets, possibly because their original versions had not been made by Luther (cf. p. 120 n. 25).

was unaware of later editions – he copied elements from some of their woodcuts⁴⁸ and used them sometimes for correcting earlier copying errors.⁴⁹ His tracts show clearly why he otherwise avoided these versions. As will be discussed later in this chapter, the formal structure of the Bible – from the sequence of Books down to the number of paragraphs in each chapter – was of crucial importance for Lautensack. His theological concepts were based to a great extent on the layout of the assortment of partial Bible editions from the 1520s with which he was familiar. He could not use later prints since they differed from them in many respects: their chapters often have more and shorter paragraphs than the earlier versions, and the number and order of Books is not the same.

Whereas modern Bibles contain a fixed set of Books in a fixed order (although with differences between Catholic and Protestant versions), 15th-century editions show some variation, and several Old-Testament texts are not included everywhere.⁵⁰ The Reformation movement, which claimed to follow the word of the Scriptures alone, crucially depended on a precise definition of what was authentically Biblical.⁵¹ The most successful

In 25:B68r he quotes Dan. 12 as he had done in the autographs, but now following Wittenberg editions from between 1530 and 1541, and the frequently used verse Isa. 44:6 could come from any of Luther's versions but not from the earlier translation.

⁴⁸ In manuscript A the furnishings of the Tabernacle differ from those in the early drawings (cf. p. 121 n. 32) – for instance the Cherubim look upward (3b:A22r), the Ark of the Covenant has no horns and its bowl no longer emits fumes (e.g. 1d:K37v). These changes could be inspired by a series as in *Biblia* (1534, Lufft). The drawings in 1b show a compromise between this and the earlier solution.

⁴⁹ Normally, Lautensack paid little attention to the Biblical quotations he copied, and frequently some words are missing. When he became aware of such a mistake he corrected it but did not always use the same edition he had originally copied at this point – sometimes these contaminated quotations are then copied to other places (e.g. the “einer” before “eyssern” in Rev. 2:27, an innovation from 1524, was inserted into the text of 3a:L13r, but in 3b:A31v it is fully integrated, so that the correction must have been made in its model, probably an intermediary draft). Sometimes these corrections use more recent translations; in 10a:N34r the text of Rev. 2:27 was overwritten with a hardly legible word that most probably reads “schmeissen,” a verb Luther introduced in later editions.

⁵⁰ According to Stefan Strohm, *Die Bibelsammlung der württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, vol. 2, 1, *Deutsche Bibeldrucke, 1466–1600* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstadt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1987), 3, the *Prayer of Manasses* is missing from the first German Bible (Straßburg: Mentelin, 1466, GW 4,295) but (p. 9) included in the edition Augsburg: Zainer, 1475/6 (GW 4,298). The Fourth Book of Esdras was omitted from these editions but appears, for instance, in Gutenberg's Latin Bible (GW 4,201; Christian Heitzmann and Manuel Santos Noya, *Die Bibelsammlung der württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, vol. 1, 4, *Lateinische Bibeldrucke, 1454–2001*, 1, 1454–1564 (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstadt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002), 3).

⁵¹ For the history of the debates on the Biblical canon see, among others, Karl-August Credner, *Zur Geschichte des Kanons* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1847); Johannes Leipoldt, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. 2, *Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908),

attempt at a redefinition of the Biblical canon⁵² was undertaken by Luther, who ranked the Biblical Books according to their relevance for furthering his understanding of the Gospel message.⁵³ As a consequence, in his first New Testament he removed four Books (Heb., James, Jud. and Rev.) from their usual places and placed them together at the end, clearly separated from the rest. His first translation of the Pentateuch has a table of contents for the whole Old Testament that moves all the Books and parts of Books that were originally written in Greek, not in Hebrew, into a separate section called 'Apocrypha'.⁵⁴ When Luther proceeded in his translation of the Old Testament he accordingly left out these texts. Since the completion of Luther's Old Testament was delayed, a volume containing these 'Apocrypha' was published in 1529 by Leo Jud. Lautensack encountered them in this state (cf. pp. 121–22 n. 35) and not in Luther's later version, which omits several Books that had been included by Jud (3–4 Esdr., 3 Macc.) and adds several shorter texts.

Lautensack fiercely criticized Luther's reform of the Biblical canon, which rendered his own count of 77 Biblical Books unsustainable. He complained that the removal of three Books from his diagrams meant the removal of three Ancestors of Christ and of the letters that were normally connected with them (features that will be explained later) from his diagrams. Hence, the new Bible could no longer give witness to the full Christ,⁵⁵ and Luther's action was a symptom of human hubris, of believing

Inge Lønning, 'Kanon im Kanon.' *Zum dogmatischen Grundlagenproblem des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1972).

⁵² Other authors developed a philological approach focusing on the authenticity of texts. Most important amongst them were the papal legate Cardinal Caietan OP (Tommaso de Vio, 1469–1534) and the radical Reformer Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (ca. 1477–1541) whose tract Bodenstein von Carolstadt, *Welche bucher Biblisch seint* (also published in Latin as Andreas Bodenstein Carolstadius, *De Canonicis Scripturis Libellus* [Vvitenbergae: Montanvs, 1520, VD 16 B 6,121]) is the only substantial vernacular publication on this debate, which died down quickly.

⁵³ "ob sie Christum treyben, odder nit" [if they further Christ [or: deal with Christ], or not], Luther *WA Bibel*, 7:384, l. 27.

⁵⁴ *Allte Testament* (1523, Lotther, VD 16 B 2,894), A1v, cf. Hans Volz, "Luthers Stellung zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments," *Luther-Jahrbuch* 26 (1959): 93–108.

⁵⁵ 10a:N60v: "Aber dagegen Menschlicher vernufft pessers vermeint zu handeln Christum zu erklaren dan Gott selbst / wie es dan am tag ist Als mit der neuen bibel / vnd anders vmbghet / dan es gott hat beschlossen / Als das man etlich Bucher ist auß mustern ßam vntuchtig in dye Bibel zugehoren Als bey sechssen herausen gelassen / vnd sunderlich / das firtte buch Ezra Jn welchem eyne schon geheymnis von Jhesu Christo wirt gemelt wie dan droben auch angezeigt ist / So man nun wolt besten auff dem / wie gemelt ist So wirt Christus nymmer mer geoffenbart / dieweil die gancz bibel zutrent vnd zurteilt ist / So musten auch sechs personen auß der linien Christi gethon werden / des gleichen sechs Cherubim / vnd sechs buchstob Auß den dreyen Alphabeten Nemlich dye

that man knew better than God, it was indeed tantamount to mutilating Christ's very Body.⁵⁶ Lautensack explicitly defended one of the Books excluded by Luther, 4 Esdras (sometimes called 2 Esdras), a description of visions. It was eagerly studied by radical dissenters,⁵⁷ whereas Luther remarked that he wished that he could throw it into the river Elbe.⁵⁸ Lautensack never included its text in a diagram, but one of the rare Bible quotations in his explanatory texts is 4 Esdr. 7:29–35, a passage that seems to establish a contrast between the names *Jhesus* and *Christus* and so provided an Old-Testament model for some of Lautensack's speculations (cf. p. 153). Since Luther's very skeptical early Preface to Revelation dismisses the Book *inter alia* because of its similarity to 4 Esdr.,⁵⁹ Lautensack may have felt obliged to defend 4 Esdr. alongside Revelation.⁶⁰

Als e.f.g. vnd D.T.Y." [But against this, human reason believes it can do better in explaining Christ than God Himself, as is clear as daylight with the new Bible, and works differently from what God has decreed, since they are discarding some Books as though unfit to belong to the Bible. So, six are left out, and especially the Fourth Book of Esdras, in which a beautiful secret of Jesus Christ is reported, as is also shown above. If one now wants to insist on what is written above, Christ shall never ever be revealed since the whole Bible is now divided and cut up. So also six persons would have to be removed from the genealogy of Christ, and likewise six Cherubim and six letters from the Three Alphabets, thus e.f.g. and D.T.Y.] These letters denote the three Books that were actually removed, and furthermore the Books Esther, Susanna and Bel and the Dragon – Luther had joined the latter two and the Greek sections of Esther together as "Stücke jnn Ester vnd Daniel" (e.g. *Biblia* (1534, Lufft), vol. 1, 2nd unfoliated leaf, v).

⁵⁶ 35:42: "dann sie also ist beschlossen in das Corpus Christi, will sich einer / eines [i.e. ein stück] anmassen / so muß er den gantzen CHRistum haben / oder gar nichts / als wenig ein mensch eines glieds möchte entpern / also will auch Christus die seinen auch behaben ohne verletzung" [for it [Scripture] is also enclosed in the body of Christ; if anyone wants to possess one [piece], he must have the entire Christ or nothing at all; as little as a man wants to lack one limb, also Christ wants to keep his [limbs], without an injury]. This comparison already foreshadows Lautensack's later diagrams linking Biblical Books with the limbs of Christ, cf. pp. 264–66.

⁵⁷ E.g. by Thomas Müntzer and Melchior Hoffman, see Alastair Hamilton, *The Apocryphal Apocalypse: The reception of the second book of Esdras (4 Ezra) from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 121–35.

⁵⁸ Luther *WA Tischreden*, 1:337 no. 692, from the first half of the 1530s (Luther speaks of 3 Esdr. but the context indicates that 4 Esdr. is meant).

⁵⁹ 9a:N14r: "Des Jnhalt haben auch dye Juden Jn Jren schrifftten von den zweyen bilden Als Jhesus vnd Christus. das ist dan .Gott. vnd. Mensch Jn dem viertten Buch Ezra / welchs Buch / dockter martinus luther auch mit sambt dem Buch offenbarung verechtlich hielt. dyeweyl / es auch mit gesichten der bilder vmb gehehet [sic] / vnd der auch eyns ist dye man hat auß gemustert Als vntuchtig Jn dye heyligen schriffte" [Also the Jews have in their Scriptures this content of the *Two Images*, thus Jesus and Christ, that is then God and Man, in the Fourth Book of Esdras. Doctor Martinus Luther holds this book, together with the Apocalypse, as despicable, since it deals with visions of images; and it is also one of those which had been discarded, as unfitting for the Holy Writ]. Two short quotations of the phrases from 4 Esdr. mentioning *Jhesus* and *Christus* appear on 29:B162v. More generally, 10a:N60v praises 4 Esdr. for telling a secret of Christ, cf. Hamilton, *Apocryphal Apocalypse*, 149.

⁶⁰ This preface probably had formative importance for Lautensack's theology, cf. p. 57.

How did Lautensack integrate the Biblical text into his diagrams? As has been shown earlier, all elements of his grids must fulfill two conditions: they must not be too large, and they must be part of a series. Correspondingly, he treated the Biblical text not as a continuum but as a sequence of units. He could employ this system on three distinct hierarchical levels: the Bible as a whole consists of a number of Books, each Book is a series of chapters, and each chapter is divided into paragraphs. Furthermore, Lautensack did not normally quote the whole text but only referred to it. For a Book he gave its title, and for chapters and paragraphs he quoted the incipit, as much as space permitted: sometimes a whole paragraph,⁶¹ sometimes merely the first few words. However, the painter was well aware of the entire content of each paragraph or chapter and expected the same from his readers.⁶²

Lautensack's very structural view of the Bible was anything but unusual in his time. By its nature, the Bible is a collection of distinct Books. Chapters had been introduced as aids for quoting in the 13th-century Parisian Bible, and gained greater prominence in the late Middle Ages⁶³ and the Reformation period.⁶⁴ In Lautensack's Germany the chapter

⁶¹ This was too cumbersome for many copyists, who only quoted the first lines (12:W36v–44r shows how the quotations become increasingly shorter within a diagram). Sometimes the last words of the original quotation were added in brackets, in BS preceded by *F* for “finis.” Some later scribes restored the quotations, but surprisingly they placed their additions (naturally coming from a more modern Bible translation) after the conclusion of the shortened version (e.g. 12:B52r).

⁶² E.g. 22:Bn8v: “das du erstlich aller Capittel bey leuftigen Innhalt vnd argument / In kopf fassest” [so that you begin with memorizing the content and summary of all chapters].

⁶³ E.g. the highly influential commentary by Nicolaus de Lyra analyzes the structure of each chapter before treating its text in greater detail (Nicolaeus de Lira, *Postilla Nycolai de lira Super vetus testamentum* ([Cologne: Ulrich Zel, not after 1483], GW M 26,502)), some luxury Bibles have a miniature for each chapter, such as the mid-15th-century Bible of Borso d'Este (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, V.G. 12 = Lat. 429, facsimile *La Bibbia di Borso d'Este*, 4 vols. (Rome: Treccani, 1996–97)). Ars memorativa books frequently offer help in memorizing the Bible by giving an image for every chapter (Jean Michel Massing, “From Manuscript to Engravings: Late Medieval Mnemonic Bibles,” in *Ars memorativa*, ed. Jürg Jochen Berns and Wolfgang Neuber (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), 101–15; Susanne Rischpler, *Biblia Sacra figuris expressa* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2001); facsimiles of similar works treating the Gospels only are Adam Pilinski, *Ars Memorandi reproduit en fac-similé* (Paris: Pilinski, 1883), and *Ars memorandi: A Facsimile of the Text and Woodcuts Printed by Thomas Anshelm at Pforzheim in 1502* (Cambridge (Mass.): Houghton Library, 1981).

⁶⁴ Whereas in Catholic liturgy only the name of the Book is announced before a reading, the Reformers frequently added a reference to the chapter, and in Nuremberg parish churches Epistles and Gospels were read chapter by chapter (Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 1:156). Some Reformation-time Bibles open each chapter with a summary (e.g. *Bibel Teütsch | Der vrsprünglichen Hebreischen | vnd Griechischen warheit nach / auff's | treüwlichet verdolmetschet* (Zürich: Froschouer, 1534, VD 16 B 2,695)). Joachim Aberlin, *Ain kurtzer*

was the smallest commonly used unit of subdivision – the modern counting of verses was only introduced later.⁶⁵ However, all of Luther's early Wittenberg editions printed the chapters divided into several paragraphs,⁶⁶ probably in order to make the text more accessible for inexperienced readers. These paragraphs are neither numbered nor quoted in references;⁶⁷ the latter would have been impractical since not all prints structure the text in the same way, and some give the chapters without interruptions. Lautensack apparently regarded the paragraphs (called by him "vnterschied"), like the chapters, as integral parts of the revealed Biblical text.⁶⁸ In this study the paragraphs are marked with "§," so that, for instance, "Rev. 1§3" means the third paragraph of the first chapter of Revelation.

Lautensack used these numbers not only to subdivide sections of the biblical text but also kept counts of the Books, chapters and paragraphs of

be|griff vnd innhalt der gantzen | Bibel / in drew Lieder zů singen ([Augsburg: Ulhart], 1534, VD 16 A 34), is a song that dedicates one or two lines to each chapter of the Bible. A pamphlet from 1524 informs the reader about the structure of the Biblical Books and includes the numbers of chapters in several of them ("Ein Gespräch zwischen einem Christen und Juden, auch einem Wirte samt seinem Hausknecht, den Eckstein Christum betreffend," in *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation*, ed. Otto Clemen, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Haupt, 1907), 411, 413), and some visitation guidelines expected ministers to know how many chapters each Book had (Gerald Strauss, "Success and Failure in the German Reformation," *Past and Present* 67 (1975): 46).

⁶⁵ Eb. Nestle, "Die erste Lutherbibel mit Verszählung," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 20 (1903): 273–77.

⁶⁶ This was an innovation, not found in Pre-Lutheran German Bibles (see the pages reproduced in Walter Eichenberger and Henning Wendland, *Deutsche Bibeln vor Luther: Die Buchkunst der achtzehn deutschen Bibeln zwischen 1466 und 1522* (Hamburg: Wittig, 1977)).

⁶⁷ Lists of errata occasionally refer to pages and paragraphs, but they are only pertinent to one specific edition, not to the Biblical text as such (e.g. a New Testament, whose title-page is missing in the only surviving copy (Uuitemberg: Lufft, 1526, VD 16 B 4,371, Pietsch *19, preserved in the Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Solg. 89.8°). An exceptional case is Hieronymus Emser's refutation of Luther's New Testament, which quotes chapter and paragraph from two different editions (*Das New Testament. | So durch den hoechgelarten Hieronymum Emser saeligen verteuscht* ([Cologne: Quentel], 1528, VD 16 B 4,383), leaves numbered "†††††r"–"†††††r").

⁶⁸ Lautensack never stated this explicitly, but in his early 17th century compilation of Lautensack's theology Paul Kaym complained that human ignorance had changed the divinely ordained layout of the Bible (pp:Kk204v): "Demnachs nicht allein die Vnterscheide sondern auch die Capitel Ja gantze Bücher in viel gedruckten Bibeln verennndert worden, anders alß sie anfanges durch Gottes Rath geordnet vnd verdeutschet worden. Damalß auch noch niemand gewust was Gott damit im fürsatz hab darin der Welt anzuzeigen." [Accordingly not only the paragraphs but also the chapters and even whole Books have been altered in many printed bibles, from how they had originally, through God's counsel, been ordained and translated. At that time no-one knew what God had intended to show thus to the world].

the whole Bible.⁶⁹ As will be seen later, the overall number of 77 Books was most important for him, but some tracts also contain sums of chapters and paragraphs that are in an unclear way divided into several subtotals.⁷⁰

Lautensack frequently claimed that he was explaining the whole Bible in his tracts,⁷¹ but he did not study all of its parts with the same attention. Most of his diagrams focus on the Book of Revelation, which was for him not only the last Book of the Bible but also the final, definitive summary of all divine revelation, the “haupt buch” [principal book] of Christ.⁷² The First Epistle of John appears occasionally as an introduction to Revelation. Genesis and the Gospel of John⁷³ were probably studied because of the content of their first chapters – the Creation and a solemn statement on Christ’s nature and authority.⁷⁴ A number of other texts appear only once or twice in diagrams, as if they did not yield the desired revelations. Several come from the Old Testament and deal with the robes of the Jewish High

⁶⁹ Similar counts appear occasionally in printed Bibles; e.g. the later *Sacrorum | Bibliorum | Quadrilinquium | Tomus | Secundus | Trilinguis | Librorum Veteris Et Novi | Testamenti* (engraved title-page: *Biblia Sacra | Græce | Latine & Germanice*) (Hamburgi: Lucius, 1596, VD 16 B 2,569), c7v, has a statistic of Books, chapters and verses.

⁷⁰ According to the structure of the diagrams they often feature in, twelve subtotals add up to the overall sum of the chapters in the Bible, and eleven to the number of paragraphs (e.g. 1d:A38v–49v and A50v–60v respectively – subtotals can be seen in Figs. 33 and 44). All subtotals of chapters are between 109 and 118 and it is unclear, which chapters are subsumed under which subtotal. Since the Psalter has 150 chapters, more than any subtotal, at least some Biblical Books must have been broken up in this division. In contrast, the number of paragraphs oscillates between 258 and 3,061, so they might refer to the actual number of paragraphs in a given group of Books.

⁷¹ Cf. p. 46 n. 40.

⁷² E.g. 5a:A1v, 11:g3.

⁷³ This text had furthermore been singled out by Luther as the clearest example of Apostolic teaching in the Gospels (Luther *WA Bibel*, 6:10, ll. 28–31).

⁷⁴ 12:B26r: “Darumb auch [*sic*] Epistel, eine feine Vorläuferin vnd bereitung Zum gantzen werck ist, so die wol verstanden vnd gutten bericht daraus hatt / als dann hatt man das ander dester leichter zuverstehen / darumb er auch In der sache / Johannes / der einige / vnser aller schulmeister wird sein / so wir ihme das kleine büchlein haben ausgelernt / so wird er vns nachmals das haupt buch furlegen / welchs dann er auch selbst gesehen / gehort vnd geschrieben hatt / wie er dann selbst an ettlichen enden ist melden.” [Therefore this Epistle is a nice precursor and preparation for the whole work; if one has understood it well and taken the right information from it, then the other things are the easier to understand. Therefore in this thing John will be the only schoolmaster of all of us. Once we have learned everything from the small booklet, he will present us the principal book, which he has himself seen, heard and written, as he reports in several places]. The last phrase may be directed against doubts on John’s authorship of Rev. In a similar text Lautensack calls John the Chancellor of Christ (e.g. 9a:N12r), an uncommon yet not unique title (also in *Die Cronica van der | hilliger Stat van Coellen* (Coellen: Koelhoff, 1499, GW 6,688), 138r, or the title of VD 16 B 4,942).

Priest and some features of the Temple in Jerusalem;⁷⁵ this interest in Jewish ritual is also obvious in some of Lautensack's early drawings.⁷⁶ Other quotations are taken from the New Testament, primarily from the Gospel of Luke, the Pauline Epistles and Hebrews.⁷⁷

Our analysis of Lautensack's diverse approaches to integrating Scripture into his diagrams should begin with John's First Epistle, which the painter recommended as an introductory text. Frequently, but not always, it appears in very plain grids. Fig. 7 lists at the right-hand side the incipits of all 27 paragraphs of this text and parallels them with the names of the 27 Books of the New Testament, and furthermore with 27 letters and their Spirits – features that will be explained later. They are divided into three groups of nine paragraphs; each of these groups is linked with one of the Persons of the Trinity.

John's Gospel, a much longer text, is handled with more variation. Although there are some diagrams displaying all its chapter and paragraph incipits,⁷⁸ the painter normally focused on the first chapter, which starts with John's famous prologue "In the beginning was the Word" and ends with Nathanael's confession of Christ as the Son of God.⁷⁹ In the Bible editions Lautensack used, this chapter is divided into 13 paragraphs, and accordingly it is paralleled with sections of the Bible that likewise have 13 parts – we can assume that to Lautensack the identical structures of two texts suggested that they should be placed side by side and compared unit by unit so that they could explain one another. In one autograph manuscript the 13 paragraphs of John 1 stand together with the 13 chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the 13 paragraphs of Exod. 28, the description of the High Priest's robes (this diagram goes over 15 openings, one opening is

⁷⁵ Exod. 28, describing the vestments of the High Priest, is used in tract 3a (e.g. A23r–35r) and again at 21:V267v, this time together with Rev. 1§4 (apparel of Christ), 1 Kings 6 (building of Solomon's Temple), and Rev. 4§1 (the heavenly court). V260v–61r contain unfinished diagrams that are filled in with sections from Exod. 25–26 and 1 Kings 7.

⁷⁶ Cf. pp. 179–81.

⁷⁷ Luke 1–3 was divided in a chaotic way into 5×13 sections in 1b:L33v–45r, Luke 1 more convincingly into 3×12 sections in 12:W31v–32r. The 13 Pauline Epistles (following Luther's arrangement, thus without Heb.) were once paralleled with other 13-part structures (18:U168v–70r), once they are listed – in a strange permutation – with all their chapter incipits (21:V262r–266v), and another diagram gives the first words of all 96 paragraphs of Rom. (21:V268r–v). The 13 chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews appear alongside several other texts in tract 3a (see pp. 131–32). The first chapter of this text plays a prominent role in Lautensack's later works, cf. p. 238.

⁷⁸ E.g. 12:B54v–57r (the version in W45r–47v lacks the beginning). These diagrams are probably secondary adaptations of similar diagrams of all chapters of Revelation (e.g. the rectos of 12:W36v–44r).

⁷⁹ This text plays an important role in Lautensack's later diagrams, cf. p. 261 n. 183.

shown in Fig. 8).⁸⁰ However, this diagram parallels them with other series of quotations that do not contain the requisite number of items: the two times 15 paragraphs of the first chapters of Revelation, which will be explained later, and the 11 paragraphs of the first chapter of Genesis. When skimming through the pages of the diagram these discrepancies do not become obvious because Lautensack filled the empty spaces in its last sections with other texts.⁸¹ A critical beholder could accuse him of arguing dishonestly. However, since he was a painter, not a scholar, he was probably satisfied once a diagram *looked* convincing.

In another context Lautensack assigned to each paragraph of John 1 a short section from its first paragraph, sometimes comprising one word only.⁸² Such parallels within a text – a list of paragraphs contrasted with the contents of the first paragraph, or a list of chapters running together with a list of paragraphs from the first chapter – are not rare in Lautensack's work. He once claimed that the complete essence of the Book of Revelation was already contained in its first chapters and only explicated later, and probably the arrangement discussed here demonstrates how the first words of John 1 summarize the entire chapter.⁸³ Whereas the number of chapters and paragraphs in a text is fixed, the small subdivisions are flexible so that a text can be divided as often as necessary in a given context. The diagram shown partially in Fig. 8 has, for instance, on the left-hand side John 1§1, in 15 and not in 13 parts as before, one per opening.

The first chapter of Genesis was treated similarly – the same diagram contains both the 11 paragraphs of its first chapter (on the right-hand side) and 15 sections of its first paragraph (above the sections from John 1§1). Genesis 1 contains 29 references to God,⁸⁴ which are often emphasized in the text and combined with 29 Latin letters and their Spirits; the chapter can accordingly be divided into 29 parts (Fig. 9).⁸⁵ Another diagram

⁸⁰ E.g. 3a:A22v–37r.

⁸¹ The additional texts come from four chapters of Paul's Epistles, cf. p. 239. In other cases Lautensack omitted the last paragraph of John 1 to reach the more convenient number of 12 items (e.g. 12:B53v).

⁸² E.g. 17:U109v.

⁸³ E.g. 35:t10: "Nachmals / so sind die Capitel derselbigen vnderschied inhalt / weiters erklären vnd zu entdecken oder zu offenbahren" [Afterwards, the chapters furthermore explain, uncover or reveal the content of these paragraphs]. In a similar way, 18:U170v–72v combines the 13 chapter incipits of Heb. with 13 sections (in this case subdivisions made by Lautensack, cf. p. 238) of its first chapter. For the differently chosen core-section of Rev. cf. p. 134.

⁸⁴ It has 27 times "Gott," once "Gottes" and once "er."

⁸⁵ E.g. 45:E7v.

represents all 450 paragraphs of Genesis on one page, in a grid of 9×50 cells.⁸⁶ Naturally, there is not enough space for giving all their incipits, hence only the chapter numbers are indicated in the first paragraph of each chapter (Fig. 62).⁸⁷

Most of Lautensack's diagrams, however, deal with the Book of Revelation, and the painter developed many different ways of arranging its contents. Unfortunately, it consists of 22 chapters, a number for which Lautensack found hardly any parallels. In some of his earliest diagrams, he managed, through a cunningly devised layout, to parallel these chapters with the 24 sections of the Pater noster and Credo,⁸⁸ but in most other cases he increased the number of parts to 24 by adding to each half an image showing one of the visions from Apocalypse: after Rev. 11 the Woman Clothed with the Sun and the Mercy Seat from Rev. 12 (Rev. 11:19–12:2), and after the 22nd chapter the Man with Seven Stars and Seven Candlesticks taken from the beginning of the Book (Rev. 1:12–16). An example of this arrangement can be seen in Fig. 10. As will be shown later, these two visions had crucial significance for Lautensack;⁸⁹ from now on I shall call them the *Two Images* from Revelation.⁹⁰ As in this diagram, the 24 parts of Revelation are normally grouped into two halves, each comprising 11 chapters and a final image. The second half contains 50 paragraphs, while the first only has 46 – in order to achieve a balance, four rows of an unrelated diagram are often added to lists of its paragraphs.⁹¹

The 12 elements of each half of Revelation can be divided into four groups of three, and each group can be marked with one of Lautensack's four colors.⁹² We have seen that Lautensack paid special attention to the first chapters of Genesis and John's Gospel, probably because for him they

⁸⁶ A diagram of all chapter and paragraph incipits of Genesis appears in pp:Kk223v–27v.

⁸⁷ In Fig. 62 the last two columns represent the 2×50 chapters of Rev. Also the incomplete tract 20 combines the paragraph incipits of Genesis (V237v–41v) with those of Revelation (V242r–v).

⁸⁸ 1b:L22r–43r and 1d:A39r–60r. For details cf. pp. 216–17.

⁸⁹ Cf. p. 158.

⁹⁰ Lautensack repeatedly spoke of “bede bilder” [the *Two Images*], e.g. 10a:N27v.

⁹¹ E.g. 1d:A49v (Fig. 41) has these additional entries only, numbered 47–50. The additional material comes from a diagram showing the 3×11 Latin letters and their Spirits (cf. pp. 151–52); the sections chosen are those with the Spirits “völcker,” “Juden,” “heyden,” “Christen” [Peoples, Jews, Pagans and Christians], which are linked with the Creation of Man in Genesis diagrams like Fig. 9 and appear together in some later works cf. p. 261. The highly simplified diagram 26:W80v (Fig. 62) merely counts 2×50 paragraphs in 2×11 chapters.

⁹² E.g. 1b:L22r–43r, with writing in the respective colors. Furthermore, longer diagrams often present three chapters of Revelation on every page and link them to the Three Ages (e.g. 10a:N54v–57v, see p. 156).

already contained the essence of the entire Book. In a similar way, he singled out the first quarter of each half of Revelation, thus Rev. 1–3 and 12–14 (which I shall call the *Six Chapters* in what follows), as a summary of the entire Bible.⁹³ By coincidence, both groups consist of 15 paragraphs each. When these chapters are quoted separately from the main part of Revelation, often each half is divided into 7+1+7 paragraphs – the first seven are marked with the Seven Stars, the last seven with the Seven Candlesticks, and the central one with a head of Christ⁹⁴ (Fig. 25). All these signs are details from the vision of the Man with Seven Stars and Seven Candlesticks, which Lautensack, as we have seen, frequently combined with the text of Revelation. They signify that, just as the full content of Revelation is already present in its introductory paragraphs, these paragraphs are in turn contained in the vision of Christ at the beginning of this Book.

Whereas Lautensack had displayed the relationship between the first chapter of John's Gospel and its very first words simply by placing them alongside one another,⁹⁵ his method of paralleling the paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* with the entire Book of Revelation was more complex and included a combinatorial re-ordering of his material. This procedure, as arbitrary it seems to the modern reader, was regarded by the painter as one of his greatest discoveries, as a key process of opening Scripture. He describes it in imaginative terms that are reminiscent of the violent metaphors of the alchemists – although nothing suggests that Lautensack ever studied this craft.

According to his instructions it is necessary to 'nail' the paragraphs of Rev. 1–3 and Rev. 12–14 (or rather Christ, the Lamb of God, who is embodied in them) onto three crosses and to bury them so that they may resurrect in glory.⁹⁶ With these mysterious words he describes two different processes of permutation. The first is the *Crucifixion* or, more precisely, the *Crucifixion* "für sich" [forward] (in contrast to the simpler *Crucifixion* "vnder sich" [downward], v.i.). This process consists of drawing up three

⁹³ 10a:N24r: "So ist auch gemelt / wye der Geyst vnd das wort. 30. vnterschit haben welche vnterschid / dan allen grunt haben der ganczen schrifft / Auß welchen auch quilt vnd fleust aller verstant der ganczen schrieft" [Thus it is also reported, how the *Spirit* and the *Word* have 30 paragraphs, which paragraphs contain all basis of the whole Scripture. From them wells and flows all understanding of the whole Scripture].

⁹⁴ This head of Christ can be replaced with a star representing Christ, the true Morning Star (e.g. 10a:N59v (Fig. 15), cf. p. 253).

⁹⁵ Cf. p. 132.

⁹⁶ E.g. 35:t8–10.

cruciform diagrams⁹⁷ and copying the paragraphs of Rev. 1–3 or 12–14 into them in such a manner that the first four paragraphs appear at the corners (“orten”) of the first ‘Cross’ and the fifth in the center; the remaining 2×5 paragraphs are placed accordingly onto the other two ‘Crosses.’ Then, the paragraphs are copied into a new list (Lautensack speaks of “abgenom-men” [deposited], a word also referring to the Descent from the Cross), but in a different order: first the three paragraphs at the tops of the ‘Crosses,’ then those at the right-hand sides, and so on, ending with the central paragraphs.

Table 1. The *Crucifixion* and *Deposition* of the 15 paragraphs of Rev. 1–3.⁹⁸

(1) – the paragraphs in their original order, thus in three groups of five														
1§1	1§2	1§3	1§4	1§5	2§1	2§2	3§3	2§4	2§5	3§1	3§2	3§3	3§4	3§5
(2) – the paragraphs <i>Crucified</i> to ‘Three Crosses’														
	1§1					2§1						3§1		
1§4	1§5	1§2				2§4	2§5	2§2				3§4	3§5	3§2
	1§3					2§3						3§3		
(3) – the paragraphs <i>Deposited</i> from the ‘Crosses’ and rearranged into five groups of three														
1§1	2§1	3§1	1§2	2§2	3§2	1§3	2§3	3§3	1§4	2§4	3§4	1§5	2§5	3§5

Sometimes Lautensack contented himself with this operation and displayed the 2×15 paragraphs in the order they achieved through *Crucifixion* and *Deposition* (from now on I shall call this the *Crucified* order),⁹⁹ but in most cases a second operation follows, which he called the *Burying* of these paragraphs into the new grave of the Book of Revelation.¹⁰⁰ This means that each of the permuted paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* is placed

⁹⁷ Diagrams of a suitable shape are occasionally shown by Lautensack (e.g. Fig. 25) but always in a different context and without references to these paragraphs.

⁹⁸ In this case, each chapter has five paragraphs so that each ‘Cross’ is linked to a chapter. Rev. 12–14 have 6, 4 and 5 paragraphs, and hence the second ‘Cross’ contains Rev. 12§6, 13§1, 13§2, 13§3 and 13§4 respectively.

⁹⁹ E.g. 12:B44r.

¹⁰⁰ E.g. 35:t10: “darumb muß man das Lamb vom Creutz abnehmen / vnd in das grab deß Buchs / da zuvor niemand eyngelegt / eynsencken / auff die Capitel deß Buchs” [therefore one has to take down the Lamb from the Cross and lower it into the tomb wherein no man before was laid (cf. Luke 23:53, John 19:41) onto the chapters of the Book].

next to one of the 24 parts of Revelation¹⁰¹ – the paragraphs of Rev. 1–3 stand with the first twelve parts, those from Rev. 12–14 with the second twelve. Unfortunately, each half of the *Six Chapters* has 15 units, three too many. Sometimes, the last three paragraphs of each half simply have no counterpart in the list of chapters,¹⁰² but normally Lautensack resolved this problem by combining the three superfluous paragraphs with the first three chapters of each half of the Book. For unknown reasons, he linked them over cross, so that the last three *Crucified* paragraphs of Rev. 1–3 appear with chapters 12–14 and the last three *Crucified* paragraphs of Rev. 12–14 with chapters 1–3. They can be placed alongside the three paragraphs to which these chapters were already connected,¹⁰³ but more often they stand alone so that the first three *Crucified* paragraphs of each half (in the following diagram in brackets) are omitted.¹⁰⁴

Table 2. Arrangement of the *Crucified* and *Buried* paragraphs of the *Six Chapters*.

Rev. 12§5	(Rev. 1§1)	Rev. 1	Rev. 12	(Rev. 12§1)	Rev. 1§5
Rev. 13§4	(Rev. 2§1)	Rev. 2	Rev. 13	(Rev. 12§6)	Rev. 2§5
Rev. 14§5	(Rev. 3§1)	Rev. 3	Rev. 14	(Rev. 14§1)	Rev. 3§5
	Rev. 1§2	Rev. 4	Rev. 15	Rev. 12§2	
	Rev. 2§2	Rev. 5	Rev. 16	Rev. 13§1	
	Rev. 3§2	Rev. 6	Rev. 17	Rev. 14§2	
	Rev. 1§3	Rev. 7	Rev. 18	Rev. 12§3	
	Rev. 2§3	Rev. 8	Rev. 19	Rev. 13§2	
	Rev. 3§3	Rev. 9	Rev. 20	Rev. 14§3	
	Rev. 1§4	Rev. 10	Rev. 21	Rev. 12§4	
	Rev. 2§4	Rev. 11	Rev. 22	Rev. 13§3	
	Rev. 3§4	[image of the Apocalyptic Woman]	[image of the Man between Candlesticks]	Rev. 14§4	

¹⁰¹ See p. 133 for the way Lautensack transformed the 22 chapters of Revelation into 24 parts.

¹⁰² E.g. 10a:N53r.

¹⁰³ E.g. 10a:N53r, N48r–51v (quoting not the chapter incipits but instead the permutations of the Ancestors and Books that are normally linked with them, cf. p. 140).

¹⁰⁴ An example for such a diagram is 12:W36v–44r. It has on each verso three of the *Crucified* paragraphs and on each facing recto the three corresponding Chapters of Revelation.

This *Crucifying* and *Burying* of Chapters is a cumbersome process, and the permutations it produces could have been achieved in a simpler way. However, Lautensack was a painter and not a mathematician, and most probably he really copied the paragraph incipits of the *Six Chapters* into cruciform diagrams and read them in a different way. The formal principle of arranging five objects into four corners and a center, like a Quincunx, sounds arbitrary to the modern beholder, but it was a common practice in the *Ars memorativa* and is described in many tracts dedicated to this skill (Fig. 11).¹⁰⁵ In contrast to this operation, the *Crucifixion* downward most probably describes no permutation but merely placing the 15 paragraphs into a rectangular grid of 3×5 units.¹⁰⁶

The complex procedure of *Crucifixion* and *Burying* was apparently developed for the Apocalypse, but Lautensack experimented with *Crucifying* John's First Epistle, the study of which he recommended as a preliminary exercise, in the same way. Since this Epistle has only 27 and not 30 paragraphs, this led to chaos.¹⁰⁷ He then developed another, simpler system: the paragraphs of this Epistle are written into a grid of 9×3 units, either row by row, or column by column. This grid is then divided either by row or by column – in the former case the result is three 3×3 grids, in the latter it is three columns with 9 fields, each of which can be in turn divided into three and arranged as a 3×3 grid. There are several possible ways of using this device, and only some lead to permutation. Lautensack had already used the results of this process in an early tract,¹⁰⁸ but the method only becomes clear in one of Lautensack's most complicated diagrams, in which he lists the 27 paragraphs from 1 John twice, in different orders, and combines each of the resulting 2×3 groups of 9 paragraphs with three of the 18 parts from Revelation (without the *Six Chapters*, which are quoted separately elsewhere, partially in Fig. 14).¹⁰⁹ Sections of this lengthy diagram are given in Figs. 12 and 13.

¹⁰⁵ *Ars Memorativa* ([Augsburg: Bämle, ca. 1480], GW 2,569), 2nd text folio, r, see Bärbel Kerckhoff-Hader, "Die Kunst, sich zu erinnern: Zu den Bildtafeln der *Ars memorativa*, gedruckt bei Anton Sorg in Augsburg um 1490," *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 1996: 123. Also the plates of this treatise follow this Quincunx-like arrangement (Schramm 4, plates 362–68 nos. 2,938–61).

¹⁰⁶ This term is mentioned in e.g. 9a:N12r and 10a:N32r; it is described more clearly in 11:g39, and a grid of 3×5 units is displayed at the recto of the table after g38.

¹⁰⁷ One of several attempts can be found on 26:W104r.

¹⁰⁸ 5a:A8r–12r, here the paragraphs are arranged in the order 1/10/19, 2/11/20, etc.

¹⁰⁹ 17:U121v–39r.

III. *Lists of Names*

After the Biblical quotations we should examine a second, less complex, group of elements Lautensack used in his diagrams: the lists of the Ancestors of Christ and the Books of the Bible. As has been mentioned beforehand, the painter counted 77 Books in the Bible, and according to Luke 3:24–38 Christ had 77 Ancestors.¹¹⁰ Lautensack normally divided each list into seven groups of eleven, so that each of the first seven paragraphs of each half of the *Six Chapters* (i.e. Rev. 1§1–2§2, Rev. 12§1–13§1) is combined not only with one of the Seven Stars (v.s.) but also with a group of eleven Ancestors. Likewise, the paragraphs of the second halves (Rev. 2§4–3§5, Rev. 13§3–14§5) each have a candlestick and eleven Books.

Most probably this arrangement demonstrates that the paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* summarize not only the Book of Revelation but the entire Bible and the history of salvation. In Fig. 5 the last four stars and 4×11 Ancestors appear on the left-hand side of the diagrams, the last four candlesticks and 4×11 Books on the right (the first three groups are on the preceding page). Here, the more familiar list of Christ's Ancestors according to Matthew is added between the blocks.¹¹¹ In his manuscripts

¹¹⁰ This text was rarely quoted by medieval authors, and it also played a limited role in High Medieval number symbolism; according to Heinz Meyer and Rudolf Suntrup, *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen* (Munich: Fink, 1987), 765–67, only comparisons with sin and forgiveness were made (Gen. 4:24, Matt. 18:22); Petrus Bongus, *Mysticae Numerorum | Significationis | Liber* (Bergomi: Ventura, 1585), 2:114–15, offers nothing more. Despite promising to do so at the beginning, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. germ. 110, makes virtually no use of this list (Hans Vollmer, *Deutsche Bibelauszüge des Mittelalters zum Stammbaum Christi mit ihren lateinischen Vorbildern und Vorlagen* (Potsdam: Athenaion, 1931), 36). Luke's list of Ancestors was, however, used in Luther's *Supputatio Annorum Mundi* (Luther WA, 53:22–184, e.g. 114–15).

¹¹¹ Raphael Ligtenberg, "De Genealogie van Christus in de beeldende Kunst der Middeleeuwen, voornamelijk van het Westen," *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek* 9 (1929): 6. This list in Matt. 1:1–17 counts 40 persons from Abraham to Christ. It consists of three parts, with the last name of each section repeated at the beginning of the next, and therefore it contains 42 names, structured into 3×14. As different from high medieval authors (e.g. Meyer and Suntrup, *Lexikon der Zahlenbedeutungen*, 724–27) Lautensack takes up the Biblical division and uses it to *Break* this list in a similar way as the 7×11 Ancestors and Books into 14 groups of three names (e.g. 1/15/29, 2/16/30), which are occasionally placed between the altogether 14 groups of 7×11 Ancestors and Books (e.g. 10a:N46r–47r, Fig. 5). In some later tracts Matthew's list appears alone (e.g. 37:U19v).

Lautensack normally¹¹² gave plain lists of names of the Ancestors and Books, but in the room decoration he executed for the Gundelfingerin¹¹³ he placed the Ancestors in a genealogical tree (called by him a 'vine') that went round all four walls,¹¹⁴ and apparently there were personifications of the Books beneath them.¹¹⁵ I found it difficult to identify material that could be compared with these lists of Ancestors and Books. As we have seen, the number and sequence of Biblical Books was still fluctuating during the Middle Ages so they could not be used for theological speculations.¹¹⁶ Complete series of Christ's Ancestors had been uncommon in medieval art,¹¹⁷ but the late-medieval interest in biblical history and the period's obsession with genealogical trees and lists of rulers¹¹⁸ inspired the production of some depictions of all of Christ's Ancestors according

¹¹² In 17:U140r–43v, a tract that only survives in later copies, each Ancestor is depicted as a small, individually characterized bust, similar to the Apostles and Patriarchs, cf. p. 258.

¹¹³ Cf. pp. 28–30.

¹¹⁴ There are contemporary parallels of arranging families in a frieze rather than in a tree, e.g. the left part of Erhard Schoen's genealogy of the House of Wittelsbach (Geisberg 1,300, *Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 1301.285), a Jesse Tree by Israhel von Meckenem (Bartsch VI.281.203) or the Mainz tapestry presented in p. 140 n. 119. Drawings in a Bible made for the young Edward VI show the Ancestors of Christ sitting in dramatic postures on a vine, several side-branches are represented as labeled vine-leaves (Cambridge, Emmanuel College, *Biblia | Sacrosancta Testa|menti Veteris & Noui, è sacra Hebraeo|rum lingua Graecorúmque fontibus ... translata* (Tigvri: Froschovervs, 1543, VD 16 B 2,618), leaves before fol. 1 of the first foliation)).

¹¹⁵ Apparently the personification of the central Book of each group was carrying one of the seven golden candlesticks. Sentences like "da dann die schön Susanna den güldnen Leuchter hatt" [there fair Susannah has the golden candlestick], 11:g20, suggest that the Books were represented by their authors or protagonists. I have been unable to find any parallels for such a scheme.

¹¹⁶ Cf. p. 125. For some exceptions see Heinz Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese im Mittelalter* (Munich: Fink, 1975), 98.

¹¹⁷ The very common so-called Jesse Tree primarily demonstrates Christ's descent from David and hence normally leaves out most generations in-between (many examples in Arthur Watson, *The early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London: Milford, 1934)). The young Lautensack may have depicted a Jesse Tree in Grimmenthal Church, but nothing is known about its shape, cf. p. 11 n. 5. Compositions with all 40 Ancestors according to Matthew apparently existed only around the Mediterranean (Michael D. Taylor, "A Historiated Tree of Jesse," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34/35 (1980/81): 125–76).

¹¹⁸ Numerous such lists appear in Schedel, [*Nuremberg Chronicle*], or the Saxon Chronicle ([Konrad Botho], *Cronecken der sassen* (Mentz: Schoffer, 1492, GW 4,963)), see Gert Melville, "Geschichte in Graphischer Gestalt: Beobachtungen zu einer spätmittelalterlichen Darstellungsweise," in *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Patze (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1987), 91–107. Many of these chronicles also list Christ's Ancestors, e.g. the diagrams by Petrus Pictavensis and later Schedel, but they normally try to harmonize the different Biblical accounts.

to Matthew,¹¹⁹ and less commonly also of those according to Luke.¹²⁰ Numbering the Ancestors, however, always remained unusual.¹²¹

We have seen that Lautensack permuted the paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* through *Crucifying* and *Burying* in order to align them with the 24 parts of Revelation. In a similar way, the 7×11 Ancestors and Books, which were (as we have seen) often linked with these paragraphs, could be rearranged into 11×7 items and then paralleled with the 22 chapters of Revelation (excluding the *Two Images*, which Lautensack often placed at the end), so that the Ancestors stand with the first half, the Books with the second half. Lautensack calls this procedure the *Breaking*, referring to the Lamb breaking the seals of the book in Rev. 6–8, and therefore to divine grace revealing the content of Scripture to man.¹²² This *Breaking*

¹¹⁹ A drawing from Swabia, ca. 1500 (Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung, inv. 5, *Meisterwerke aus der Graphischen Sammlung: Zeichnungen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat. Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie 1984 (Stuttgart: Staatsgalerie, 1984), 15–16 no. 8) shows a tree with 27 figures, the number of Ancestors between Jesse and Christ according to Matthew, in a tapestry from the Middle Rhine dated to 1501 they form a frieze around the central Holy Kindred (Mainz, Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Betty Kurth, *Die deutschen Bildteppiche des Mittelalters* (Vienna: Schroll, 1926), 1:254, 3: plates 212–14), the Ottheinrich Bible, shows them at the beginning of Matthew's Gospel (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 8,010(1, 10v). Furthermore, this series of Ancestors appears in the lunettes of the Sistine Chapel (Paul Taylor, "Michelangelo's Mistakes in the Generations of Christ," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 67 (2004): 285–94).

¹²⁰ Both genealogies are depicted with tiny figures in the Gospel concordance [Willem van Branteghem], *Iesv Chriſti vita, iuxta quatuor Euangelistarum | narrationes, artificio graphices, perquam | eleganter picta* (Antverpiæ: Matthaeus Cromme pro Adriano Kempe de Bouchout, 1537), 2, 4 (Christian Schuckmann et al., *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700*, vol. 53, *Frederick de Wit to Lieven de Witte* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision, 1999), 233, Lieven de Witte, H. 2–3). Renate Schumacher-Wolfgang, "Eine römische Passionsreliquie. Präsentation und Indienstnahme: Zum Kreuz-Altar des Bartholomäusmeisters in Köln," in *Vom Orient bis an den Rhein: Begegnungen mit der Christlichen Archäologie. Peter Poscharsky zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrike Lange and Reiner Sörries (Dettelbach: Röhl, 1997): 265, saw the Ancestors according to Luke in 12th-century paintings in S. Croce in Gerusalemme. However, this series partially follows the different genealogies from Gen. 11:10–17 (Josef Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1917), 346–51). A French Book of Hours displays 77 Ancestors on a double-page, but their names follow Luke only in parts (Eberhard König and Heribert Tenschert, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter: 89 libri manu scripti illuminati vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Rotthalmünster: Tenschert, 1989), no. 62, 14v–15r, reproduced on p. 405).

¹²¹ Exceptions are Joachim de Fiore's (very different) genealogies (Joachim de Fiore, *Diuini vatis Abbatis Joachim liber concordie noui ac veteris Testamenti* (Venetiis: de Luere, 1519), 24v) and a later poem by Georg Philip Harsdörffer (Georg Philip Harsdörffer, *Nathan und Jotham: | das ist | Geistliche und Weltliche Lehrgedichte*, ed. Guillaume van Gemert, vol. 2 (Frankfurt: Keip, 1991), 214–28).

¹²² Cf. p. 47. Lautensack frequently speaks of *Crucifying* and *Breaking* the Bible (e.g. 10a:N53v: "wie wunderbarlich sich alles gebrochen vnd gecrewcziget ist" [how wonderfully

is much simpler than the *Crucifixion* of the paragraphs: one begins with an empty grid that has 7 rows and 11 columns, therefore 77 cells. The Ancestors and Books are entered into it row by row (thus in 7 groups of 11) but later read column by column (thus in 11 groups of 7). The first of these groups has the 1st, 12th, 23rd, 34th, 45th, 56th and 67th of them, and so forth.¹²³ In contrast to the *Crucifixion*, the template necessary for the *Breaking* is regularly depicted by Lautensack, often¹²⁴ in the form of four 7×11 grids (probably four grids because each half of the paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* is linked with both 7×11 Books and 7×11 Ancestors). These grids are normally separated by a large cross whose arms are decorated with symbols taken from the *Two Images* of Revelation, such as stars and candlesticks (Fig. 15).¹²⁵ A very similar system of *Breaking* appears in a common alchemical treatise, but it is unlikely that Lautensack was aware of it.¹²⁶

Another pair of lists of names that Lautensack frequently paralleled are those of the Patriarchs and the Apostles. They will be discussed in the next chapter.¹²⁷

everything has *Broken* and *Crucified* itself]; one of the few clear definitions of *Breaking* is in 35:t42: "darbey jhre zeugen / von Vättern vnd Büchern also erschienen / wie sie die sieben Sigillen haben gebrochen / vnd das Buch zu offenbahnen / damit vnd dardurch / die zuvor siebenmal eilff / nunmals eilffmal sieben worden" [with that also appear its witnesses, thus Ancestors and Books, as they have broken the seven seals and revealed the book, then and through that the originally seven times eleven have now become eleven times seven].

¹²³ In some diagrams there are only references to groups of 7, without naming the individual items – whilst all groups of Books are identified as "7 buch," the groups of Ancestors can be called in turn "7 patriarch," "7 prophet," "7 könig" (45:E28v (Fig. 82), cf. p. 254 n. 147).

¹²⁴ Occasionally, there are only two grids juxtaposed, e.g. 12:B41v–42r, or both series are projected into one diagram (e.g. 13a:B11r).

¹²⁵ 10a:N59v (Fig. 15), for instance, has in the horizontal axis the Seven Stars and Seven Candlesticks from Rev. 1, and in the vertical eleven (out of twelve) stars and moons from Rev. 12.

¹²⁶ The *Book of the Holy Trinity* recombines 21 letters in a similar way and assigns a planet to each of the seven groups of three so that, for instance, *a–h–p* refers to Mars (e.g. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 80,061, p. 3). This early 15th-century illuminated treatise that combines political propaganda with religious and alchemical speculations survives in several manuscripts (see Marielene Putscher, "Das 'Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit' und seine Bilder in Handschriften des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Alchemie in der europäischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. Christoph Meinel (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 151–78, and Barbara Obrist, *Les Débuts de l'Imagerie Alchimique (XV^e–XVI^e siècles)* (Paris: Sycomore, 1983)). However, it is unlikely that Lautensack, who had no recorded interest in alchemy, had access to this tract which was by then outdated (although an early 16th-century copy, Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. VCF 29, is recorded in Obrist, *Débuts de l'Imagerie Alchimique*, 274, and some of its images still features in later works, cf. p. 185 n. 82).

¹²⁷ Cf. pp. 207–12.

IV. *Alphabets*

Alphabets constitute the third important element of Lautensack's diagrams.¹²⁸ Often they accompany names or quotations and so act like a numbering system. In order to combine them with different series of items the painter developed alphabets with different numbers of characters, ranging from 22 to 77. Sometimes these letters appear alone in complex diagrams; probably Lautensack expected the reader to identify each particular alphabet and associate it with the elements it normally accompanies.¹²⁹ Because of their importance as ordering systems the alphabets are sometimes explained at the beginning of a tract (Fig. 16).¹³⁰ Given the virtual omnipresence of writing and the random order of letters in the alphabet it is hardly surprising that speculative authors such as Lautensack sought deeper meaning in the alphabet.¹³¹

Although Lautensack had never studied classical languages,¹³² many of his alphabets contain not only the common Latin but also Hebrew and Greek letters, sometimes together with their names and transliterations.¹³³ Whilst some medieval authors had delighted in collecting exotic alphabets of all kinds,¹³⁴ by the 15th century Hebrew, Greek and Latin had

¹²⁸ For Lautensack's alphabets see also Berthold Kress, "From Elementary School to Divine Revelation: The Alphabets of Paul Lautensack," in *Teaching Writing, Learning to Write: Proceedings of the XVIth Colloquium of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine held at The Institute of English Studies, University of London, 2–5 September 2008*, ed. Pamela R. Robinson (London: King's College London, 2010), 313–26.

¹²⁹ E.g. 5a:A12v shows in three concentric circles the Hebrew, Greek, and the first 22 Latin letters.

¹³⁰ E.g. 5a:A2v (Fig. 16, with the stars, candlesticks and the Three Celestial Bodies). In 1d:A61r the alphabets appear at the end of a tract, combined with the names of the stones on the High Priest's breastplate.

¹³¹ Cassiodorus speculated on the number of letters in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin alphabets (Meyer and Suntrup, *Lexikon der Zahlenbedeutungen*, 679). According to Rabanus God created in the beginning 22 objects, as many as the Hebrew letters, the generations from Adam to Jacob and the Books of the Old Testament from Gen. to Esther – therefore he saw, as later Lautensack, parallels between letters, Ancestors and Books (De Universo Libri Viginti Duo, *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris: Migne, 1844–91), 111:487C). Closer to Lautensack's time the Anabaptist King of Münster claimed that God had revealed to him a mysterious alphabet (Th. Volbehr, "Zur Geschichte der Münsterischen Unruhen," *Mitteilungen aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum* 2 (1887–89, published 1889): 102).

¹³² Cf. p. 11 n. 3.

¹³³ Both names and transliterations appear, for instance, in tracts 1d:L22v–43v (at the top of the versos) and 3a:L4r–14v (Fig. 8, the first halves of the Alphabets are at the left-hand side of the recto, the second halves at the top of the verso). The names of the Hebrew letters in 4b:L3r are different from those normally used and may be later additions.

¹³⁴ E.g. Bernhard Walde, *Christliche Hebraisten Deutschlands am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Münster i. W.: Aschendorff, 1916), 165; Paul Lehmann, *Mitteilungen aus Handschriften*,

gained special prominence as the languages of the Title of the Cross¹³⁵ and – since the Reformation – as the languages that were essential for theological studies. Hence they are grouped together not only in scholarly works¹³⁶ but also in some vernacular publications.¹³⁷

Whereas some of his contemporaries were primarily interested in the exotic character of foreign alphabets and were not worried about rendering them with gross distortions (cf. p. 142–43 n. 134), Lautensack not only gave their correct forms but also the right transliterations and names.

vol. 2 (Munich: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1930), 160–62; Bernhard Bischoff, “Übersicht über die nichtdiplomatischen Geheimschriften des Mittelalters,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 62 (1954): 23; René Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition* (Bruges: Tempel, 1954), 275; Chojecka, *Bayerische Bild-Enzyklopädie*, 66 and fig. 100, and, for a slightly later example, Guilielmus Postellus, *Lingvarvm | duodecim characteri|bvs Differentivm Alpha|betvm, Introductio Ac Legendi | modus* (Parisii: Lescuyer, 1538). Particularly important in Lautensack's time were editions of the travels of Sir John de Mandeville (alphabets from the edition by Prüss, 1483, in Schramm 20, plate 127 no. 1,035 – plate 140 no. 1,157) and Bernhard Breidenbach (e.g. Hugh Wm. Davies, *Bernhard von Breidenbach and his Journey to the Holy Land, 1483–4: A Bibliography* (London: Leighton, 1911), plates 39–41).

¹³⁵ According to the John 19:20 the Title of the Cross (‘Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews’) was written in these three languages, and interest in historical accuracy inspired some late-gothic artists to try and represent the different alphabets (e.g. München, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 670 – a painting by Hans Pleydenwurff, like Lautensack based in Bamberg, from ca. 1465). Furthermore, the relic of the Title was re-discovered in 1492 (Schumacher-Wolfgang, “Eine römische Passionsreliquie,” 260), and some reproductions did not show a facsimile of its highly cursive text (as did Schreiber 4:17 no. 1,823) but instead a clear transcription in the three languages (e.g. Geisberg 747). An example for these alphabets outside the biblical context is a Cologne manuscript of Heinrich von Beeck's *Agrippina* from the 1470s that renders the ancient name of this city (Agrippina) in Hebrew, Greek and Latin (Köln, Historisches Stadtarchiv, Chroniken und Darstellungen no. 20, 2v–3r – reproduction at Foto Marburg).

¹³⁶ München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5,813, a mid-15th-century manuscript, contains Hebrew and Greek alphabets (Walde, *Christliche Hebraisten*, 167). *Aldi Manviti Romani Institv|tionvm Grammaticarvm | Libri Qvatvor* (Venetiis: Aldus, 1508), a Latin grammar, has appendices on Greek and Hebrew. Conrad Pellicanus, “De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum,” in Gregorius Reisch, *Æpitoma Omnis Phylosophiæ Ali|as Margarita Phylosophica Tractans | de omni genere scibili | Cum additionibus Que in alijs non habentur* (Argentina: Grüninger, 1504, VD 16 R 1,034), F9r–F28r, shows on the title-page personifications of the three languages.

¹³⁷ An utopian tract by Hans Hergot divides the population into three groups according to these languages ([Hans Hergot], *Von der new|en wandlung / | eynes Christlichen | lebens. | Hutt dich | Teuffel / Die Hell wirdt | zurbrechen* ([Leipzig: Blum, 1527], VD 16 V 2,614), A8v); Stifel, *Rechen Büchlin*, Biv, a work quoted by Lautensack (cf. p. 262), speaks of the three languages. All three alphabets feature in the writing manual Wolfgang Fugger, *Ein nutzlich vnd wolgegründt | Formular / Mancherley schöner schrieften* (Nürnberg: Geyßler, 1553, VD16 F 3,337). Also Giordano Bruno used letters from these three alphabets to count long sequences of objects (Giordano Bruno, *De Umbris Idearum*, ed. Rita Sturlese (Florence: Olschki, 1991), 46).

His Hebrew alphabet – 22 consonants without finalia or vocalization signs – must come from a Christian source,¹³⁸ and he probably did not copy it directly from one of the relatively common Latin textbooks on the Hebrew language (e.g. Fig. 17),¹³⁹ but rather asked a Christian Hebraist scholar to draw up an alphabet for him. The obvious candidate is Andreas

¹³⁸ The names of the Hebrew letters follow the Sephardic pronunciation that was common amongst 16th-century Christian Hebraists, not the Ashkenazic tradition used by the Jews of central Europe and also by some 15th-century Christian authors (cf. beneath, n. 139). Lautensack calls, for instance, the א *aleph* and the י *jod*, whereas a contemporary Jewish convert spoke of *oleph* and *jus* respectively (Antonius Margarita, *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub | mit sampt ainer gründtlichen vnd war|haften anzaygunge / Aller Satzungen / Ceremonien / | Gebetten / Haymliche vnd öffentliche Gebruch / deren sich dye | Juden halten* (Augspurg: Steyner, 1530, VD 16 M 973), A4v). Furthermore, in Lautensack's time Jews were banned from living in Nuremberg (Hugo Barbeck, *Geschichte der Juden in Nürnberg und Fürth* (Nuremberg: Heerdeggen, 1878), 31, 38).

¹³⁹ All of Lautensack's transliterations and letter-names find a parallel in some of these grammars. Uncommon are the reading of א, which Lautensack gives not as *c* or *ch* but as *k* (as found only in the then outdated Peter Schwarcz, [Colophon:] Explicit Stella Meschiah (Eßling: Feiner, 1477, GW M 27.104) – the alphabet is on the first recto of an unfoliated quire that is sometimes bound in at the beginning of this tract, sometimes close to its end) and of פ as *e* (otherwise only in Ioannes Boeschenstein, אבותיך אברהם בן עמרם | *Contenta In Hoc Libello Nuper | a Ioanne bæschenstein Esslingensi edita. | Elementale introductorium in hebreas litteras* (Auguste, Erhard, 1514, VD 16 B 6.356), c1r, and Ioannes Boschenstain, *Hebraicae Grammaticae | institutiones studiosis sanctę lingue ... collectę* (Vuittenburgij: Grunenbergius, 1518, VD 16 B 6.372), A2v). However, no edition contains all letter-names and transcriptions that Lautensack uses – and in all likelihood he would have made an exact copy from a text-book, had he consulted one. His *zadick* for צ only appears in Aldo Manutio, *Ex Aldo Manutio de Li|teris Græcis & diphthongis, ac earum proprietatibus ... Addidimus præ|terea breuiusculam institutionem in litteras Hebræ|as, ab ipso Volphango Fabro mutuatam* (Coloniae: Cervicornus, 1517, VD 16 M 769), B3r; Wolfgang Capito, *V. Fabri|tii Capitonis | Hagenoii | Theolo|giae | Docto|ris | et Concio|natoris Basi|leiensis, Hebrai|carum Institutio|nym Libri dvo* (Basileæ: Frobenius, 1518, VD 16 C 823), Biv, and [Aldo Manutio], *Intrody|ctio vtilis-sima, Hebraice | discere cupientibus: | cum latiori emen|datione Iohannis | Bæschenstain* (Augustæ Vindelicorum: Grymm, 1520, VD 16 M 761), A2r; whereas others had *zadi* or *zade*. However, these three grammars have *samach* instead of Lautensack's *samech*. The name *taph* has parallels in Mattheus Aurigallus [Goldhahn], *Compendi|vm Hebreæ | Chaldea|qvæ Gram|matices* (Vvittembergæ: [Klug], 1525, VD 16 G 2.552), A2v, Capito, *Hebraicarum Institutio|nym Libri*, Biv, and Manutio, *De Literi Græcis*, B3r, whereas most other authors have *tau*. The *phe* for פ was uncommon in Germany, yet is used in Postellus, *Lingvuarum duodecim characteribvs Differentivm Alphabetvm*. Further discrepancies exist between Lautensack and [Aldo Manutio], *Introductio ad litteras hebraicas | Vtilissima | Alphabetum hebraicum & eius lectura* ([Erfurt: Marschalk, 1502], VD 16 ZV 10.364), 1st leaf, v; Ioannes Reuchlin, *Ioannis Revchlin Phorcensis | LL. Doc. Ad Dionysivm Fratrem | Svvm Germanvm De Rvdimentis | Hebraicis* (Pource: Anshelm, 1506, VD 16 R 1.252), 5; Aldi Mantii *Libri Quatvor*, appendix, 1st leaf, r; August Sebastian Novzen, *Aug. Sebastia|ni Novzeni, De Lite|rarum, Vocvm, Et Accen|tuum Hæbraicorum natura, Siue de prima ser|monis Hebraici lectione Libellus* (Marpurgi: Rhode, 1532, VD 16 N 1.898), Biv. Other earlier grammars must be ruled out because they still follow the Ashkenazic pronunciation (cf. above, n. 138), e.g. [Gregorius Reisch], *Margarita philosophica* (Friburgi: Schottus, 1503, VD 16 R 1.033), Lib. I, 5th leaf, v; Pellicanus, "De modo legendi;" and examples in Walde, *Christliche Hebraisten*, 12, 165, 167–68.

Osiander, the leading theologian of Nuremberg, who, as we have seen, had discussions with Lautensack in 1530,¹⁴⁰ and whose interest in Hebrew is well documented.¹⁴¹ The Greek alphabet in the tracts (always majuscules) shows a mixture between Erasmian and Reuchlinian pronunciation that was typical for the early 16th century.¹⁴² Finally, Lautensack's Latin alphabet consists of Fraktur versalia or of a capital A (in Fraktur or Antiqua) followed by minuscule letters;¹⁴³ most of them have the names that are still in use in 21st-century German.¹⁴⁴

As explained earlier, the alphabets normally accompany or represent lists of quotations or of names, and their length had to be adjusted to the number of these items. Sometimes, all three alphabets are linked to the parts of the Book of Revelation. The 2×11 Hebrew letters and the first 2×11 Latin letters (A–y)¹⁴⁵ fit well with its 22 chapters. However, the Greek

Several others have an arrangement of the letters that is different from Lautensack's or include the finalia letters (e.g. different editions of Breydenbach and the only identified vernacular work with a Hebrew alphabet, Schwarz, *Stella Meschiah*). Some grammars even transliterate the finalia different from the principal form of the character (e.g. Boeschenstein, *Elementale introductorium*, c1r, renders פ as p, ך as f; Boschenstain, *Hebraicae Grammaticae institutiones*, Azv, is similar). Sebastian Münster, ספר הדיקדוק | *Grammatica Hebraica Absolutis/sima* (Basileæ: Frobenius, 1525, VD 16 E 1,001), a5r, counts װ and ן as two letters. Since Lautensack knew nothing about the Hebrew language (he regarded, for instance, the Hebrew sibilants all as graphical variants of an s and transliterated them with different forms of the s, so that ט becomes s, ס β and ן f – only in 1b:L22v–43v all become f) he would have slavishly copied the alphabet in front of him.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. p. 57.

¹⁴¹ Gerhard Philipp Wolf, "Osiander und die Juden im Kontext seiner Theologie," *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte* 53 (1984): 49–77.

¹⁴² He keeps traditional names like *uita* (β) or *ita* (η).¹ β is already transliterated as b, but η still as i. A similar mixture (albeit with *beta* instead of *uita*) is found in the writing manual Fugger, *Ein nützlich vnd wolgegründt Formular*, o3v, cf. Engelbert Drerup, *Die Schulaussprache des Griechischen von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 1, *Vom XV. bis zum Ende des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1930), 42–45, 303, 306. Lautensack's unusual *labda* instead of the *lambda* also appears in the first edition of Breydenbach (Schramm 15, plate 18 no. 14), whilst Reisch, *Margarita philosophica*, Lib. I, 5th leaf, v, has *lasda*.

¹⁴³ 1a:D862–73 use Textura with a versalia A inspired by Gothic majuscule (Figs. 43, 45–48), an example for Fraktur versalia is 10a:N52v (Fig. 25), one for minuscule with a capital A in Fraktur is 1b:L45r (Fig. 52).

¹⁴⁴ Only y is called *oya*. Contemporary primers call it *ey* (*Leyenschül. | Wie man Künstlich | vnd behend / schreyben vnnnd | lesen soll lernen* (Meyntz: Jordan, 1533, VD 16 ZV 22,178, reprinted in *Vier seltene Schriften des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts mit einer bisher ungedruckten Abhandlung über Valentinus Ickelsamer von Friedrich Ludwig Karl Weigand*, ed. Heinrich Fechner (Berlin: Wiegandt & Grieben, 1882)), A6v) or *oy* (Valentinus Ickelsamer, *Ein Teütsche | Grammatica* ([Nuremberg: n.p., 1534], VD 16 I 24, reprinted in *Vier seltene Schriften*, as above), A6v, but Max Hermann Jellinek, *Über Aussprache der Lateinischen und Deutschen Buchstabennamen* (Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1930), 33, has an *oya* from 1593 (cf. *ibid.*, 37).

¹⁴⁵ Lautensack never gave a reason for leaving out the z; most probably he wanted this most primitive form of the Latin alphabet to have the same length as the Hebrew

alphabet has not 22 but 24 letters, and therefore its 12th and 24th letters, M and Ω, were not placed with a chapter but with the *Two Images* at the end of each half of the Book (Fig. 10).¹⁴⁶ The painter explains that these images show Christ as He became incarnate and visible in the New Testament, and hence they are only marked with letters from the Greek alphabet, which Lautensack specifically associated with this part of the Bible (cf. p. 156).¹⁴⁷ These two letters sometimes appear with the *Two Images* outside the context of alphabetical lists (Fig. 21).

In most cases only the Latin alphabet is paralleled with lists and adapted to their length, and this process apparently happened in stages.¹⁴⁸ The first extensions of the 22-letter system (*A–y*), led to 27 letters. Here, Lautensack adds the letter *z* at the end followed by four common abbreviations:

A–y *z* [*et*] [*est*] [*kan*] [*tur*]¹⁴⁹

These alphabets were placed with the 27 paragraphs of John's First Epistle (Figs. 7, 12).¹⁵⁰

alphabet. At this time, the Latin alphabet had no separate letter for *j* and *w*, and one letter functions as both *u* and *v*.

¹⁴⁶ E.g. 5a:A5v–6r (Fig. 10, here the first halves of each alphabet are at the left, the second halves at the right), 10a:N55v/57v. Lautensack's probably first alphabet, not yet accompanying Revelation but rather 11 of the 12 parts of the Creed (one half of the alphabet at the left, one at the right side of each page), has only the Hebrew and Latin letters; here the last image (1a:D873) shows twice Alpha and Omega (one in Greek letters, once as minuscule *ao*), cf. p. 164.

¹⁴⁷ 35:t65: "aber kein Person da wird angezeygt / als im zwölfften vnd vier vnnd zwanzigsten Capitel / darzu auch die Juden in jhrem Alphabeth keinen buchstaben haben / der die zahl wie gemeldt / erstattet / darumb sie auch noch / ohne Gott sind" [but no person is indicated save in the twelfth and twenty-fourth chapters. The Jews have in their alphabet no letter that can return this number, as reported. Therefore they are still without God [i.e., they still had not the visible Person of God, cf. p. 154]]. Lautensack furthermore gave an allegoric interpretation of the form of the Ω: 10a:N60v: "vnd der buchstab omicra dye menscheyt Christi anzeygt mit seynen zweyen füßlein darauff er ruhet vnd stet / dabey vns der geist anzeigt das wir Allein bey der würdigen menscheit Christi am Crzewcz ruhen vnd besten sollen" [and the letter omicra [*sic*] shows the human nature of Christ with its two small feet on which it rests and stands. With this the Spirit shows that we only shall rest and rely on the worthy human nature of Christ on the cross].

¹⁴⁸ This process was already complete by 1535, when the fully developed 33-part alphabet appeared in tract 1b. Normally Lautensack did not comment on the nature of these extensions of the Latin alphabet, but in 10a:N30v, Lautensack speaks of the "vberichen" [remaining] and in 11:g18, of the "letzere[n]" [last] letters (cf. p. 152 n. 173).

¹⁴⁹ The [*et*] is the common Tironian form, the [*est*] similar to a Greek ξ, the [*kan*] a Germanized version of the Tironian [*con*], and the [*tur*] should have been rendered similar to *t*² but is normally so indistinctive that it is spelled out next to (e.g. 5a:A12r) or even replaces the abbreviation (e.g. 26:W91v, Fig. 7, bottom row).

¹⁵⁰ Cf. p. 131.

When the alphabet accompanied the 29 references to God in Gen. 1 (Fig. 9) the last abbreviation ([*tur*]) was simply replaced by the letters it signifies:

A–y z [*et*] [*est*] [*kan*] *t* *u* *r*¹⁵¹

The same alphabet appears in a list of the 30 paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* (Fig. 5, letters in circles) and later also in lists of the 30 parts of Christ's Body.¹⁵² The 30th space then remains empty or contains a small image of the face of Christ.

When Lautensack needed letters that ran alongside the 7×11 Ancestors or Books he had to combine all the alphabets – the sequence contains the 2×11 Hebrew letters, 2×11 of the Greek letters (omitting M and Ω) and finally 33 Latin letters (Fig. 5, letters in small square fields; this opening only contains the last 44 letters). In order to achieve this number he inserted four more signs into the 29-part alphabet, not at the end but immediately after the original 22-part series A–y. These four letters are graphical variations of letters from the standard alphabet: *u* and *w* derive from the *v*, the *s* is here round and not elongated (*f*) as otherwise, the *r* is the reduced form that appears in ligatures (*Bogenverbindung*) The variations of *s* and *r* are printed here in bold.

A–y *r* *s* *w* *u* z [*et*] [*est*] [*kan*] *t* *u* *r*

We have seen that Lautensack regarded the sequence of Books and paragraphs in the Bible editions he happened to use as divinely ordained. The same is true with these alphabets,¹⁵³ and they probably reflect the way Lautensack had been taught writing at school. As a craftsman he was most probably not trained in a Latin school where the students would have learned from grammars that the Roman alphabet had 23 letters,¹⁵⁴ but in a so-called German school, a commercial enterprise headed by a

¹⁵¹ E.g. 26:S84v (Fig. 9), cf. p. 132. 22:B120v calls this the “lange[n] lateinische[n] Alphabet” [long Latin alphabet].

¹⁵² Cf. p. 265.

¹⁵³ In 22:B121v Lautensack condemns the attempt of human wits to remove the six letters [*et*] [*est*] [*kan*] *t u r* from the alphabet.

¹⁵⁴ This number is given in the classical grammars, Donatus, gramm. I, 2 (Donatus, *Probi Donati Servii Qvi Fervntvr De Arte Grammatica Libri*, ed. Henricus Keilius (Leipzig: Teubner, 1864), 368, l. 14); Priscian, inst. gramm. I, 5 (*Prisciani Institvtionvm Grammaticarvm Libri I–XII*, ed. Henricus Keilius (Leipzig: Teubner, 1845), 7); Isidore, orig. I, iv, 10–15 (*Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarvm sive Originvm Libri XX*, ed. Wallace Martin Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911)).

Schreibmeister [writing master] that taught future craftsmen the skills they needed, primarily writing and basic mathematics. The few surviving vernacular primers and calligraphic manuals (most come from the 16th century, postdating Lautensack's education) give some idea of how the alphabet was taught in these establishments.¹⁵⁵ Although some vernacular texts speak of 23 letters in the Latin alphabet,¹⁵⁶ others give a list of letters that includes *u* and *w* besides *v* and two forms of both *r* and *s*, therefore altogether 27 letters.¹⁵⁷ Normally, they place these variants next to the principal letters they are related to, whereas Lautensack has them all

¹⁵⁵ The teaching of the alphabet is not discussed in studies on these schools (Johannes Müller, *Quellenschriften und Geschichte des deutschsprachlichen Unterrichts bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Gotha: Thienemann, 1882); Eva Hesselbach, "Die 'deutsche' Schule im Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts* 10 (1920): 1–56, esp. 27) or their teachers (e.g. Adolf Jaeger, "Stellung und Tätigkeit der Schreib- und Rechenmeister ('Modisten') in Nürnberg im ausgehenden Mittelalter und zur Zeit der Renaissance" (Ph. D. diss., Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen, 1925)); a very rare teacher's notebook from this time (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 535.16 Novi) contains several alphabets but none with additional signs.

¹⁵⁶ A manuscript primer from 1486 apparently had 23 letters (Hansjürgen Kieppe, "Ettwas von buchstaben: Leseunterricht und deutsche Grammatik um 1486," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* (Tübingen) 103 (1981): 3). Liefländer-Koistinen, *Studien zu Jörg Preining*, 45, mentions a primer following Priscian, accordingly with 23 letters; the same number appears in Geiler's alphabet (e.g. Johannes Geiler von Kaisersberg, *Sermones & varij Tractatus Kaiser|spargii iam recens excusi* ([Straßburg]: Gruninger, 1518, VD 16 G 796), 92v; Berthold Wolpe, "Florilegium Alphabeticum: Alphabets in Medieval Manuscripts," in *Calligraphy and Palaeography: Essay presented to Alfred Fairbank on his 70th birthday*, ed. Arthur S. Osley (London: Faber & Faber, 1965), 74 fig. 6). In Fugger, *Ein nützlich vnd wolgegründt Formular*, mir, the *Antiqua* has 23 letters, the *Fraktur* more, other books give alphabets of 23 or 24 capital letters but more minuscules (e.g. [Leonhard Culmann], *Teütsch | Kinder Tafel | Anfang des Christen-lichen Glaubens vnd | Teütscher sprach | wie | sie die jungen kinder in | den teütschen schülen | lernen sollen.* | L. C. V. C. (Nürnberg: Gutknecht, 1534, VD 16 C 6,243).

¹⁵⁷ E.g. Valentin Ickelsamer, *Die rechte weis | auffß kürztist lesen zu lernen / | wie das zum ersten erfunden / vmd auß der rede vermerckt worden ist* (Marpurg: Rhodus, 1534, VD 16 I 34, reprinted in *Vier seltene Schriften*, see p. 145 n. 144), A1v; *Leyenschül*, B2v; Jacob Grußbeutel, *Eyn Besonder fast | nützlich stymmen büchlein mit fi|guren / welche die stymmen an jn selbs | anzeygent / mit silben vnd namen* ([Nuremberg]: Gutknecht, 1534, VD 16 G 3,332, reprinted in *Vier seltene Schriften*, see p. 145 n. 144), A1v; Culmann, *Teütsch Kinder Tafel*, 2nd leaf, r; Fugger, *Ein nützlich vnd wolgegründt Formular*, e.g. g3r. A single-leaf woodcut from about 1500 has no *w* but two *zs*, thus also 27 letters (Schreiber 4:133 no. 2,001). A 15th-century fragment (Georg Leidinger, "Ueber ein Bruchstück eines unbekannten Holztafeldrucks des XV. Jahrhunderts," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1928, plate 9), Johann Newdorffer, *Als Man zalt nach Christi Jesu vnnsers lieben | herrn vnd Seligmachers geburt Tausenndt | funnffhundert vnd jm neunzehenden Jare | Jst dis fundament Durch Johann Newdorffer | Rechenmaister vnd Modist zu Nurmberg | seinen schulern zu einer vnterweysung gemacht* (n.p., 1519, VD 16 deest, used copy: Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Amb. 560.2°), 3r, and his manuscript Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Amb. 688.4° (dated 1557), 7th leaf, r, have only one *u* and thus 26 letters. Autenrieth's collection of samples gives several alphabets of 27–29 letters but not all with the same additions (*Die Schriftmuster des Laurentius Autenrieth vom Jahre 1520: Faksimile*

together at the end – since he only needed them for some alphabets he probably did not want to disturb the sequence of the first 22 letters. Conversely, the abbreviations Lautensack used, whilst still common in alphabets in other languages,¹⁵⁸ had all but disappeared from German primers after 1500¹⁵⁹ – though alphabets containing them still feature in other contexts.¹⁶⁰ A small number of alphabets even contain both abbreviations and graphical variants (e.g. Fig. 19).¹⁶¹ Interestingly, an alphabet

der Handschrift Cod. hist. 4° 197 der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart (Stuttgart: Fachhochschule für Druck, 1979), e.g. 2r). Johann Neudorfer presents 30-part alphabets (e.g. Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Hertel MS 68, 9r) but also others with variants for nearly every letter (e.g. most examples in Johan Neudorffer, *Ein Gesprächbüchlein zweyer schuler / | Wie einer den andern jm zierlichen | schreyben vntherweyst* ([Nuremberg]: Petreius, 1549, VD 16 N 562), and Neudorffer's manuals bound together in Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Hertel MS 68).

¹⁵⁸ Bernhard Bischoff, "Ostertagtexte und Intervalltafeln," in id., *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1967) 197 n. 28, claims that these abbreviations were regarded as virtually part of the alphabet, several alphabets from English manuscripts that include them are in Wolpe, "Florilegium Alphabeticum," plates 18, 19, 22, 23. Furthermore, they feature in 16th-century primers from Italy (Berthold Louis Ullman, "Abecedaria and their Purpose," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3/3 (1961): 185; Arthur S. Osley, *Luminario: An introduction to the Italian Writing-books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Nieuwkoop: Miland, 1972), frontispiece, from 1527; Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1989), 148 fig. 3, from 1578), the Netherlands (C. P. Burger, "De Introduction Pour Les Enfants," *Het Boek (tweede Reeks van het Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen)* 18 (1929): 163, in French, 1540; or id., "Zestiende-Eeuwsche Nederlandsche ABC-Boeken: Nog iets over de Perkamentboekjes," *ibid.*, 17 (1928): 175, in Dutch, 1567) and England (Andrew W. Tuer, *History of the Horn Book*, 2nd edition (London: Leadenhall, 1897), 379–80 figs. 168–69).

¹⁵⁹ They had appeared more frequently before this time, e.g. Carl Wehmer, "Die Schreibmeisterblätter des späten Mittelalters," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. 6 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1946), plate 2 (first half of the 15th century); Betty Kurth, "Fragmente aus einem gotischen Schriftmusterbuch in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Würzburg," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der K. K. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* 1915: fig. 137 (ca. 1500), or some of the alphabets in the fanciful collection München, Universitätsbibliothek, 4° Cod. ms. 810, e.g. 41v. Christoffel Weyß, *Ein neuw Fundament büch | Darinn allerley Tütsche Geschriften nach | jrer waaren art / ouch eigentlicher Punctur / Büchstaben vnnd | Alphabet fleyssig fürgestellt werdend* ([Zurich: Schweitzer], 1568, VD 16 W 4,705), 21r, was perhaps inspired by such alphabets to add ligatures like *st* after the *z*.

¹⁶⁰ They can be found as additional letters in some calendar diagrams, so in the *Hortulus anime* (1516), 10r (Kress, "From Elementary School," 326 fig. 21.5) that uses an alphabet of 23 letters with [*et*], [*con*], [*tur*] and [*rum*] added at the end (similarly, the calendar in Fig. 51 adds two signs to a 25-letter alphabet), or in the abecedarian poem *De Generibvs | Ebriosorum, et Ebrieta|te Vitanda, Iocvs Qvodlibeti | Erphvrdien. Lepidissimvs* (Vormatiae: Comiander, 1550, VD 16 E 1,499), L4r–v.

¹⁶¹ This was a primer from ca. 1517 (VD 16 A 1) that contained both the two *r*, two *s*, *v*, *u*, *w*, and the abbreviations for [*et*] and [*con*]. Its only known copy is apparently lost, but it is

that is very close to Lautensack's appears scribbled at the back of the invoice of a Bamberg craftsman from 1506/07 – its writer may well have been taught by the same *Schreibmeister* as Lautensack (Fig. 18).¹⁶² In the following decades such alphabets became obsolete, and Paul Kaym's commentary on Lautensack from 1624 had to explain them in great detail.¹⁶³

Some diagrams combine nine of Lautensack's letters with two series of elements that will be explained later: the *Aspects* of the Trinity in different permutations, and the celestial bodies related to them (Fig. 20). The letters are arranged as follows:

ⵓ	A	Ɑ
a	r	s
a	w	u

The rationale behind this arrangement is not clear. The first line contains the first letters of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin alphabets respectively, and the four letters in the bottom right-hand corner (*rswu*) are the graphical variants that can be found in the 33-part alphabet. The *As* may be repeated because many primers start with several *As*. This diagram can be read both line by line (*ⵓAⱭ | ars | awu*) or column by column (*ⵓaa | Ɑrw | Asu*), and in some long diagrams each page is marked with one of these letters and the *Aspect* of the Trinity and celestial body going with it (these letters are here referred to as *Arsawu*).¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, some of Lautensack's

reprinted fully in Hildegard Härwig, "Ein Abc-Druck aus der Werkstatt des Jakob Köbel in Oppenheim," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1938: 159–67.

¹⁶² StA Bamberg, Rep. A 231/I, no. 2,086, prod. 133, v. It even includes the rare [*tur*] abbreviation found in Lautensack, and only his *w* and [*est*] are missing here.

¹⁶³ In pp:Kk158r Kaym discerns 23 Latin letters, six "verworffene Buchstaben" [abandoned letters], and signs of syllables (abbreviations for [*et*], [*est*], [*con*] and [*tur*] – strangely the [*est*] is called *zis*). This description is apparently based on the 33-part alphabet, but Kaym by mistake includes the [*tur*] ligature instead of the letters *t u r* that would be used in this context. In order to reach the right number of letters he had to add two variant forms of *As* that appear in Lautensack's *Arsawu* diagrams (v.i.) but not in this context (elsewhere Kaym uses the correct alphabet, e.g. on Kk166r). The additional letters are also explained in ζ:T53r and T61v, here the [*est*] is mistaken for the Greek ξ.

¹⁶⁴ They can be found, for instance, in a complex system at the bottoms of the pages of tract 1d (Figs. 39–41, 44). References to the Persons of the Trinity (as on the right-hand side of Fig. 20) are added at the beginning of the groups, increasing the number of parts from 9 to 12. Furthermore, the elements are spread over two pages. In the first half (A38v–49v) the *Aspects* of the Trinity are on the rectos, and the letters and celestial bodies on the preceding versos (e.g. A39r/38r). The last *Aspect* is, however, omitted, and on A50r the second series starts (A50r–61v), which has again the *Aspects* on the rectos, but now the letters and celestial bodies on the following versos (e.g. A50r/50v). In the first half, a diagram as in Fig. 20 is read row by row, in the second half column by column.

later tracts contain a 36-part alphabet that consists of his 29-part alphabet (with the head of Christ in the 30th place) followed by the letters of the last columns of this diagram (*arwasu*).¹⁶⁵

Until now, we have encountered the 33-part Latin alphabet only as part of the large 77-letter scheme. However, it also appears alone. Like the 7×11 Books and Ancestors, its 3×11 letters can be written into a rectangular grid¹⁶⁶ and copied out in a permuted (*Broken*) order, as 11 groups of three letters, so that, for instance, the first group has *amr* (the first eight of these groups appear in Fig. 52, the ninth group is in Fig. 8). These eleven groups often stand with the 11 chapters of each half of Revelation (e.g. Figs. 33, 38, 49).¹⁶⁷ In some more complex schemes the first paragraph of a chapter has the letters corresponding to the number of the chapter (e.g. *fr[et]*, the sixth group, for Rev. 6), and the other paragraphs are linked to the group of letters corresponding to the number of the paragraph within the chapter (e.g. *bns* for the second paragraph of each chapter). Therefore, the paragraphs of Rev. 6 (Fig. 40) have the letters *fr[et]* (6th group, for 6th chapter) / *bns* (2nd group, for 2nd paragraph) / *cow* (3rd group) / *dpu* (4th group) / *eqz* (5th group) / *fr[et]* (6th group, this time for 6th paragraph).¹⁶⁸

In most cases, each of these 33 letters is accompanied by a noun that Lautensack calls its “Geist” [Spirit]. All Spirits are listed at the bottom of Fig. 16; in Fig. 10 they appear without the letters. For Lautensack they were one of his most important tools – since only the Spirit can give life, the Bible would remain a dead letter if these Spirits were not taken into account, and hence not even the most learned Jewish scholars could really understand Scripture.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ E.g. 30a:B202r.

¹⁶⁶ E.g. 3a:L11r.

¹⁶⁷ E.g. 1b:L22v–43v (three letters on each verso, running twice through the series). They always appear at the top of the page, beneath the first 22 letters from the Hebrew, Greek and Latin alphabets.

¹⁶⁸ E.g. 1d:A39r–49r/50r–60r.

¹⁶⁹ 10a:N30v: “darumb ist auch der buchstab tödten. Aber der geyst macht lebendig / darumb nichts nit auß zurichten ist mit dem eusserlichen buchstab wye hoch eyner darin gelert wird. So etwas daran gelegen solt seyn So wern dye Juden dye aller gelersten / dan sie wissen den tex des Alten Testaments / als auff eynem Negellein darczuthun Aber vom Geyst / wie er mit seyner wirckung darin ligt [31r] der ist Jnen vn bekant / darumb haben sye auch keynen entlichen verstant Jn den Eynigen warhafftigen lebentigen Gott” [Therefore the letter kills, but the Spirit makes alive [2 Cor. 3:6], and therefore nothing can be accomplished with the external letter, however learned one may be. If there were any value on it, the Jews would be the greatest scholars, since they can render the text of the Old Testament by heart. But about the Spirit, as He is with His effects in it, they know nothing, for they have no definitive [?] understanding of the one true living God].

Table 3. Letters and their Spirits (after 10a:N32r).

<i>A</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>
Maiestet	Gott	vater	Gott	Sun	Gott	h. Geist	wort	Geist w[ort]	Jhesus	Christus
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>y</i>
Gott	vater	Sun	h. Geyst	Wort	Geist w[ort]	Jhesus	Christus	Glaub	Tauff	h. Geist
<i>r</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>z</i>	[et]	[est]	[con]	<i>t</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>r</i>
Geist w[ort]	Jhesus ¹⁷⁰	Glaub	Glawb	volcker	Juden	heyden	Christen	Christus	Glaub	Geist w[ort]

As Table 3 shows, the first two rows of 11 Spirits (corresponding to the original alphabet A–y) are similar to each other: each contains the Persons of the Trinity and primarily other words that can be attributes of God.¹⁷¹ The first addition to Lautensack's original alphabet, the sequence of *z* and the ligatures, has as Spirits a consistent group of names (“volcker,” “Juden,” “heyden,” “Christen” [Peoples Jews Gentiles Christians]), which are, as we have seen, occasionally quoted independently of the alphabets.¹⁷² By contrast, the graphic variants of letters (*r s w u*) have the same Spirits as their standard forms.¹⁷³ Lautensack sometimes hinted that the Spirits were derived from Biblical texts, yet we do not know how he chose them.¹⁷⁴ It is also unclear why he decided to link each individual letter with a noun in the first place – maybe he was inspired by the formal properties of some scholarly texts, such as explanations of foreign alphabets¹⁷⁵ or combinatorial treatises.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰ 21:V262r has “Maiestat,” probably a mistake.

¹⁷¹ The second row is a variation of the first that leaves out the opening “Maiestet” and the repetitions of “Gott,” instead it adds at the end “Glaub,” “Tauff,” “H. Geist” [Faith Baptism Holy Ghost] – the first two are the only words in these rows that are not attributes of God.

¹⁷² Cf. p. 133 n. 91 and p. 261. Apparently, this extension was drafted with the 29-part, not the 27-part alphabet in mind – in the 27-letter version the abbreviation [*tur*] merely repeats the Spirit of the *t*, so that it probably had never its own Spirit.

¹⁷³ For instance, *v*, *u* and *w* all have “Glaub” [Faith] as Spirit, yet it can be spelled differently (in 10a:N32r *w* has “Glaub” and *u* “Glawb”). Lautensack explicitly states that these variants merely repeat Spirits, 10a:N30v: “dan als viel buchstab Jm A. b. c. sint Als viel geister auch sint / Nemlich .29. on die vberichen als z. a a / r / s vnd zwey .wu” [For there are as many Spirits in the Abc as there are letters, thus 29, without the additional twice *a a*, *r*, *s*, and the two *w*, *u*].

¹⁷⁴ 10a:N30v relates them to the 29 references to God in Gen. 1, 26:B73r to both them and the six occurrences of “Gott” in Matt. 22:31–33 (cf. p. 163 n. 239), 35:t12 claims that they are explained by 1 John and pp:Kk60r connects them with the *Crucifixion* of the *Six Chapters*.

¹⁷⁵ Examples for the Hebrew alphabet are in J. Bonnard and Arsène Darmesteter, “Un alphabet Hébreu Anglais au XIV^e Siècle,” *Revue des Études Juives* 4 (1882): 255–68, and Franz Dornseiff, *Buchstabenmystik* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1916), 25–27.

¹⁷⁶ E.g. Agrippa of Nettesheim's Commentary to Ramón Lull (Heinrich Agrippa von Nettesheim, *Henrici Cornelii Agrippae Armatae | Militiae Equitis Avrati, | & utriusque Iurium*

V. Single Words

With the Spirits of letters we have already ventured into the penultimate group of elements in Lautensack's grids: groups of single words. We have seen how Lautensack combined Biblical quotations and lists primarily in order to determine which section of the Bible could explain another section or a period in the history of salvation. In addition, he assigned series of theological terms to parts of diagrams. Their purpose is apparently to document which feature of the Godhead is explained in which part of the diagram. Since Lautensack never succeeded in introducing a clearly defined vocabulary to describe his theological concepts, we do not always know what these words (most of them are common theological terms) are supposed to mean in context. Often, he seems to play with contrasting pairs of terms and their reconciliation in the incarnate Christ.¹⁷⁷

Therefore, it is not possible to fully explain Lautensack's groups of single words, yet we should briefly discuss those that appear most regularly. Often pairs of terms label two contrasting parts of a diagram, and most common among them are *Jhesus/Christus* (Fig. 21, at the columns),¹⁷⁸ *Gott/Wort* [*God/Word*]¹⁷⁹ (ultimately deriving from John 1:1)¹⁸⁰ and *Geist/Wort* [*Spirit/Word*] – apparently, this *Spirit* has nothing to do with the Spirits of the letters.¹⁸¹ Lautensack states, obscurely, that every *Person* consisted of a *Spirit* and a *Word*, and that this also applies to God.¹⁸² Towards the end

Doctoris, In Artem | Breuem Raymundi Lullii | Commentaria (Colonia: Soter, 1533, VD 16 A 1,148), E4r) or the numerous lists in Ioannes Trithemius, *Polygraphiae | Libri Sex, Ioannis Trithemii Ab|batis Peapolitani, Qvondam | Spanheimensis, Ad Maxi|milianvm Caesarem* ([Basel: Petri], 1518, VD 16 T 1,994).

¹⁷⁷ In 7:N2r, for instance, he combines the name *Jhesus* with the Spirit of God and the sun, the name *Christus* with the Word of God and the moon, and then concludes: "welche zween Namen Auch verleibt sint / Jn der Andern person des Son Gottes / welchs angesicht leuchttert wie dye sonne / vnd des wort bey dem schwert seynes mundts / do lassen sich dye zween Namen Noch klerlicher ersehen Als in eyner person offenbarlich" [which two names are also embodied in the second person of the Son of God, whose face shines as the sun, and whose word [is] at the sword of His mouth, there both names can be seen more clearly, viz. revealed in one person].

¹⁷⁸ The seven pages 3a:L4r–10r, for instance, have *Jhesus* as heading, the following seven L12r–18r *Christus* (Fig. 8).

¹⁷⁹ E.g. 4c:A20r (Kress, "From Elementary School," 325 fig. 21.4); 26:S84v (Fig. 9, in the brackets at the left margin).

¹⁸⁰ These two pairs can be combined with each other. Sometimes *Gott* and *Jhesus* are contrasted with *Wort* and *Christus* (e.g. 5a:A4r), sometimes they form together a four-part system (17:U104r).

¹⁸¹ E.g. 10a:N37r.

¹⁸² E.g. 35:t55: "die Person wer nicht ein Person geheissen / wann nicht ein geist vnd wort bey jhr wird vermerckt" [the *Person* would not be called *Person*, unless a *Spirit* and a *Word* were noticed with her].

of the last chapter we have seen that for Lautensack God spoke to the Israelites from the empty space between the Cherubim on the Mercy Seat in the Tabernacle because He had no visible *Person* in the Old Testament.¹⁸³ When Lautensack depicted Christ, the *Person* that had become visible in the New Testament, on top of the Mercy Seat, he sometimes labeled these Cherubim with *Geist* and *Wort*, thus expanding the contrasting pair to a triad (e.g. Fig. 85). The relationship between God's *Geist*, *Person* and *Wort*, which I here call the *Aspects* of the Trinity, and the traditional Persons of the Trinity (Father, Son, Holy Ghost) never becomes clear. A lengthy simile that I quoted in Chapter 2 explains that all three Persons are embodiments of the same divine *Geist* and *Wort*.¹⁸⁴ However, other diagrams permute the triad *Geist/Person/Wort* twice by moving the first word to the end – as if all three *Aspects* were of equal weight. Each of the resulting three combinations of the *Aspects* can be assigned to one of the Persons of the Trinity (e.g. Fig. 20).¹⁸⁵ In some texts the painter seems to imply that each Person of the Trinity has its own *Geist*, *Person* and *Wort*.¹⁸⁶ The names of the Three Persons form another prominent three-part system of theological terms; they are sometimes permuted like the *Aspects*¹⁸⁷ and can appear with the Three Ages (v.i.) and references to the Latin, Greek and Hebrew Alphabets.

Whereas debates on the nature of the Trinity had been a principal topic of Patristic theology, these controversies had been settled by the early Ecumenical Councils and were hardly discussed in the following centuries, also most mainstream Reformers had little interest in these questions. An exception was the Nuremberg preacher Osiander. Interestingly, he used in this context the terms *Wort* and *Geist* that are so common in Lautensack; but for him they simply denote the second and third Persons

¹⁸³ Cf. p. 109. According to Exod. 25:20 the Mercy Seat is the lid of the Ark. However, confused by the early Old Testament illustrations, Lautensack regarded it as a separate object (cf. p. 181 n. 66).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. pp. 76–78.

¹⁸⁵ *Geist/Person/Wort* stands for the Father, *Person/Wort/Geist* for the Son, *Wort/Geist/Person* for the Holy Ghost. They appear, for instance, in 10a:N38v–39r/40r/44r–45r. They are often combined with the 3×3 letters of the *Arsawu* diagrams, and in some cases each permutation is preceded by the name of one Person of the Trinity, resulting in 12 names altogether (e.g. 5a:A5v–6r, Fig. 10, and the Bas-de-pages of tract 1d, cf. p. 150 n. 164).

¹⁸⁶ In tract 35, for instance, Lautensack speaks of the “geist deß Vaters im Alten Testament” [Spirit of the Father in the Old Testament, t20], the “Wort des Vaters” [Word of the Father, t7], “wort deß Sohns” [Word of the Son, t46], the “Person deß Vaters” (t7) or the “Person deß H. Geists” [Person of the Holy Ghost, t17].

¹⁸⁷ 12:W13v–19r has at first *Vater*; then the Trinity in its normal order, then *Son* followed by the Trinity beginning with the Son and then the same with the Holy Ghost.

of the Trinity.¹⁸⁸ Several lay-people who started reading the Bible without much theological knowledge began, like Lautensack, to question the traditional explanations – Paracelsus wondered, for instance, how there could be a Son without a mother.¹⁸⁹ In their use of groups of contrasting theological terms like *Geist* and *Wort*, the writings of Ruprecht of Mosham, the theologically untrained dean of Passau Cathedral,¹⁹⁰ are superficially similar to Lautensack's tracts. Ruprecht's theology is based on numerous tripartite groups of terms – such as the triad *Verbum/Fides/Caritas* that shows how Justification could come both through Faith alone and through good works.¹⁹¹ His status allowed Ruprecht to publish and to travel widely in order to publicize his theories¹⁹² – hence Lautensack could have encountered his vocabulary.¹⁹³ However, despite the fanatic zeal he displayed, Ruprecht did not claim to preach truths revealed to him from above but rather proposed a theological compromise in order to end

¹⁸⁸ Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 1:325–26, 329–30. This text was originally published in 1525 and reprinted several times afterwards. Like Lautensack's tracts it furthermore uses the metaphor of the image, cf. Emanuel Hirsch, *Die Theologie des Andreas Osiander und ihre geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1919), 18–19. Since Osiander later returned to the topic of the Trinity (Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 9:462–81, esp. 472) this may have been a recurrent topic in his sermons. Other alternative names for the Trinity can be found in the triads of "Pater Verbum Spiritus Sanctus" (Joachim, *Liber concordie*, 21v, like the *Comma Johanneum*, similar in the early 16th-century diagram Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. quart. 736, 68r, Albert Freitag, "Ein Band aus Luthers Erfurter Klosterbibliothek," in *Mittelalterliche Handschriften: Paläographische, kunsthistorische, literarische und bibliotheksgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Degering* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1926), 104) or "Spiritus uerbum uox" (Ioannes Reuchlin, *Ioannis | Revchlin | Phorcensis LL. Doc. | De Arte | Cabalistica | Libri Tres Leoni | X. Dicati* (Hagenau: Anshelm, 1517, VD 16 R 1,235), 21r).

¹⁸⁹ Paracelsus, *Theologische und Religionsphilosophische Schriften*, 3:233–66.

¹⁹⁰ [Georg Christoph Schwarz], *Leben, Meinungen und Schriften Ruprechts von Moshaim, Domdechants zu Passau* (n. p., 1781); Max Heuwieser, "Ruprecht von Mosham, Domdekan von Passau," in *Riezler Festschrift: Beiträge zur Bayerischen Geschichte*, ed. Karl Alexander von Müller (Gotha: Perthes, 1913), 115–92.

¹⁹¹ E.g. Ruprecht von Moßham, *Hiervsalem | Nova, | per microsynodum monarchicam, à septem | principib. Electorib. sacri Ro. Imperij | per Verbum unitatis ædificanda | & restituenda. Das neww Hierusalem ...* ([Cologne: Cervicornus], 1540, VD 16 M 6,428), O4v.

¹⁹² Normally, he published Latin and German accounts of his discussions under the pompous title *Microsynodus*, e.g. Rudbertus Mosham, *Microsyno|dvs Norinbergen. | Romana non Germanica, | quam Rudbertus à Mosham doctor, Decanus | Patauien. sereniß. Ro. Regis Ferd. consiliarius | cum Senatu & Ecclesiastis Norinbergen. | summo pietatis & veritatis studio, | corrigendi & emendandi | Lutherismi causa | celebravit* ([Cologne]: Ioannes Eleutherius [Cervicornus], 1541, VD 16 M 6,434). Many of Mosham's surviving tracts were already bound together in the 16th century (München, Universitätsbibliothek, 4th Theol. 601), perhaps by a disciple.

¹⁹³ In 1539, therefore after the development of Lautensack's terminology, Mosham also came to Nuremberg. His account of the talks held there is Mosham, *Microsynodvs*, the preachers' answer is edited in Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 7:180–211.

the religious split of the Empire and thus strengthen its position against the Turk.¹⁹⁴

Often linked with these groups of theological terms are indications of Time. Most common are two tripartite systems: the Biblical measures of One Time, Two Times and Half a Time (Rev. 12:14)¹⁹⁵ and the Three Ages of the Old Testament, New Testament and “Dye Welt” or “Dye ganzce Welt” [The Whole World]. The latter system is often combined with the Persons of the Trinity (v.i.), so that the third age is linked with the Holy Ghost. The hope for an emerging age of religious truth, going ultimately back to Joachim de Fiore, can be found amongst some of the more radical Reformation writers,¹⁹⁶ and indeed Lautensack once claimed that his revelations started the Third Age.¹⁹⁷ However, in virtually all cases these Three Ages are terms assigned to certain sections of diagrams; like the *Aspects* or the Persons of the Trinity they can be freely repeated, but they are never permuted.¹⁹⁸

We have seen that Lautensack used the lists of the 7×11 Ancestors and Books to demonstrate how the Book of Revelation can be read as a summary of the entire History of Salvation. Accordingly, he combined them sometimes with systems of chronological terms. Some of the lists are interrupted by references to the Seven Ages of the World, a standard system of medieval historiography (Fig. 5).¹⁹⁹ The cross-in-square diagrams used for the permutation of these terms in the *Breaking* of the Seals

¹⁹⁴ Tracts like Rûprecht von Mosham, *Rûprechten vonn | Mosham D. Thumbtechants zu | Passaw &c. hoch vnnnd wunderbarlich / doch warhafftig / | anbringen vnnnd erbieten / dardurch ein rechter / bestenn̄diger / Göttlicher fride / in der Religion vnnnd glau|bens sachen fürderlich gemacht werden | mage / auff dem Christlichen | gespäch zu Wormbs | fürgebracht / | am 7 Januarij 1541* ([Cologne]: Officina Eleutheriana [Cervicornus], 1542, VD 16 M 6,431) show that his primary interest was political.

¹⁹⁵ E.g. 10a:N54r–57v. In contrast to the Vulgate, Luther speaks of ‘Two Times,’ not only of ‘Times.’

¹⁹⁶ E.g. Hergot, *Wandlung*, A2r; Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 181, 184.

¹⁹⁷ 10a:N58r: “vnd verwart biß auff den dritten tag / das ist auch dye dritte zeyt darin wir Jczunt anfahren zu leben darin / So ist sich Christus Aler erst recht ersten vnd offenbaren der ganzcen welt” [and kept unto the third day, this is also the Third Time in which we are now beginning to live, and so is Christ now really resurrecting and revealing Himself to the entire world].

¹⁹⁸ At the top of the pages of tract 1d:A38r–61v, for example, Rev. 1 is connected with the Old Testament, Rev. 2 with the New, and Rev. 3 with the World, in Rev. 4 the sequence starts again with the Old Testament, cf. p. 215 (Figs. 39–41, 44, 50, 53).

¹⁹⁹ This system provides, for instance, the main ordering principle in Schedel, [*Nuremberg Chronicle*]. Lautensack assigns every group of eleven Ancestors to one of the Seven Ages of the World, although they all lived in the first five Ages.

(Fig. 15) sometimes contain references to the Seven Weekdays and Seven Planets (short sides), and to the Twelve Months and Twelve Zodiacal Signs (long sides).

VI. *Images*

Images form the last group of elements in Lautensack's grids. Most of them are very small, showing only one or two figures if not merely an object, and both their plain character and the very narrow range of subject-matter disappoint the beholder. However, from the artist's point of view this simplicity was probably necessary. In order to be 'comparable' with biblical quotations or theological terms, these images had to fit into the rigid system of a grid, and hence the intriguing combinations of very disparate elements that are characteristic of his early single-leaf drawings (which will be discussed in Chapter 4) had to be replaced by small rectangular boxes, each displaying one person or sign only. Furthermore, Lautensack's theological position on what subject-matter may be depicted (introduced at the end of Chapter 2) forced him to restrict the range of motifs.²⁰⁰

We have already seen that Lautensack added the *Two Images* to the 22 chapters of Revelation in order to reach the overall number of 24 parts.²⁰¹ Because of the restricted space in most grids, Lautensack had to simplify his probable models, woodcuts in illustrated New Testaments. Normally, his drawing for Rev. 1 only shows Christ with a face like the sun, a star on His chest²⁰² and a sword coming out of His mouth, standing between seven candlesticks and holding seven stars in the right hand. The image for Rev. 12 has Mary standing in front of the Mercy Seat.²⁰³ She holds the Child and is clothed with the sun, the moon under her feet and twelve stars around her head. These *Two Images* appear frequently in the tracts, normally contrasting one another, and in some cases they mark the

²⁰⁰ Cf. p. 105.

²⁰¹ Cf. p. 133.

²⁰² In later quadripartite schemes of the celestial bodies Lautensack compares Christ to the morning star. It is unclear if this parallel can already be used to explain the appearance of the star here, cf. p. 236.

²⁰³ The Ark of the Covenant is mentioned in Rev. 11:19, and the Bible illustrations normally place it into a corner of the woodcut for Rev. 12. Its more prominent position in Lautensack's drawings reflects his interest in the Mercy Seat (the lid of the Ark) as place of God's presence, cf. p. 109.

opening of a tract (e.g. Fig. 21).²⁰⁴ We have already encountered lists that combine the paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* with the Seven Stars and Seven Candlesticks taken from the image of Rev. 1,²⁰⁵ and in a similar way other elements of these drawings are placed in new contexts. Fig. 20 shows, for instance, the seven angels,²⁰⁶ stars and candlesticks from Rev. 1 on the left and the twelve stars from Rev. 12 on the right. These simple signs function like cross-references in a modern text: they link the *Two Images* to elements of the divine revelation, such as different passages from Scripture, which explain in greater detail some of the truths that are already present (if hidden) in these images. Owing to their demonstrative function, Lautensack called these signs “Instrument czeygen” [instrument-signs] and, like the Spirits of the letters, he regarded them as crucial tools for unlocking the Scriptures.²⁰⁷ In some cases, as in the list of the paragraphs linked to the Seven Stars and Seven Candlesticks, Lautensack used the correct numbers of the instrument-signs, but often the system is handled loosely so that random numbers of stars, moons, angels and candlesticks can appear along the sides of diagrams (e.g. Figs. 10, 15).²⁰⁸

A second series of signs likewise derives from the *Two Images* of Revelation: the triad sun, star and moon.²⁰⁹ The sun comes from Christ’s shining face in Rev. 1:6,²¹⁰ the star most probably from the star Lautensack depicted on His chest in images of Rev. 1, and the moon from the moon beneath the feet of the Apocalyptic Woman in Rev. 12:1. These three

²⁰⁴ They also open tract 12, e.g. W2r–v.

²⁰⁵ Cf. p. 134.

²⁰⁶ According to Rev. 1:20 the Seven Stars stand for seven angels.

²⁰⁷ 10a:N16r: “Aber allein das mir Gott dye gnad hat verliehen / was Christus / vnd seine liebste muter marie / fur anczeygung haben / Als sieben Stern / vnd sieben gulden leuchter / vnd zwolf stern vnd anders / welche Instrument czeygen diß werck thund eröffnen / on alle menschen sprach / vnd glossirens” [But because God has given me grace [to explain] what Christ and His dear Mother Mary signify, this is, the seven stars, and seven golden candlesticks, and twelve stars, and other things, which instrument-signs open this work without any human words and glossing]. According to 10a:N11v it is Christ Himself who opens the Book of Life with the twelve stars of Rev. 12.

²⁰⁸ The rectos of 1d:A39r–60r mark, for instance, the 22 chapters of Rev. with eleven stars and eleven candlesticks.

²⁰⁹ After some experiments Lautensack standardized the shape of these bodies. The sun has a face surrounded by wrinkling flames that sometimes alternate with spikes, the moon is a circle with a sickle at one side and a face in the remaining section, surrounded by spikes and sometimes also lines (the most common solution in German art, see Alfred G. Roth, *Die Gestirne in der Landschaftsmalerei des Abendlandes: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Natur in der Kunst* (Bern-Bümpliz: Benteli, 1945), 158, 160). The stars are eight-pointed geometrical objects surrounded by lines, without flames or spikes (e.g. Fig. 20). Later copyists often confuse these details (e.g. 48:B129v–29r, Fig. 95).

²¹⁰ Some diagrams show Him indeed with a sun-like face, e.g. 4b:L2r.

objects are not only found in the Bible but also on the firmament, which according to Lautensack gives testimony of its creator²¹¹ and can be read by man like a Book written by God about Himself.²¹² Frequently, these celestial bodies stand for the *Aspects* of the Trinity. In early diagrams sun (*Geist*) and moon (*Wort*) can flank the central image that accordingly must represent God's *Person* (Fig. 32);²¹³ later, sun and moon are normally joined by the star (*Person*), and these Three Celestial Bodies appear next to the names of the *Aspects* and are permuted with them (e.g. Figs. 10, 14, 20).

Several other groups of small images are not derived from the visions of Rev. 1 and 12. Some are added to lists of names, like busts of the Ancestors of Christ²¹⁴ or of the Patriarchs and Apostles.²¹⁵ Two others can appear on their own: the Four Evangelists and their Symbols. They always form two distinct series, although they can be placed side by side (e.g. Fig. 26). As usual in contemporary New Testaments, the authors of the Gospels appear as academics in wide-sleeved gowns or capes and bonnets.²¹⁶ Depicting the Symbols of the Evangelists in the spandrels of hieratic, centralized

²¹¹ 10a:N24r: "durch gemel vnd schrifft vnd zeugnus der ganczen Bibel / vnd alle creaturen In hymel vnd auff erden" [through image and writing and the testimony of the whole Bible, and of all creatures in heaven and earth].

²¹² 9a:N11v: "Das aber der vater eyn warhafftige person sey / So sicht mans teglich im buch / das er von sich hat lassen ausgehen Nemlich hymel vnd erden / So sicht man des vaters Geyst an der sonnen. vnd seyn wort an dem mon / was sie sint anrichten in dem Corpus hymels vnd erde / sint wircken / vnd offenbaren / das dan nur eyn schein vnd glancz ist von dem götlichen weßen / ... So must es alles zur[12r]schmilzen vor seyner groß mechtigen herligkeit / darumb nichts zu handeln ist / bey dem vater. Sonder in seynem eygen puch welches der vater von sich hat auß geschickt in dyeße welt zu offenbaren dye herligkeit des vaters / vnd seynen götlichen willen vns zw verkuntigen / dan was Jm vater verschlossen ist / das hat das lebendige Buch empfangen. Als wye eyn sonnen am firmament erscheynt also erscheint auch eyn sonnen an dem Sün Gottes. Als das seyn angesicht leuchtet wye dye sonne" [But that the Father is a true *Person* as one sees daily in the book which He has allowed to proceed from Him, that is, heaven and earth. So one sees the Father's *Spirit* in the sun and His *Word* in the moon, what they are effecting in the Corpus of heaven and earth, what they are doing and revealing, this is only a ray and reflection from the divine being So everything would melt before His great and mighty glory. Therefore nothing can be discussed about the Father but through His own book, which the Father has sent out from Himself into this world, to reveal the Father's glory and to announce us His divine will. For, what is closed in the Father the Living Book has received. As one sun appears in the firmament one sun appears also at the Son of God, since His face is shining like the sun [in Rev. 1:6]].

²¹³ In some early diagrams they are replaced by two stars (e.g. 1a:D852) or combined with them (e.g. 1b:L27v).

²¹⁴ Cf. p. 139.

²¹⁵ Cf. pp. 207–12.

²¹⁶ E.g. 5a:A7r, cf. a woodcut by Lucas Cranach used in several New Testaments printed by Luft in Wittenberg from 1530 onward (Hollstein 6:35, H. 47, Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 108 fig. 192).

compositions had been common in late Gothic art,²¹⁷ but in the 16th century such arrangements became rarer (e.g. Fig. 24, a highly unusual design that will be discussed later).²¹⁸ Furthermore, Lautensack does not depict them in their traditional guise but with six wings each, following the description of the four living beings in Rev. 4:7.²¹⁹ Since these Symbols were both mysterious and familiar to virtually everyone, they inspired the imagination of several lay theologians in the Reformation period.²²⁰

Such close juxtapositions of texts and small images were not very common in Lautensack's time: the introduction of printing with moveable type had encouraged the separation of texts and illustrations.²²¹ However, they were still used in several contexts. The diagrams that were visually most similar to Lautensack's were those in handbooks for the *Ars memorativa*,²²² the skill of memorizing complex texts, normally through visualizing its contents element by element. They often suggest thinking of a complex argument as a figure carrying numerous small objects that stand for its individual facets, and the meaning of these small signs can be explained in grids combining these small images with words (Fig. 22).²²³ At least according to an ironic description by Erasmus, some other examples also contained Hebrew, Greek and Latin letters.²²⁴ Since most of these treatises were Latin texts for students, Lautensack probably had little chance to peruse them. Probably more relevant for him were some

²¹⁷ They surround, for instance, the Apocalyptic Woman in Schreiber 2:140–41 nos. 1,098–1,101a (*Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 16401.1098–1101-1). Master E. S. shows them with Arma Christi (Bartsch VI.34.88–89).

²¹⁸ They still appear on the title-pages of many New Testament prints, e.g. *Büch des Newen Testaments* (1523, Schönsperger).

²¹⁹ In the context of this part of Rev. they are also depicted in 1a:D853 (Fig. 30).

²²⁰ Melchior Hoffman interpreted these Symbols as signs of the progress of divine inspiration, from the lion standing for the letter of the Law to the eagle representing the unveiled Spirit of God (Deppermann, *Soziale Unruhen*, 59).

²²¹ Cf. p. 115. In Fig. 22 only some of the texts are part of the (woodcut) grid, others are added outside with moveable type.

²²² For an overview see Ludwig Volkmann, "Ars Memorativa," *Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen in Wien*, new ser., 3 (1929): 111–200.

²²³ Johann Romberch, *Congestorium Artificiose | Memorie* (Uenetiis: Sessa, 1533), 55v–56r, reproduced in Volkmann, "Ars memorativa," 170–71 figs. 183–84. Diagrams with small images also appear in illustrated editions of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*, but this treatise was only printed later (the first edition is in Johann Herold, *Heydenweldt | vnd irer götter anfängcklicher | vrsprung* (Basel: Henricpetri, 1554, VD 16 H 2,545), 2nd foliation, e.g. 87r). The Rebus, another combination of vernacular texts and small images, was in this time common in France but not yet in Germany (Jean Céard and Jean-Claude Margolin, *Rébus de la Renaissance: Des images qui parlent*, vol. 1, *Histoire du rébus* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1986), 251, cf. 170–79 figs. 68–72).

²²⁴ Erasmus, *Opera*, 1/3:647 (in the short dialogue *Ars notoria*).

conservative genres of vernacular publications like calendars or Losbücher (oracle books) which also kept small images within tables or next to blocks of texts.²²⁵ Combinations of small images within a larger, often circular, scheme also appear in scientific diagrams, some of which had been popularized in vernacular prints.²²⁶ A number of devotional images add several small signs in circles to the main scene.²²⁷ Two examples of religious diagrams deserve special consideration. Firstly, an anonymous author writing on Nicholas of Flüe recalled that the hermit had shown him a diagram that supposedly signified the Trinity, the Incarnation and the Eucharist but consisted only of an abstract wheel-shaped structure. He reproduces this scheme both in its original form and according to the interpretation, which God's grace allowed him to make later: here seven small medallions with scenes like the Nativity or the Elevation at Mass are added to it

²²⁵ Calendars often have primitive depictions of eclipses within grid-like diagrams (e.g. in calendars like Regiomontanus, *Kalendarium teutsch*, D4r–D5r – this edition additionally has images of stellar constellations in a grid-like diagram on H2v). A Losbuch printed by Martin Flach in Basel (GW M 18,771, facsimile *Losbuch: Ein scherzhaftes Wahrsagebuch gedruckt von Martin Flach in Basel um 1485. Nach dem einzig bekannten Exemplar der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek in Berlin*, ed. Ernst Voulliéme (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1923), images in Schramm 21, plates 101–4 figs. 568–81) surrounds the main oracle disk with the names of 48 animals; they are depicted besides the blocks of text to which they refer.

²²⁶ A circular diagram with numerous small scenes appears in Leonhard Reynman, [Natiuitet Kalennder] (Nürnberg: Peypus, 1515, VD 16 R 1,619), Iv, reproduced in Hollstein, 50:13–14, H. 1.1, and in Aby Warburg, *Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1920), 29 fig. 9. The Cracow House-Book (cf. p. 116 n. 11) contains circular diagrams with the Ten Plagues of Egypt (17v, Chojecka, *Bayerische Bild-Enzyklopädie*, fig. 20) and the 15 Signs of Doomsday (18r, fig. 21). Instructions for Uroscopy (diagnosis according to the color of the urine) often contain a circular diagram showing numerous urine flasks with different contents, but they were probably restricted to scholarly works (e.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 391, 10r, reproduced in John E. Murdoch, *Album of Science: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York: Scribner, 1984) 306 fig. 260; more examples in Robert Herrlinger, *Geschichte der medizinischen Abbildung*, vol. 1, *Von der Antike bis um 1600* (Munich: Moos, 1967), 35).

²²⁷ [Bedroffenisse]: [Incipit:] Hijr begynnnet dat register in dat bock | van de bedroffenisse vnde herteleyde | der hochgeloueden konnigynnen vnde | soten moder marien ([Magdeburg: Grashove, 1486], GW 4,506), miv, shows three rosaries with simple images like a crucifix or a sun in some of their beads, they are explained on the opposite page. The crucifix, for instance, is a reminder of the 1,500 fruits of Christ's Passion, the sun stands for the face of Christ. A woodcut in *Der beschlossenen gart | des rosenkrantz marie* (Nürnberg: Pinder, 1505, VD 16 P 2,806), 219r, arranges nine circles with angels in different poses, reminding the beholder of different types of angelic assistance. Such compositions may derive from images showing small scenes from the life of Christ or Mary around the principal scene, e.g. Ernst Badstübner, "Protestantische Allegorien in Frankfurt an der Oder und in Berlin," in *Die Bilder in den Lutherischen Kirchen: Ikonographische Studien*, ed. Peter Porscharsky (Munich: Scaneg, 1998), 94 fig. 27 and Geisberg 1415.

(Fig. 23).²²⁸ A second example is an unusual broadsheet from the Reformation period, which is divided by grid-lines, diagonals and segments of circles (Fig. 24). They contain many small scenes that are at a first glance not connected to each other – however, small numbers indicate that they illustrate different sections of a lost tract.²²⁹ Here, not only the grid-like structure is reminiscent of Lautensack, but also some motifs are identical, such as the three crosses with sun and moon, the Symbols of the Evangelists surrounding Christ, and images of Devil and Hell at the bottom.²³⁰ Complex diagrams like this were highly unusual pieces in Reformation art – but it is not improbable that Lautensack gained some inspiration from this or a (lost) similar piece.

At the end of this tour of the different elements of Lautensack's visual vocabulary we should analyze a very complex type of diagram that contains most of the elements we have discussed hitherto, as well as some new material. The principal structure of this scheme, here called the 'Crosses of the Three Ages,' is related to the cross-shaped templates that Lautensack described as tools for the *Crucifixion* of the *Six Chapters* but never depicted.²³¹ In a typical example (Fig. 25) three such schemes are shown in the central column of the grid. Each of them consists of four circlets connected with straight lines to a fifth in the center, thus forming a cross, and furthermore linked to one another by a ring.²³² Headings identify these 'Crosses' with three of Lautensack's time periods, the Old Testament, the New Testament and the Whole World, and furthermore with the Hebrew, Greek and Latin alphabets. Their circlets, 15 in total, contain the 29-part alphabet (with the head of Christ in the last place)

²²⁸ E.g. *Bruder Claus* ([Nuremberg: Wagner, 1489–90], GW 7,076), a3v (first diagram), a5v (second diagram), Schramm 18, plate 79 nos. 602 and 600 respectively. This diagram was well-known in the Reformation period, see Hartmann Grisar and Franz Hege, *Luthers Kampfbilder*, 4 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1921–23), 3:46–49.

²²⁹ Monogrammist H, 1524, Geisberg 926. Only known copy Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HB25. R. W. Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 211–14, discusses it in greater detail and links it with a pamphlet ("Gespräch zwischen einem Christen und Juden"). Whereas the author of the pamphlet clearly refers to this composition, he does not explain all of its numbered features, and therefore the print was hardly created as illustration of this text.

²³⁰ The Three Crosses and the images of punishment will be discussed later, cf. pp. 226 and 235.

²³¹ Cf. pp. 134–35. In Fig. 25 the head of Christ appears in the central circlet of the third 'Cross,' beneath the letters *a o*.

²³² The most primitive form of these 'Crosses' only shows five circlets within a larger circle (Fig. 69).

that is normally linked with the 30 paragraphs of the *Six Chapters*²³³ so that each circlet has one letter from the first and one from the second half of the alphabet. Apart from these letters, three different sets of 15 items can be attached to these structures. The ring segment following clockwise each terminal circlet gives an element of the first set: the name of a Biblical Book related to it (the Book linked to the central circlet is indicated between the 'spokes'²³⁴). These 15 Books can be divided into three sets of five. The first, connected to the first 'Cross,' contains the Books of the Pentateuch (Gen.–Deut.) that were frequently treated as a group,²³⁵ and the same can be said of the second section: the Gospels with the Acts of the Apostles added as fifth element.²³⁶ More problematic is the last group, which is often replaced by elements from different series – at least in later works it contains the five Books attributed to St John (John's Gospel, 1 John, 2 John, 3 John, Rev.).²³⁷ Most of the Books Lautensack quoted regularly belong to one of these groups.²³⁸

The second set of items linked to these 'Crosses' consists of 15 words quoted between the letters from the 29-part alphabet in the small circlets. The first 'Cross' has five times "Gott" and the second "Gott," "Vater," "Sohn," "Heiliger Geist," "Wort." This shows that in the Old Testament only the existence of God was known whereas the New Testament taught about God and the Word (cf. John 1:1) as well as the Persons of the Trinity. Furthermore, the altogether six repetitions of 'God' at the beginning allude to the six occurrences of this term in Matt. 22:31–33, a passage referring to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the Patriarchs of the Old Testament.²³⁹

²³³ Cf. p. 147.

²³⁴ Inserting a text in this place is not unique, another example is a diagram on the Liberal Arts München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28,833 (second half 15th century), inside the front cover, reproduced in Wirth, "Neue Schriftquellen zur deutschen Kunst," 324 fig. 1.

²³⁵ Luther always referred to them as the 1st–5th Books of Moses; in the early Old Testament editions that Lautensack used (cf. pp. 120–21) they form a separate volume.

²³⁶ Luther called the Acts "Ander Teil des Euangelij S. Lucas" (Luther *WA Bibel*, 6:418). According to Carl Christian Hirsch, *Geschichte des Interim zu Nürnberg* (Leipzig: Langenhein, 1750), 78, a lesson from Acts could replace a Gospel pericope in Nuremberg at some point during the 16th century.

²³⁷ The first four of them appear *Crucified* downward in a diagram on 35:table after p. 64, all of them are quoted in 5a:A6v, a diagram not related to the 'Crosses of the Three Ages.'

²³⁸ The only prominent text not included here is the Letter to the Hebrews, cf. p. 238.

²³⁹ "das euch gesagt ist von gott / da er spricht / ich bynn der gott Abraham / vnnd der gott Ysaac / vnnd der gott Jacob? Got aber / is nit eyn gott der todten ..." [which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead ...]. This verse is given as explanation of these repetitions in 11:g8–9. Such quotations of key sentences from the Bible occur more often in Lautensack's later diagrams, cf. p. 152 n. 174 and p. 256.

The third 'Cross' has five times the letters *A* and *o*, which refer to four passages in the Book of Revelation, where Christ describes Himself as the Alpha and the Omega, a phrase Luther translated with "das a vnd das o" (quoted in Fig. 26). Lautensack frequently includes four or five repetitions of the letters *A* and *o* in his diagrams: as distinct Latin letters (e.g. Fig. 26), as ligatures shaped like *A* (e.g. Fig. 5) or as distinct letters in different alphabets, as in Fig. 25. Here, the first *A* is rendered as the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet (*א*), the second as the Greek *A*, the third as Latin majuscule *A*, and the last two as minuscule *as*. Their counterparts are all written as *os*.²⁴⁰

The third set of elements linked with these 'Crosses' are never shown on the 'Crosses' themselves but sometimes close to them (in Fig. 25 they appear at the right margin), and sometimes in a separate diagram but together with other elements linked to the 'Crosses' (Fig. 26 has them and the words discussed above in a 3×5 grid, similar to the *Crucifixion* downward of the *Six Chapters*).²⁴¹ Most straightforward is the second group of them, linked to the second 'Cross' and hence to the Gospels and Acts – it simply shows the author of each of these Books.²⁴² The last images of the first and third group display the protagonists of the vision of Rev. 12: the Apocalyptic Woman and the Child. The first four images of the third group show the Symbols of the Evangelists,²⁴³ those of the first group the series of sun, star and moon that normally allude to the *Aspects* of the Trinity. Its fourth image is the Mercy Seat, which summarizes the *Aspects* by representing God's *Spirit*, *Word* and yet invisible *Person* in the Old Testament and is also related to the vision of Rev. 12 shown beneath.²⁴⁴ Whereas the 3×5 Books rarely appear outside this system, the series of Words and Images can be *Crucified* (forward) like the paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* and appear in this order in other contexts (Fig. 16 has the first eleven words in *Crucified* order).²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ This shows the limits of Lautensack's linguistic knowledge. The Hebrew language has no vowels so that it has no exact equivalent for 'a and o', and in the Greek the *o* should naturally be the *ω*, the last letter of the alphabet, not the *ο*.

²⁴¹ Cf. p. 137.

²⁴² Sometimes (e.g. Fig. 26) the last image shows Christ instead of Luke as author of Acts, probably to assimilate it to the last images of the other groups.

²⁴³ In 10a:N52v (Fig. 25) references to them appear in the place of the Books by St John on the third 'Cross.'

²⁴⁴ Cf. pp. 154, 157.

²⁴⁵ Both words and images appear in *Crucified* order in 12:W36v–44r, only the images appear in 10a:N53r. In contrast to the paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* they are never *Buried*; if less than 15 elements are needed, the last are simply omitted (e.g. 5a:A2v, Fig. 16).

Table 4. The 'Crosses of the Three Ages'.

Cross and Elements	Biblical Book	Word	Image
1st 'Cross':	Gen.	<i>Gott</i>	Sun
Old Testament	Exod.	<i>Gott</i>	Star
One Time	Lev.	<i>Gott</i>	Moon
Hebrew Alphabet	Num.	<i>Gott</i>	Mercy Seat
	Deut.	<i>Gott</i>	Apocalyptic Woman from Rev. 12
2nd 'Cross':	Matt.	<i>Gott</i>	Matthew
New Testament	Mark	<i>Vater</i> [Father]	Mark
Two Times	Luke	<i>Sun</i> [Son]	Luke
Greek Alphabet	John	<i>H. Geyst</i> [Holy Ghost]	John
	Acts	<i>Wort</i> [Word]	Luke or Christ
3rd 'Cross':	John	<i>A o (or s o)</i>	Angel
The Whole World	1 John	<i>A o (or A o)</i>	Lion
Half Time	2 John	<i>A o</i>	Ox
Latin Alphabet	3 John	<i>A o (or a o)</i>	Eagle
	Rev.	<i>A o (or a o)</i>	Christ Child from Rev. 12

This chapter has provided an introduction to the basic 'vocabulary' and 'grammar' of Lautensack's diagrams by explaining their most common features and the ways they could be arranged and permuted. It functions as preparation for the next chapter, which will look in greater detail into some of his earlier drawings.

CHAPTER FOUR

LAUTENSACK'S EARLY DIAGRAMS

After the introduction to the 'language' of Lautensack's diagrams in Chapter 3, this chapter will analyze his first surviving drawings in detail. Although the material presented here is limited – a number of single-leaf drawings and three manuscripts, two of which are nearly identical – these works deserve special attention for three reasons: firstly, despite their early date they belong to the richest and most sophisticated works by Lautensack; secondly, they allow us to trace how he developed his peculiar form of diagrams; and lastly, since all of them are autographs, they allow a close study of Lautensack's working methods.

We will begin with single-leaf drawings by Lautensack, which can be dated to the years 1531–35¹ and which are now kept in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (here abbreviated D). They clearly belong to four different series, and three of them are the earliest testimonies of Lautensack's theological speculations: a group combining the Evangelists, anti-Catholic imagery and early stages of Lautensack's typical iconography and two longer and highly complex series illustrating the Pater noster and the Credo. These two exist not only in single-leaf drawings but also form the core sections of the three earliest autograph manuscripts, here abbreviated L, A and K (Lautensack probably began with manuscript L and then produced the nearly identical manuscripts A and K). We will then see what changes these two series underwent in the transfer from the drawing to the book illustration, and finally discuss several other tracts that likewise appear in these manuscripts – some more, as well as the only other surviving autograph manuscript (manuscript N, from 1538), will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Before embarking on the analysis of the religious drawings in Berlin, a few words should be said about the fourth group of Lautensack drawings

¹ These drawings are all in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, KdZ 842–73, 1,033–34, here labeled with "D" and the inventory number. They are described in Elfried Bock, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Die deutschen Meister. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis sämtlicher Zeichnungen* (Berlin: Bard, 1921), 61–62, and again (with reproductions) in Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 89–122, L42–75. These drawings are too intricate to be designs for stained glass; since most of them contain text that is not mirrored they cannot have been designs for prints.

found in this collection. It is commonly but mistakenly called the 'Mortal Sins'² and has nothing to do with his theological speculations but makes an interesting point of departure for the formal development of Lautensack's drawings. All of its sheets are loose compositions placing several small genre scenes more or less awkwardly next to each other, in two cases a large object – in one a domed building (D845), in the other an elaborate fountain (D1,033, Fig. 27) – dominates the arrangement. Virtually all scenes on these sheets are copied from the woodcuts of an Augsburg edition of Cicero's *De Officiis* executed by the Petrarch Master,³ a book that provided compositions for many of Lautensack's drawings.

I. *The Evangelists*

Although the exact chronology of Lautensack's drawings is unclear, four leaves depicting the Evangelists⁴ reflect the most primitive stage of his speculative imagery.⁵ Elements borrowed from the Petrarch Master again make 1531 the earliest possible date.⁶

² Three of these altogether six leaves (D842–44) randomly arrange scenes of violent crime and punishment (D842, normally called "Robbery," has, for instance, at the bottom a group of lansquenets gambling over the goods they have taken from travelers that are bound to trees, and in the background executions by hanging and breaking on the wheel – but according to the then most influential book on criminal law, the *Bambergische halßgerichts | vnd rechtlich Ordnung / in peynlichen sachen* (Mentz: Schöffner, 1508, VD 16 B 259), E4v (§ 151), highwaymen were beheaded. The other three leaves (D845, 1,033–34) show scenes of commerce and merriment, without any obvious criticism. An article on these drawings will appear in the *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, new ser., 54 (2012).

³ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Officia M. T. C. | Ein Büch / So Marcus Tullius | Cicero der Römer / zû seynem Sune | Marco. Von dem tugentsamen ämptern vnd zûgehörun|gen / eynes wol vnd rechtlebenden Menschen / in Latein geschriben* (Augsburg: Steyner, 1531, VD 16 C 3,239). Many of the woodcuts also appear in Franciscus Petrarca, *Von der | Artzney bayder Glück / des gûten vnd | widerwertigen* (Augsburg: Steyner, 1532, VD 16 P 1,725), but since all relevant images are in the Cicero, Lautensack most likely used a copy of this book.

⁴ D846–49, reproduced in Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 85–88, L48–51.

⁵ This does not mean that the drawings of the Evangelists now kept in Berlin is the earliest surviving series of Lautensack's drawings; it was probably made between the Berlin series of the Pater noster and the Credo (it uses the same paper as the Credo, which probably postdates the Pater), and the polemical details in its iconography are similar to the additional parts of the Pater noster series, cf. pp. 187–88). However, the unusual character of the Evangelists and their primitive traits (e.g. the total lack of texts) suggest that their Prototype had been conceived before the Our Father and Creed series.

⁶ The painter in D849 (Fig. 29) comes from Cicero, *Officia*, 14r (Theodor Musper, *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarkameisters: Ein kritisches Verzeichnis* (Munich: Verlag der Münchener Drucke, 1927), no. 494 and 57 fig. 21), the table with the apprentice grinding the pigments from *ibid.*, 35v (Musper, *Holzschnitte*, no. 102, also in Petrarca, *Von der Artzney*, I, 51v). Most probably Lautensack relied on graphical sources for many other elements, too, especially the elaborate liturgical scenes.

In contrast to the diffuse spatial arrangement of the 'Mortal Sins,' each sheet of the 'Evangelists' is structured in the same way: three registers, the upper two dominated by a central figure. In the first image these zones are still connected through the landscape and some figures, but as the series progresses they become increasingly independent of one another.⁷ These drawings contrast a hieratic 'celestial' depiction above and genre-scenes in the two lower registers – a contrast possibly inspired by the common imagery of the planets and their children.⁸ A similar set-up can also be found on a woodcut title frame that had been used in Nuremberg a few years beforehand and that furthermore offers iconographical parallels to these drawings.⁹ Lautensack's 'Evangelists' are isolated leaves, but the top sections of the second and third images mirror each other. Probably, Lautensack intended them to be placed side by side, like the second and third pages of a folded double leaf.¹⁰

Each of the drawings contains three different types of subject-matter that do not seem to have anything in common with one another: the Four Evangelists, polemical contrasts between Catholic and Protestant ways of life, and an image of God. The central Evangelists are not the familiar scribes or scholars in their studies¹¹ but rather seated academics lecturing from the books on their knees.¹² This iconography also cannot derive from

⁷ Here (D846) Moses, who is depicted twice at the right-hand side, joins the levels by receiving the Tablets of the Law from the top register and staring towards the Adoration of the Golden Calf at the bottom. In the third image the earthly scenes no longer share the same space, in the fourth they are divided by a line.

⁸ Whereas in the 15th century the planet-god and the various occupations of his 'children' frequently appear in distinct images (examples in Anton Hauber, *Planetenkinderbilder und Sternbilder: Zur Geschichte des menschlichen Glaubens und Irrsins* (Straßburg: Heitz, 1916)), 16th-century printmakers like Georg Pencz (Geisberg 990–96, Hollstein, 31387–88, H. 89–96) follow the pattern of the Master of the House-Book and place the god above an earthly scene uniting, more or less convincingly, the different professions of the 'children' (Fritz Saxl, "Probleme der Planetenkinderbilder," *Kunstchronik* 54 (new ser., 30, 1919): 1,014). The spheres around God in Lautensack's drawings may derive from the circle around the planet-god in some earlier cycles of the planet children, such as Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, M. d. 2 (Hauber, *Planetenkinderbilder*, e.g. plate 13).

⁹ Iacobus Faber Stapulensis, *Commentarii Initiatorii In Qva|tvor Evangelia* ([Nuremberg: Petreius], 1526, VD 16 B 4,602). A later impression of this woodcut is reproduced in Heitzmann and Santos Noya, *Bibelsammlung*, 275. Here a celestial scene (Last Judgment) appears above the title, the Four Evangelists at the sides, and two earthly scenes contrasting pious and sinful life at the bottom.

¹⁰ Some tracts by Lautensack consist of a double leaf with matching outer and inner sides, e.g. tract 4 (cf. p. 221).

¹¹ Cf. p. 159.

¹² They wear a tunic and a cope-like cloak closed with a knot (D846). Possibly the strange piece of cloth on St Mark's left shoulder (D847, Fig. 28) derives from the *Caputium*, a very reduced cloak worn by the Rector of a German university (e.g. on a miniature from

depictions of the leading Reformers – although most of them were professors, they were normally depicted as writers or preachers, not as lecturers. The closest parallel to Lautensack's image that I have found is in a late-15th-century hagiographic painting.¹³ Surprisingly, these teachers have no audience – instead, the virtuous life of the Lutherans is shown at their left and right, whilst beneath them a preacher points to scenes of Catholic abomination.

These small polemic scenes are Lautensack's most complex contribution to the rich image propaganda of the Reformation period.¹⁴ Cranach's famous *Passional Christi et Antichristi* from 1521,¹⁵ which juxtaposed the Passion of Christ with papal ceremonial, may have been the first example of the use of contrasts in anti-Catholic polemics. Most visual comparisons between the old and new faiths merely show the different preachers with their flocks,¹⁶ and Lucas Cranach the Younger once juxtaposed several liturgical scenes.¹⁷ Lautensack went further and extended the comparison to entire ways of life.

The image for Matthew (D846) gives a typological model for the coming scenes, contrasting Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law and a group of the faithful adoring God with the worship of the Golden Calf.¹⁸ The following leaf (Fig. 28) shows at the bottom liturgical scenes, possibly

the 1472 Ingolstadt registers, Götz von Pölnitz, *Denkmale und Dokumente zur Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität: Ingolstadt, Landshut, München* (Munich: Callwey, 1942), plate 5). Since Lautensack never lived in a university town he must have had graphical models for the academical dress, but I was unable to identify them.

¹³ It is Jan Polack's *St Benedict as Teacher* from the High Altar of Weißenstephan Abbey in Freising, today München, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 1,397, photo in *Jan Polack, von der Zeichnung zum Bild: Malerei und Maltechnik in München um 1500*, exh. cat. Freising, Diözesanmuseum, 2004/05, ed. Peter B. Steiner and Claus Grimm (Augsburg: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 2004), 141.

¹⁴ For this frequently studied topic see especially Grisar and Hege, *Luthers Kampfbilder: Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst*, exh. cat. Hamburg, Kunsthalle, 1983, ed. Werner Hofmann (Munich: Prestel, 1983) 153–203; *Martin Luther und die Reformation in Deutschland*, exh. cat. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1983 (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1983), 219–44, and Scribner, *For the sake*.

¹⁵ Reproduced in Gerald Fleming, "On the Origin of the *Passional Christi und Antichristi* and Lucas Cranach the Elder's Contribution to Reformation Polemics in the Iconography of the *Passional*," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1973: 351–68.

¹⁶ So Georg Pencz in the late 1520s (Geisberg 997, Hollstein 31:246, H. 145), and the diagrammatic woodcut Geisberg 926 (Fig. 24, cf. p. 162).

¹⁷ Cf. p. 202 n. 171.

¹⁸ The graphical source of this scene, which is not illustrated in Luther's early Old Testament editions, is not clear. Placing the calf on a column reflects late medieval depictions of pagan idols, some texts called, for instance, Nebuchadnezzar's idol "siul" (column), e.g. Jans Enikel, *Jansen Enikels Werke: Weltchronik, Fürstenbuch*, ed. Philipp Strauch (Hannover, Hahn, 1900), 328, v. 17,277.

episodes from the ordination of deacons,¹⁹ in front of an altar with a Virgin of the Rosary,²⁰ and next to them a many-headed dragon, similar to those shown in illustrations for Rev. 13 or 17 in many editions of Luther's New Testament.²¹ Above, the Protestants listen to a preacher and look up to God, having thrown away many paraphernalia of Catholic ritual, like a fish (Friday abstinence) or a holy-water stoup; a monk is even removing his habit.²² The image for Luke depicts the Offertory of High Mass²³ with singers and an organ. In the foreground pilgrims are praying, lighting candles and leaving alms that are carried away by a clerk. On the right-hand side a pope and a monk attend a frivolous dinner-party that takes place next to a pious Bildstock. Above, a Protestant family sits around a table reading books and discussing, and Communion in both kinds is administered according to the customs of the Lutheran parishes in Nuremberg.²⁴ This scene seems to be much plainer than the Catholic liturgy beneath, but one

¹⁹ A bishop sits in front of the altar, on which a chalice and the typical tripartite box for the holy oils are laid out, and holds a book on his lap. It is touched by a man in Dalmatic kneeling before him; the bishop touches his tonsure but does not lay his hands on him. At the left-hand side a clerk in surplice puts a (non-identifiable) vestment over the head of another kneeling clerk who already wears a Dalmatic. Further clerks hold a book and a crosier, and some monks attend the scene. According to Burchard's very influential Pontifical the bishop lays his hand onto the head of each ordinand to the Deaconate and afterwards clothes him with the Dalmatic, at the end all new deacons together touch the Gospel Book he hands to them ([*Pontificale Romanum*] (Roma: Planck, 1485, GWM 35,016, not foliated, 21st leaf, r). Professor Nigel Morgan kindly informed that in some places the new deacons received their Dalmatics not from the bishop but from a clerk; and there is also some visual evidence for the modern habit of touching the book one by one (British Library, Add. MS 14,805, 23v, reproduced in Walter Howard Frere, *Pontifical Services Illustrated From Miniatures*, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, 1901), plate 18 fig. 53). The strange gesture of the bishop could also refer to the tonsure (but then the candidate would be in cassock) or the anointing of the head at the consecration of a bishop (then three bishops would be present, and the candidate would wear a chasuble). Lautensack probably chose this obscure scene because he had a model to copy, and the style of the depicted altarpiece suggests that this model was German and roughly contemporary. However, the VD 16 lists no Pontificals printed in Germany between 1500 and 1550, and none of the numerous liturgical scenes in Ulrich von Richental, *Das Concilium. | So zů Constantz gehalten ist worden / | Des jars do man zalt von der geburdt vn|sers erlösers M.CCCC.XIII. Jar* (Augsburg: Steyner, 1536, VD 16 R 2,202) is related to this composition.

²⁰ Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 114.

²¹ E.g. *Das Neue Testament* (September 1522, Lotther), cc4r and dd4r, Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 15 fig. 24 and plate 19 fig. 28.

²² Detailed description in Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 114. In Erhard Schoen's 1532 woodcut showing God's vineyard (cf. p. 218), Catholic paraphernalia hang in dead trees watered by monks.

²³ The celebrant is praying in the center, the deacon holds the cruets at the right-hand side, the subdeacon is probably carrying the Missal to the same side (where it is shown lying flat on the altar in several other drawings by Lautensack, cf. p. 203 n. 183).

²⁴ Cf. pp. 201–6.

may doubt if the Nuremberg Lutheran liturgy really looked that different from its Catholic predecessor. The last page (Fig. 29) depicts in the lowest register the emperor kissing the pope's feet, a motif common in Reformation propaganda,²⁵ and opposite the pope an apocalyptic beast likewise sports a papal tiara.²⁶ The point of comparison with the Protestant scenes above is unclear: they represent grace before a meal and a painter at work. As in the image of the Madonna of St Luke, a traditional example for the legitimacy and authority of religious images,²⁷ the painter seems to portray the Virgin and Child. However, the painting on his easel shows instead a Man of Sorrows – as if Lautensack had altered his composition in favor of a less controversial subject-matter.

The celestial sections of these four drawings can partially be explained through the elements of Lautensack's later tracts. All four have an image of God in a central circle. The first (for Matthew) is a man with three faces, a relatively common means of depicting the Trinity.²⁸ A sun, a moon and a star accompany the three remaining images and mark them as God's *Geist*, *Wort* and *Person*, the three *Aspects* of the Trinity discussed in Chapter 3.²⁹ God's *Geist* and *Wort* are depicted as two similar Christ-like figures sitting on a rainbow and facing each other, each of them carries one of the two insignia Lautensack normally includes in depictions of God: scepter and orb.³⁰ The last image shows the fusion of both, the visible *Person* of the incarnate Christ, as a Man of Sorrows, and, in order to confirm His humanity, Mary in the guise of the Apocalyptic Woman stands next to Him. Therefore, the figures at the top half of the 'Evangelists' series show the Trinity and Its *Aspects*. Similar images of God appear in some other

²⁵ E.g. in the *Passional Christi vnd Antichristi*, Fleming, "On the Origin," 355 fig. 6. For this iconography see Karl-August Wirth, "Imperator Pedes Papae Deosculatur: Ein Beitrag zur Bildkunde des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift für Harald Keller: Zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Schülern* (Darmstadt: Roether), 1963, 175–221.

²⁶ It comes from the woodcut to Rev. 15 and was probably taken from *Das Neue Testament* (September 1522, Lotther), dd3r; Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 18 fig. 27, cf. p. 122 n. 37.

²⁷ This iconography was not uncommon in Germany around 1500, examples are in Dorothee Klein, *St. Lukas als Maler der Maria: Ikonographie der Lukas-Madonna* (Berlin: Schloß, 1933), 71–81.

²⁸ Images of this kind, later banned as 'monstra,' were not uncommon in Lautensack's time, e.g. in *Libri deflorationem siue | excerptiōum ex melliflua diuersorum patrum ... doctrina* (Basilee: [Furter], 1494, GW 8,247), a1v, Schramm 22, plate 133 no. 1,059, with three faces yet only four eyes altogether, see also Alfred Hackel, *Die Trinität in der Kunst: Eine ikonographische Untersuchung* (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1931), 111–12.

²⁹ Cf. 153–54.

³⁰ They are, for instance, held by God in 1a:D855 (Fig. 35).

tracts, but it is not always possible to identify their nature with as much certainty as here.

One of the Symbols of the Evangelists, as usual with six wings,³¹ appears at the side of each of these four divine figures. The numerous angels surrounding the Trinity in the first drawing may simply indicate the heavenly realm. Less clear are the semicircles with angels and naked men (most probably the blessed souls) in adoration on the second and third leaves; since a later composition by Lautensack shows these groups side by side worshipping God, they are probably present in order to underline His holiness.³²

These drawings, the first surviving expression of Lautensack's religious speculations, surprise in several respects. Firstly, his new doctrine is squarely placed within the context of Reformation propaganda; the painter associates his concepts with Luther's teaching and depicts the old faith as the common enemy. As we have seen in Chapter 2, he did not keep this attitude for long.³³ Furthermore, these drawings already show an interest in God's nature, and they include a number of pictorial formulae that are very common in his later tracts, such as the celestial bodies; others, like the three-headed Trinity, play no role afterwards. However, these still textless drawings show no interest in the subdivided and recombined Biblical text, and Revelation only plays a marginal role.

II. *Drawings for the Pater Noster*

Lautensack's other two series of single-leaf drawings (here called tract 1a), consist of twelve parts each. They illustrate two of the principal prayers of Christendom, the Pater noster and the Credo. Later, these compositions were integrated in two different ways into manuscripts (tract 1b in

³¹ Cf. p. 160.

³² The first scene of Lautensack's Credo includes a large adoring crowd, and one version of it, 1a:D862 (Fig. 43), clearly separates angels and souls. Showing the blessed souls as naked men is highly unusual, but neither a connection to Purgatory (a belief attacked by the Reformation) nor to the souls of the martyrs from Rev. 6:9–11 makes much sense. In her discussion of Lautensack's drawings Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 4, 1 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1976), 146, tentatively identifies them as the people who would eventually be born on the newly created earth, but nothing in Lautensack's tracts suggests this interpretation. Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 119, more vaguely speaks of "les élus."

³³ Cf. p. 71. It is not clear if these polemical elements were already part of the original concept of the Evangelists series or only included in the surviving version in the time when Lautensack included polemical motifs in the additional drawings of the Pater noster (see above, n. 32).

manuscript L, tract 1d in manuscripts A and K). In this and the next two sections the focus will be on the drawings of the original series in 1a, although variants in tracts 1b and 1d will be recorded. Afterwards material added in the manuscripts will be discussed.

Together with the Ten Commandments, a topic in which Lautensack showed little interest,³⁴ the Pater noster and the Credo form the core of the catechism, a compendium of the central truths of the faith, which all Christians should know, and which were especially to be taught to the children. Catechisms in the modern sense emerged in the late Middle Ages, and their contents were disseminated in many different ways, such as through sermons, primers,³⁵ illustrated books,³⁶ single-leaf prints³⁷ and even boards in churches.³⁸ After the Reformation this practice was continued.³⁹ The standard medium was now the (frequently illustrated) printed book, be it a cheap booklet that merely contained the principal prayers with short explanations and texts on the Sacraments or a lengthy elaboration for scholarly ministers. Naturally, Luther's own catechetical works enjoyed a dominant position,⁴⁰ but many towns issued their own versions.⁴¹

³⁴ Cf. p. 227.

³⁵ E.g. Ernst Schulz, "Das erste Lesebuch an den Lateinschulen des späten Mittelalters," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1929: 18–30.

³⁶ E.g. Johannes Geffcken, *Der Bildercatechismus des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts und die catechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther*, vol. 1, *Die zehn Gebote* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1855).

³⁷ E.g. Philip Meyer, "Ein Tafelcatechismus aus dem 15. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, new ser., 7 (1925): 206–13; Schramm 18, plate 41 no. 345.

³⁸ E.g. Andreas Schmid, "Katechismustafel in St. Zeno bei Reichenhall vom Jahr 1521," *Katechetische Blätter* 32 (1906): 336–38; Hartmut Boockmann, "Über Schrifttafeln in spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Kirchen," *Deutsches Archiv zur Erforschung des Mittelalters* 40 (1984): 218–21; id., "Belehrung durch Bilder? Ein unbekannter Typus spätmittelalterlicher Tafelbilder," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 57 (1994): 1–22; Ruth Slenczka, *Lehrhafte Bildtafeln in spätmittelalterlichen Kirchen* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998). A Post-Reformation example is the table reproduced in *Ulrich Zwingli: Zum Gedächtnis der Zürcher Reformation, 1519–1919* (Zurich: Berichthaus, 1919), plate 155 (also Ferdinand Cohrs, *Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1900), 126–27 no. IX).

³⁹ According to the Brandenburg *Kirchenordnung* that governed Lutheran church life in Nuremberg, knowledge of the Commandments, Credo and Pater was a prerequisite for receiving Communion (Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 5:141, ll. 20–21).

⁴⁰ For Luther's most important catechetical works see p. 176 n. 48, most wide-spread was his 1529 *Small Catechism*.

⁴¹ For Pre-Reformation catechisms see Franz Falk, "Der Unterricht des Volkes in den catechetischen Hauptstücken am Ende des Mittelalters: Die Paternoster-Erklärungen, 1482–1520," *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland* 108 (1891): 553–60, 682–94, and Eginio Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen catechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters: Nach den Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Munich: Beck, 1965); for those of the early Reformation period see Cohrs, *Die evangelischen*

Paper and layout of Lautensack's two series of drawings indicate that they were conceived and executed separately, and that the Pater noster⁴² came first. The most obvious difference between it and the more primitive 'Evangelists' drawings is the presence of writing; a passage of the prayer is distributed – quite arbitrarily – over each page. The wording of Lautensack's text is unusual. Firstly, as is the case with many liturgical formulae (also the words of Consecration at Mass), the standard version of the Our Father is not identical to the Biblical text (Matt. 6:9–13, Luke 11:2–4). Whereas Luther in some similar cases opted for the exact quotation he kept the familiar wording of the Our Father, and most other catechisms followed him.⁴³ Lautensack, however, quotes the version from Matthew.

Equally unusual is his division of the text into twelve parts, instead of the traditional number of seven petitions, which were in Pre-Reformation catechetical tracts often linked to other Septenaria like the Gifts of the Holy Ghost.⁴⁴ To arrive at this number, he firstly decided to include the opening words of the prayer (*Our Father, which art in heaven*), which are normally regarded as mere introduction, as first section into the numbering – a

Katechismusversuche; for later works Johann Michael Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Katechismus-Unterrichts*, vol. 1, *Süddeutsche Katechismen* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1904). A Trinitarian interpretation of the main sections of the catechism (see Dieter Koepplin, "Reformatrische Kunst aus der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Die lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland*, ed. Hans Christoph Rublack (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1992), 506) was never taken up by Lautensack.

⁴² D851–62, short comments in Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, 4/1:151–52, reproduced in Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, figs. L52–63.

⁴³ Only one catechism with the biblical text of the Our Father was identified: Hans Gerhardt, *Schöne Frag vnd | Antwort / Was ain warhafftiger Christen | der recht Glaub / vnd seyn frucht sey* ([Augsburg: Steiner], 1525, VD 16 G 1,485), B2r (also including the Doxology), see Cohrs, *Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, 1:168. However, some primers contain all of Matt. 6, and that includes the biblical text of the Pater noster (e.g. Melancthon's *Handbüchlein*, see Cohrs, *Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, 1:40; Grußbeutel, *Eyn Besonder fast nützlich styimmen büchlein*, B7r–C2r). According to Arnold, *Handwerker als theologische Schriftsteller*, 3, Gerhardt was a civic employee, and therefore he most probably lacked, like Lautensack, formal theological training). Also Daniel Hopfer's engraving (cf. p. 178 n. 58) and [Hanns Greyffenberger], *Das buechel zaygt an | wie wir also weyt geführt sind von | der lere vnnsers maysters Cristo | jmm gepet / vnd andern sachen vast | nützlich züwissen eym der da | begert sällig zü werden* ([Munich: Schobser], 1523, VD 16 G 3,164), azv, put the prayer into the context of Matt., but they quote its liturgical form. Biblical wording also appears in the catechisms of the Moravian Brethren printed in Germany in the early 1520s (e.g. Joseph Müller, *Die deutschen Katechismen der Böhmisches Brüder* (Berlin: Hofmann, 1887), 18), but they neither include the Doxology nor subdivide the text.

⁴⁴ Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur*, 19; numerous (mostly earlier) examples in Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunser-Erklärungen*.

decision that has very few parallels.⁴⁵ Secondly, he divided the fifth petition into two (*And forgive us our trespasses | as we forgive them that trespass against us*)⁴⁶ so that the main part of the prayer has eight sections (sections 2–9). Thirdly, he includes the so-called Doxology (*For thine is the kingdom | the power | and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.*)⁴⁷ as sections 10–12. This spurious concluding passage is not found in the Vulgate but in some Greek New Testament manuscripts, and Luther decided to insert it into his Bible translation but not into his catechism, which rather structures the Our Father into address, seven numbered petitions and the final *Amen*, thus altogether nine parts.⁴⁸ The Nuremberg Reformer Osiander employed the same structure in the Brandenburg Catechism, which was used in Nuremberg.⁴⁹ Only from the late 1520s onwards appears the Doxology as part of the Our Father in primers⁵⁰ or catechisms, normally as a unit but occasionally subdivided.⁵¹ Its integration into the familiar seven-part structure of the prayer was problematic;⁵² it was often

⁴⁵ Some examples in Otto Dibelius, *Das Vaterunser: Umriss zur Geschichte des Gebetes in der alten und mittleren Kirche* (Gießen: Rickert, 1903), e.g. 174, or a French illustrated tract (Paul Kristeller, *Exercitium super Pater Noster nach der ältesten Ausgabe der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1908), see Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunser-Erklärungen*, 181–224).

⁴⁶ This division was only found in one catechism: *Catechismus / | Das ist / ain anfencklicher bericht der Christlichen Religion von den Dienern des Euan|gelions zu Augspurg / für die Jugent | auff das kürztzest verfasst | vnnd beschriben* ([Augsburg: Ulhart], 1533, VD 16 K 150), E8r, which is also unconventional in other respects. However, in many editions this long sentence is subdivided by a virgule, which Lautensack may have interpreted as beginning of a new section (e.g. *Catechismus oder Kinderpredig* (Brandenburg), t3r, cf. Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 5:283).

⁴⁷ “denn, deyn ist das reych | vnd die Krafft | vnd die herlickeyt in ewikeyt. Amen.”

⁴⁸ *Kurtze Form* (Luther WA, 7:194–229); *Bettbuchlin* (Luther WA, 10/2:331–501); *Small and Great Catechism* (Luther WA, 30/1, 239–425 and 123–238 respectively), see Johannes Meyer, *Historischer Kommentar zu Luthers Kleinem Katechismus* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1929), 380. A similar structure predating the Reformation appears in a single-leaf print by Lienhardt Ysenhut (Schramm 22, plate 52 no. 328, see Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunser-Erklärungen*, 162–64 and 133 fig. 30).

⁴⁹ Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 5:283 no. 177.

⁵⁰ Ickelsamer, *Rechte weis*, B6v–B7r (from 1527); Culmann, *Teütsch Kinder Tafel*, 5th leaf, v – 6th leaf, r – divided into 13 parts, therefore close to Lautensack's twelve sections.

⁵¹ e.g. The catechism by Rürer and Althamer, which was printed in Nuremberg, first quotes the Doxology as a unit but then explains it in three parts (Johan Rürer and Andreas Althamer, *Catechismus. | Das ist Vnterricht zum | Christlichen Glauben* (Nürnberg: Peypus, 1528, VD 16 R 3,816), Civ; Cohrs, *Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, 3:28 no. XXIII; Theodor Kolde, *Andreas Althamer, der Humanist und Reformator in Brandenburg-Ansbach: Mit einem Neudruck seines Katechismus von 1528 und archivalischen Beilagen* (Erlangen: Junge, 1895).

⁵² Some authors treated it as appendix to the 7th petition, so Johannes Brenz in the undated *Fragstück des | Christenlichen glaubens* (VD 16 B 7,625, Cohrs, *Die evangelischen*

labeled as an addition⁵³ and not normally numbered together with the petitions.⁵⁴

The twelve drawings for the Our Father, which are today kept in Berlin, were apparently made in one process. However, some discrepancies in their compositions suggest that Lautensack had first devised a more traditional series of eight parts (one for the opening phrase, and one for each of the seven petitions), which he later expanded in order to match the twelve parts of the Creed. With the exception of the last page, the compositions that are probably copied from this hypothetical original series (D850–54, top part of D855, D856–57) show a very similar layout. As in the Evangelists drawings the pages are divided into a heavenly and an earthly realm, and each page presents three distinct elements that, once again, have nothing to do with each other. However, in this case all three belong to sequences, so that (ideally) the first drawing shows the first elements of each of the three sequences, and the others accordingly further parts. The earthly register illustrates the text of the Pater noster, whilst the heavenly register has primarily scenes from the first chapters of the Book of Revelation. Both realms are arranged around a large central object, like a title frame woodcut that surrounds the text on all sides, but also similar to some of the images of the 'Mortal Sins'.⁵⁵ This object is always one of the furnishings of the Tabernacle in the Desert as described in Exodus.

Katechismusversuche, 3:151 no. XXVII) and Kasper Gräter (Gretter) in the 1529 *Catechesis* (VD 16 G 3,243, Cohrs, *Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, 2:347 no. XXII). Michael Weinmar, *Ein schön ge|main Bettbüchlein / | darinnen die fürnemsten ge|bet / für allerley stende vnd men|gel der welt / ... sampt schön|nen erklerungen des Vater vnsers &c.* (Augsburg: Steiner, 1532, VD 16 W 1,515), G7r, places it at the end of his interpretation of the prayer.

⁵³ E.g. Otther's 1532 catechism (VD 16 ZV 26,578): "Diser spruch wirt zu einem bschluß von etlichen angehenckt an das Vatter vnser vnd das nit vnchristenlich" [This sentence is added by some as a conclusion to the Our Father, and this is not un-Christian], quoted after Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Katechismus-Unterrichts*, 1:377. Some years later, Cyriacus Spangenberg, *Catechismus. | Die Fünff Heupt|stück der Christlichen Lehre / Sampt | der Haußtafel / vnd dem Morgen vnd | Abend gebet | Benedicite vnd | Gratias / etc.* (Erfurd: Bawman, 1564, VD 16 ZV 14,548), VV1v–2r, defended the Doxology against Catholic criticism.

⁵⁴ Sometimes the prayer was divided into three parts: introduction, main body (7 petitions) and conclusion (Doxology/*Amen*), e.g. Johann Tetelbach, *Das güldene Kleinot. | D. Mart. Lu|theri Catechismus* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Bassæus, 1577, first published in 1569, VD 16 L 5,135), J1r. An exception is Johann Zwick, *Das Vatter vn|ser in frag vnd | betswyß / für die jungenn | kind vßgelegt* ([Konstanz, Mangolt, ca. 1529], VD 16 Z 737, reprinted in Cohrs, *Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, 4:68–71 no. XXVI)), where the introduction, 7 petitions, Doxology and *Amen* are counted as 1–10. Many catechisms print the Our Father once in full before explaining it part by part – so Lautensack may have looked at the layout of the text, without considering the structure of the exposition.

⁵⁵ This parallel is most obvious in D854–56.

The lower register, the ‘terrestrial zone,’ represents the Our Father. Surprisingly, despite the importance of this prayer, virtually no visualizations of its content existed before the 16th century.⁵⁶ Then two different strategies emerged. Lucas Cranach illustrated its introduction and the seven petitions with (chiefly) biblical narrative exempla,⁵⁷ whereas woodcuts in a tract by Erasmus, designed by Hans Holbein the Younger,⁵⁸ preferred a literal interpretation. Lautensack followed the latter approach. As in his other drawings he borrowed numerous motifs from the 1531 *De Officiis*.

Each of the first seven scenes is marked with a star, a candlestick and an angel preaching from a pulpit – they probably refer to the Seven Stars, Candlesticks and Angels of Rev. 1.⁵⁹ The abstract nature of many parts of the Pater noster makes them difficult to illustrate, and Lautensack relied heavily on the Petrarch Master’s *Cicero* for pictorial models of figures or groups (e.g. Fig. 31c). The first three scenes (D850–852, *Our Father, Hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come*) merely show crowds listening to the admonition of the angel or worshipping God. The fourth scene is similar, only the release of a prisoner on the left-hand side may allude to *Thy will*

⁵⁶ An exception was the 15th-century *Exercitium super Pater noster*, see p. 176 n. 45. However, the Pater noster had been subject of many diagrams, see Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunser-Erklärungen*.

⁵⁷ These illustrations, probably designed for a broadsheet, are very rare today (Max Geisberg, “Cranach’s Illustrations to the Lord’s Prayer and the Editions of Luther’s Catechism,” *The Burlington Magazine* 43 (1923): 85–87; Hollstein 6:43, H. 67a–h). Ernst Grüneisen, “Grundlegendes für die Bilder in Luthers Katechismus,” *Luther-Jahrbuch* 20 (1938): 6–27, compares them with the Erasmus illustrations; Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, 4/1:49–51, describes several (chiefly minor) variations of this iconography in later Lutheran catechisms. A later series in Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* | *Der Klein* | *Catechismus für die gemeine Pfarherr* | *vnd Prediger* / | *gebessert* (Augsburg: Othmar, 1542, VD 16 L 5,052), frequently chose other (likewise chiefly biblical) scenes.

⁵⁸ Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Precatio dominica in Septem portiones distributa* (Basileæ: Frobenius, [1523], VD 16 E 3,450), Hollstein 14A:126–28, H. 65a–h. These illustrations are freely copied in the manuscript Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Aa 139, see Robert Suckale, “Themen und Stil altgläubiger Bilder, 1517–1547,” in *Kunst und Konfession: Katholische Auftragswerke im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, 1517–1563*, ed. Andreas Tacke (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2008), 64 and 65 fig. 17. According to Grüneisen, “Grundlegendes,” 27, this version may predate Cranach’s. It was later copied by Daniel Hopfer (Bartsch VIII.480.28, Hollstein 15:66, H. 32, see Wolfgang Wegner, “Beiträge zum graphischen Werk Daniel Hopfers,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 20 (1957): 240–44 and fig. 2, and Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, 4/1:48–49).

⁵⁹ Cf. p. 157. Lautensack normally depicted the Seven Stars and Candlesticks only but in some cases together with them also the Seven Angels (cf. p. 224). When the original series of the Our Father was expanded (cf. p. 186), the stars and candlesticks remained with the first seven scenes, but one of the seven preachers moved to the new 9th scene (D859, Fig. 36, cf. p. 186 n. 89). The preacher – Lutheran or popish – was a recurrent motif in Protestant propaganda prints, e.g. Geisberg 654–55 (Cranach the Younger, ca. 1545, also Hollstein 7:128, H. 18, cf. p. 202 n. 171) or Geisberg 997 (Georg Pencz, ca. 1529).

be done (D853, Fig. 30, cf. Figs. 31a–c). More to the point is the *Give us this day our daily bread* (D854): here the praying crowd fills only half of the composition, while the other half shows a family enjoying a lavish meal.⁶⁰ The original illustration of *And forgive us our trespasses* (as already mentioned, this petition was eventually divided over two sheets)⁶¹ shows on the right-hand side two merchants who are apparently asked for loans, while at the left a group of men discuss a legal document⁶² and two women engage in conversation. One of them and one merchant is accompanied by a devil. The sequence of the following scenes has been disturbed by the extension of the series to twelve parts.⁶³ In the scene that probably (v.i.) was devised to illustrate the *And lead not us into temptation*, half of the crowd are, as usual, listening piously, whilst others are committing a massacre (D858). The scene that in all likelihood originally formed the 8th and last image of the prayer, for *But deliver us from evil*, shows the faithful attacked by a devil and next to them a Mouth of Hell (D857, Fig. 32).

The second group of elements of the Pater noster series are the furnishings of the Tabernacle in the desert, as described in Exod. 25–27 and illustrated in the first part of Luther's Old Testament (for a list see pp. 180–81 Table 5).⁶⁴ Since these objects had been made by Moses after templates revealed to him by God they often feature in the defense of images against the iconoclasts. In Lautensack's theology of the image they were divinely 'authorized' and therefore legitimate subject-matter for artists.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ It is not clear who the children in the foreground might be – they are apparently neither guests nor servants but also too well dressed to be beggars.

⁶¹ This is D856, now illustrating the second half of this petition (*As we forgive them that trespass against us*), for the first section see pp. 187–88.

⁶² In Cicero, *Officia*, 74r (Muspser, *Holzschnitte*, no. 536), this scene depicts fraudulent sellers of houses.

⁶³ For these alterations see pp. 186–87.

⁶⁴ Lastly, these images derive from the *Postilla* of Nicolaus de Lyra (e.g. Nicolaus, *Postilla*, Exod., V9r–X6v; also in Schedel, [*Nuremberg Chronicle*], 31v–33v).

⁶⁵ Cf. p. 105 and p. 88 n. 205. Whereas the Ark of the Covenant (see Elisabeth Revel-Neher, *L'Arche d'Alliance dans l'Art Juif et Chrétien du Second au Dixième Siècles* (Paris: Association des Amis des Etudes Archéologiques, Byzantino-Slaves et du Christianisme Oriental, 1984), for examples up to the 10th century) and the Menorah (see Peter Bloch, "Siebenarmige Leuchter in christlichen Kirchen," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch: Westdeutsches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 23 (1961): 55–190) played some role in Christian art, the other objects rarely appear outside Bibles. An engraving after Antonius II Wierix from 1598 illustrates the "Ad te clamamus" of the *Salve Regina* with seven small images of objects from the Temple (Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman, *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts*, vol. 63, *The Wierix Family*, 5 (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision, 2004), 152, H. 1048/II). In 1531, the dissenting theologian Melchior Hoffman published an allegorical tract, in which he interpreted the Seven-branched Candlestick as a model of the Church (Melchior Hoffman, *Der leuchter des alten Testaments vß gelegt / welcher im | heylge stund der hütten Mose* ([Straßburg: Beck, 1531], VD 16 H 4,221)).

Table 5. Images from Exod. and 1 Kings in Lautensack's Our Father.

	Part of the Pater noster	D	Image in D	L	Image in L	A	K	Image in A/K
1	<i>Vnser Vater</i> (<i>Our Father</i>)	850	Mercy Seat (see p. 181 n. 66)	33v	as in D	38v	36v	Throne of Solomon (see p. 217)
2	<i>Deyn name</i> (<i>Hallowed be</i>)	851	Ark of the Covenant	34v	as in D	39v	37v	as in D
3	<i>Deyn reich</i> (<i>Thy kingdom</i>)	852	Table of Shewbreads [The Mercy Seat behind is connected with the Incarnation of Christ, not with this series, see p. 154]	35v	as in D	40v	38v	as in D
4	<i>Deyn will</i> (<i>Thy will</i>)	853 Fig. 30	Menorah (Fig. 31b)	36v	as in D	41v	39v	as in D
5	<i>Vnser teglich</i> (<i>Give us this day</i>)	854	Curtain	37v	as in D	42v	40v	—
6	<i>Vnnd</i> <i>vergib vns</i> (<i>And forgive us</i>)	855 Fig. 35	Large Paneling	38v	as in D	43v Fig. 39	41v	as in D
7	<i>Wye wir</i> <i>vnnsern</i> (<i>As we forgive</i>)	856	Small Paneling	39v	as in D	44v	42v	—
8	<i>Vnd fure vns</i> (<i>And lead us not</i>)	857 Fig. 32	All furnishings together	40v Fig. 33	only Cross on Mercy Seat	45v	43v	—
9	<i>Sondern</i> <i>erlöſe vnns</i> (<i>But deliver us</i>)	858	Fountain	41v	—	46v	44v	—
10	<i>Den dey nist</i> (<i>For thine is</i>)	859 Fig. 36	Altar of Incense	42v Fig. 38	Fountain	47v	45v	—

Table 5 (Cont.)

	Part of the Pater noster	D	Image in D	L	Image in L	A	K	Image in A/K
11	<i>Vnnd dye krafft</i> (<i>The power</i>)	86o	Altar from Dürer's Apocalypse / High Priest's Vestments (see pp. 188–89)	43v	Altar of Incense / High Priest's Vestments	48v	46v	–
12	<i>Vnnd dye</i> <i>herligkeit</i> (<i>And the glory</i>)	861 Fig. 37	Throne of Solomon	44v	as in D	49v Fig. 41	47v	Mercy Seat

Contemporary illustrated Bibles show nine of these objects. Lautensack displayed the first seven on the seven parts of this series,⁶⁶ and on the 8th sheet an interior decorated with the first four of them again.⁶⁷

Finally, the top parts of the drawings represent scenes from the Apocalypse, taken from woodcuts in early editions of Luther's German New Testament⁶⁸ (for a list see pp. 182–83 Table 6). Apparently, Lautensack tried to associate each sheet with an image from the corresponding chapter (e.g. Rev. 1 for the first sheet). However, some chapters had none and others several woodcuts, and Lautensack was only interested in symmetrical compositions with the image of a divine person in the center. Therefore, some adjustments were necessary.

⁶⁶ The Bibles normally show two objects on each page: the Mercy Seat and the Ark (e.g. Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 33 fig. 47), the Table for the Shewbreads and the Menorah (e.g. *ibid.*, plate 34 fig. 48), the curtain (usually alone, e.g. *ibid.* plate 35 fig. 49), two sections of paneling (e.g. *ibid.*, plate 36 fig. 50), the altar for Burnt-Offering and a Fountain (e.g. *ibid.*, plate 37 fig. 51; the latter is not mentioned in the text, it probably foreshadows the Molten Sea of 1 Kings 7:23–26). Although the Mercy Seat was merely the lid of the Ark (Exod. 25:20), the woodcuts represent it as a separate box-like object. To add to the confusion, the earliest editions equip the Ark with horns and a smoking bowl, like the altar of incense, and this quickly-corrected error also appears in some of Lautensack's drawings (p. 121 n. 32). When he extended the Pater noster series Lautensack added the altar for Burnt-Offering, the Fountain, and possibly the High Priest (cf. pp. 188–89). The latter also appears elsewhere in his diagrams (cf. p. 221).

⁶⁷ This design suggests that this composition was originally conceived as the conclusion of the series. It could have been vaguely inspired by another of the common Old Testament woodcuts, which shows the entire enclosure of the tabernacle (e.g. Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 38 fig. 52).

⁶⁸ For the editions used cf. p. 122.

Table 6. Images from the Apocalypse in Lautensack's drawings for the Our Father. Entries referring to scenes appearing outside the normal sequence as well as omissions of chapters illustrated in the Bibles are given in **Bold**. As far as possible, these irregularities are explained in the text.

	Part of the Pater noster	D	Scene in D	L	Scene in L	A	K	Scene in A/K
1	<i>Vnser Vater</i> (<i>Our Father</i>)	850	Rev. 1 (Vision of Candlesticks)	33v	Rev. 12 (Apocalyptic Woman)	38v	36v	–
2	<i>Deyn name</i> (<i>Hallowed</i> <i>be</i>)	851	– [Rev. 2 unillustrated in Bible]	34v	as in D	39v	37v	as in D
3	<i>Deyn reich</i> (<i>Thy</i> <i>kingdom</i>)	852	– [Rev. 3 unillustrated in Bible]	35v	as in D [with the lamps transferred from image 4]	40v	38v	as in D
4	<i>Deyn will</i> (<i>Thy will</i>)	853 Fig. 30	Rev. 4/5 [only parts referring to Rev. 4 shown], Fig. 31a	36v	Rev. 1 (Vision of Candlesticks) [but God enthroned as in Rev. 4]	41v	39v	as in L
5	<i>Vnser</i> <i>teglich</i> (<i>Give us</i> <i>this day</i>)	854	Rev. 4/5 [only parts referring to Rev. 5 shown]	37v	– [here the curtain of the tabernacle fills the entire space]	42v	40v	Rev. 4/5 [combining both parts separated in D]
6	<i>Vnnd</i> <i>vergib</i> <i>vns</i> (<i>And</i> <i>forgive us</i>)	855 Fig. 35	Rev. 6, 2nd scene (Robing of Souls)	38v	Rev. 6, 2nd scene [with the Lamb and the Book transferred from image 5]	43v Fig. 39	41v	Rev. 6, 1st scene (Horsemen) combined with 2nd scene (Robing), possibly with influences of 3rd scene (Earthquake, cf. p. 191 n. 109)
7	<i>Wye wir</i> <i>vnnsern</i> (<i>As we</i> <i>forgive</i>)	856	Rev. 8 (7 Trumpets) [transferred from image 8]	39v	as in D	44v	42v	Rev. 7 (Sealing)
8	<i>Vnd fure</i> <i>vns</i> (<i>And</i> <i>lead us</i> <i>not</i>)	857 Fig. 32	– [instead Eagle-Crucifix]	40v Fig. 33	As in D	45v	43v	Rev. 8 (7 Trumpets)

Table 6 (Cont.)

	Part of the Pater noster	D	Scene in D	L	Scene in L	A	K	Scene in A/K
9	<i>Sondern erlöſe vnns (But deliver us)</i>	858	[The angel at the top left comes from Rev. 9, 2nd scene]	41v	Rev. 19 (Final Battle) [In the manuscript this drawing is linked to Rev. 20, not Rev. 19]	46v	44v	Rev. 9, 1st scene (Bottomless Pit) and 2nd scene (Final Trumpets)
10	<i>Den deyn ist (For thine is)</i>	859 Fig. 36	Rev. 14 (Triumph of the Lamb)	42v Fig. 38	Rev. 21 (Heavenly Jerusalem) [as the related text]	47v	45v	Rev. 10 (Angel with little book)
11	<i>Vnnd dye krafft (And the power)</i>	860	–	43v	– [Rev. 22 is unillustrated in Bibles]	48v	46v	Rev. 11 (Measuring of Temple)
12	<i>Vnnd dye herligkeit (And the glory)</i>	861 Fig. 37	–	44v	– [here the series is no longer linked to Rev.]	49v Fig. 41	47v	Rev. 12 (Apocalyptic Woman)

The Vision of Rev. 1 at the beginning is followed by two compositions unrelated to the illustrated Bibles (which have no woodcuts for Rev. 2 and 3): the first shows God as a bearded man with cope, scepter and orb, surrounded by sun, moon and two stars, thus not yet the standard system of the Three Celestial Bodies.⁶⁹ Since God has both scepter and orb He may be a fusion of the two symmetrical figures identified with *Geist* and *Wort* in the drawings of the Evangelists. As there, the following image (D852) shows the Incarnation, this time not as the Man of Sorrows but as the Christ Child standing on the Mercy Seat, a combination typical for Lautensack.⁷⁰ It is flanked by the *Two Images* from Revelation.⁷¹ The next drawings (D853–54) both use elements from the only woodcut illustrating Rev. 4 and 5 (Figs. 30 and 31a).⁷² On the following sheet (D855, Fig. 35), the angel in the center of

⁶⁹ Cf. pp. 158–59.

⁷⁰ Cf. p. 154. Here the Cherubim are not rendered as Cherub heads but as adoring angels.

⁷¹ A combination of Christ (normally on the Cross) with the *Two Images* will become common in Lautensack's later tracts, cf. p. 260 Table 11.

⁷² E.g. Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 4 fig. 13. From this woodcut Lautensack copied for the first drawing (D853, Fig. 30) God between the Four Living Beings, which follows Rev. 4, and for the second drawing (D854) the Lamb that is mentioned in Rev. 5 (now moved to the center) and the standing Elders.

the Clothing of Souls woodcut illustrating Rev. 6⁷³ is replaced by a strange image of God that can be best described as a Eucharistic interpretation of the so-called Gnadenstuhl:⁷⁴ above the paneling of the Tabernacle the upper half of the crucified Christ appears, seemingly hovering in front of the Father. On the top of the paneling stand not only the Dove of the Holy Ghost but also two chalices collecting blood from Christ's hands and a large paten containing several hosts that are linked with a line to Christ's mouth.⁷⁵ Since the only illustration for Rev. 7 is not symmetrical, Lautensack used for the following 7th sheet (D856) the woodcut to Rev. 8 and added crown, scepter and orb to the image of God, as well as a large Dove beneath.⁷⁶

The 'divine image' in the composition that probably was the final scene of the original series (D857, Fig. 32) deserves greater attention. It is a Crucifixion flanked, as usual, by Mary and John. The Dove above Christ's head would suggest a Trinitarian theme, but instead of God the Father the apocalyptic Lamb with the Seven Lamps of Rev. 4:5 appears at the top. The two crowned busts at the sides are identified by scepter and orb as well as by sun and moon surmounting them as the *Spirit* and *Word*, who point to the crucified *Person* (surprisingly without a star, instead with the Serpent wriggling around the stem).⁷⁷ However, Christ is not nailed to a normal cross – its horizontal beam is replaced with the wings of a large eagle. A similar composition occurs in the 8th scene of the Creed drawings,⁷⁸ where a winged God Father holds the 'cross' as in a usual Gnadenstuhl. In later versions these images become more complex: the corresponding

⁷³ E.g. Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 6 fig. 16. The New Testaments have three woodcuts for this chapter – Lautensack probably chose the second because it is the only symmetrical composition.

⁷⁴ The term 'Gnadenstuhl' originally denoted the lid of the Ark of the Covenant. It was first applied to images of the Trinity, in which the Father holds the crucified Christ, by Ernst aus'm Weerth, who described a relief by Peter Dell the Elder (Fig. 96), which in turns goes back to a composition by Lautensack similar to Fig. 60, see Berthold Kress, "A Relief by Peter Dell (1548) after a Drawing by Paul Lautensack, and the Origins of the Term 'Gnadenstuhl,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 73 (2010): 181–94, cf. pp. 267–68.

⁷⁵ For the Eucharistic elements see p. 204 and p. 227 n. 307.

⁷⁶ E.g. Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 9 fig. 18. Interestingly, D855 shows Father and Son (with a small Dove), D856 Father and Holy Ghost and D857 (Fig. 32) Son and Holy Ghost. Such combinations of pairs of Persons of the Trinity do not exist in diagrams by Lautensack. One could also speculate that the original sheet dedicated to the petition *And forgive us* depicted the Trinity, which was then divided into the similar compositions of D855 and D856 – but otherwise nothing else suggests that the reshuffling of the lower scenes also influenced the upper parts of the sheets.

⁷⁷ This literally interprets Luther's reading of Gen. 3:15 which had been traditionally understood as a Marian prophecy: "Der selb sol dir den kopff zu treten" [he shall bruise thy head], cf. Luther's marginal comment (printed from 1534 onward) in Luther *WA Bibel*, 9:45.

⁷⁸ More on that image on p. 206.

drawing in the Creed of the London manuscript (1b:L29v, Fig. 50) adds the heads of a double eagle behind Christ's head, whereas the Pater noster in the same manuscript (L40v, Fig. 33) has Christ nailed to a fully-fledged double eagle standing on the Mercy Seat – in manuscripts A and K this eagle even has three heads (Fig. 50).⁷⁹ Frank Muller saw a possible source in the political-alchemical *Book of the Holy Trinity*,⁸⁰ which depicts a double-headed eagle with Christ's head and wounds.⁸¹ However, Lautensack, who never showed an interest in Alchemy, hardly had access to this (by then outdated) tract,⁸² and the similarity between both compositions is superficial: whereas the *Book of the Holy Trinity* shows Christ and the eagle joined into one being, Lautensack leaves Christ's body intact, and the eagle merely replaces the cross or parts of it.⁸³ More plausible models can be found in heraldic compositions displaying the double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire with a crucifix on its chest.⁸⁴ This crucifix normally remains a small attribute but sometimes grows to the size of the eagle (e.g. Fig. 34),⁸⁵ and in one example the cross is missing so

⁷⁹ A57v (Fig. 50) and K55v. In these manuscripts the eagle appears in the Creed only.

⁸⁰ For this puzzling work see p. 141 n. 126.

⁸¹ Muller, "Une vision," 232. An alchemical interpretation of this composition in Obrist, *Débuts de l'Imagerie Alchimique*, 145–49; fig. 15, reproduces the miniature Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 80,061, 24v (= p. 47).

⁸² However, together with some other images from this treatise, the cross-eagle was still reprinted later in the 16th century in Hieronymus Reusner, *Pandora: | Das ist / | Die edleste Gab | Gottes / oder der werde vnd | heilsame Stein der Weysen* (Basel: Henricpetri, 1588, VD 16 R 1,363), 251.

⁸³ Likewise, the first of a series of anonymous woodcuts that should help to memorize St John's Gospel, an eagle with two human heads, has little similarity to Lautensack's composition (*Ars memorandi* (Anshelm), a3r. For this text see p. 128 n. 63).

⁸⁴ For this *genre* see Jörg Jochen Berns, "Aquila Biceps: Die mnemotechnische Belastbarkeit des Reichsadlers und das Problem der Schemaüberblendung," in *Seelenmaschinen: Gattungstraditionen, Funktionen und Leistungsgrenzen der Mnemotechniken vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Beginn der Moderne*, ed. Jörg Jochen Berns and Wolfgang Neuber (Vienna: Böhlau, 2000), 426–41. The imperial eagle and cross were already linked in a text by Konrad von Megenberg (Berns, "Aquila," 417). In visual art this combination appeared first in prints from Cologne (such as *Cronica van hilliger Stat van Coellen*, 135v–36r; Schramm 8, plate 174 no. 794, from 1499), and in the early 16th century it was taken up in Southern Germany (first by Hans Burgkmair in 1510, Geisberg 520). Another illustrated speculative text on the imperial eagle has no similar combinations (Barbara Obrist, "Das illustrierte 'Adamas colluctancium aquilarum' (1418–1419) von Winand von Steeg als Zeitdokument," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 40 (1983): 136–43).

⁸⁵ This was the case with the badge of Otto Cardinal Truchseß von Waldburg (1514–73), e.g. in a dedication to him in Eton, College Library, MS 92, p. IV (Elisabeth Scheicher, "Eine Augsburger Handschrift als Geschenk für König Philipp II. von Spanien: Zum Oeuvre Jörg Breus der Jüngere [sic]," *Münchner Jahrbuch für Bildende Kunst* 44 (1993): 151 fig. 1) and on a relief from ca. 1555, in Dillingen (Fig. 34, Berns, "Aquila," 431 fig. 38).

that Christ seems to be nailed to the wings.⁸⁶ The different number of eagle-heads, apparently of little significance for Lautensack, finds a parallel in the one-to-three-headed eagles featuring in playful heraldic treatises of the late Middle Ages.⁸⁷ A (very different) three-headed eagle also appears in the Fourth Book of Esdras, a text which Lautensack defended against Luther's criticism.⁸⁸

When he extended the Our Father series from eight to twelve units, Lautensack moved and recombined its elements. The sixth part of the prayer (*And forgive us our trespasses | as we forgive them that trespass against us*) was divided into two. The 6th image (D855, Fig. 35) kept its original upper part with the 6th elements from Revelation and the furnishings of the Tabernacle. It quotes now only the first half of the text (*And forgive us our trespasses*), and in the lower part a new composition illustrating these words was inserted. The original image for this petition with its angelic preacher and the second half of the text (*as we forgive them*) was moved to the next page (D856), where it is now combined with the 7th elements of Revelation and of the Tabernacle. Accordingly, the original text of the 7th part (*And lead us not*) is transferred to the 8th page (D857, Fig. 32). This was originally the last page of the Pater noster, and it contains the most intricate composition of the series. Most probably, Lautensack did not want to alter its design, and hence he moved the illustration to *And lead us not* that had been in the lower half of the 7th sheet not to the 8th but rather to a new 9th sheet (D858).⁸⁹ The last three scenes (10th–12th page, D859–861) illustrate the Doxology and were designed afresh.

⁸⁶ Woodcut by Albert Kunne, Memmingen, 1487 (Schreiber 4:138 no. 2,015m, reproduced in Berns, "Aquila," 438 fig. 45).

⁸⁷ Johann Karl von Schroeder, "Dreiköpfige Reichsadler," *Herold: Vierteljahrsschrift für Heraldik, Genealogie und verwandte Wissenschaften*, new ser., 7/5 (1970): 106–12. A three-headed eagle appears furthermore above the Christ-eagle in the *Book of the Holy Trinity* (cf. p. 185 n. 81).

⁸⁸ Cf. p. 127. 4 Esdr. 11:1 describes a three-headed, twelve-winged eagle, which occasionally appears in art (e.g. [*Apocrypha, title missing*] (1525, Köpphel), 20ra; Harms 3:105 no. III, 51 (from 1596), and the background of Johannes Faulhaber, *Fama Sydereia Nova | Gemein öffentliches Aufschreiben ... Anlangend | Den Neuen: vnd | durch ein sonderbare Invention. | lang zuvor prognosticirten | Cometstern* (Nürnberg: Halbmayer, 1619, VD 17 23:289499A, A4v), a composition that, like Lautensack's tracts, mixes heraldic with apocalyptic motifs).

⁸⁹ As the other of the first seven scenes of the original series, the 7th was probably dominated by an Angelic preacher. No similar figure had been moved to the 8th Berlin drawing, but the 9th has a preacher who could belong to the series of the Seven Angels (although for unknown reason he has been downgraded to a human clerk, cf. p. 178 n. 59). The scenes of D857 (Fig. 32) and D858 are so vaguely connected to the text that one cannot decide with certainty which of them illustrates which section of the prayer. Therefore, one cannot rule out either that the image for *And lead us not* was not transferred from D856 to D858 but instead (as was the text) to D857, and the 8th scene then from D857 to D858.

Table 7. Early development of the images to the Pater noster.

This table lists, on the left-hand side, the scenes of a hypothetical early eight-part version of Lautensack's Pater noster series, and, on the right, the scenes as they appear in the first surviving version of this series, in the Berlin drawings. Scenes in both series that have the same upper half appear in the same row, whilst the arrows show the transposition of the compositions in the lower parts of the pages. Newly introduced compositions (lower halves or full pages) are marked in bold letters, and those that have been modified or displaced appear in italics.

Original scenes		Berlin drawings	D
1 Vnser Vater		1 Vnser Vater	850
2 Deyn name		2 Deyn name	851
3 Deyn reich		3 Deyn reich	852
4 Deyn will		4 Deyn will	853
5 Vnser teglich		5 Vnser teglich	854
6 <i>Vnnd vergib vns</i>	→	6 Vnnd vergib vns	855
7 <i>Vnd fure vns</i>	→	7 <i>Wye wir vnnsern</i>	856
8 <i>Sondern erlöße vnns</i>	→	8 <i>Vnd fure vns</i>	857
		9 <i>Sondern erlöße vnns</i>	858
		10 Den deyn ist	859
		11 Vnnd dye krafft	860
		12 Vnnd dye herligkeit	861

In comparison with the original parts of the Our Father the additional compositions disappoint. Although they contain roughly the same elements as the original series, they have no consistent structure but range from majestic full-page compositions (D861, Fig. 37) to chaotic assemblies of disparate scenes (D858).

Most of the new leaves maintain a 'terrestrial' level that illustrates a section of the Our Father, and now a fiercely anti-Catholic mood prevails in them.⁹⁰ In the first section of the *Forgive us our trespasses*, which had been

⁹⁰ Possibly the anti-Catholic details in the last two leaves of the original series (the monk worshipping a she-devil with papal crown in D857 (Fig. 32) and the killing of a monk in the part of D858 that had probably been taken over from 7th image of the original series) were only inserted into the compositions at this stage – at least the latter motif does not appear in the graphical model used for this group (Cicero, *Officia*, 10r; Musper, *Holzschnitte*, no. 114, also Petrarcha, *Von der Artzney*, I, 68r). Most contemporary commentaries to the Pater noster do not contain polemical elements, an exception is the work of another amateur theologian, the gardener Clement Ziegler of Straßburg (Krebs and Rott, *Quellen*, 7:35–39), cf. p. 42.

added at this stage (D855, Fig. 35), a man is giving alms, whilst a king, a pope and a man apparently holding a broadsheet with an indulgence⁹¹ are merely watching. The connection with the prayer is unclear.⁹² Since the 'celestial' register of image D858 (*But deliver us*) is very small, a second scene was added to the massacre that probably derives from the original *And lead us not* (cf. p. 186): a knight in splendid armor prepares to thrust his lance into a pope enthroned between a cardinal and a bishop. No coherent scheme could be developed for the Doxology.⁹³ Its first image, *For thine is the kingdom* (D859, Fig. 36), shows, like the preceding sheet, two episodes: above David is anointed, beneath a king is dethroned and his crown given to another.⁹⁴ The next leaf (D860, *The power*) has only one scene: a ruler sits at a table with several men, probably his councilors, who heatedly discuss a book, but another man directs his attention to an apparition of God above.⁹⁵ In the last image the 'terrestrial' layer is missing entirely.

The upper zones of the first two additional leaves (D858–59, Fig. 36) contain the two remaining objects of the Tabernacle, and the third has the High Priest, who is in the Bibles depicted after the description of the

⁹¹ The object has a small image in the center, therefore it is probably neither the standard publication of an indulgence nor an individual letter of indulgence (examples in Falk Eisermann, *Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation* (VE 15), 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), no. P-141, fig. 65) but rather a sheet combining the Vernicle with (in all likelihood indulgenced) prayers to be said in front of it (like Schreiber 2:14 no. 769, discussed in *Spiegel der Seligkeit: Privates Bild und Frömmigkeit im Spätmittelalter*, exh. cat. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2000 (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2000), 389 no. 222). Its model (Cicero, *Officia*, 55v; Musper, *Holzschritte*, no. 519) was a grant of arms (a large charter with the new coat of arms in the center, as in *Genie ohne Namen: Der Meister des Bartholomaeus-Altars*, exh. cat. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 2001 (Cologne: DuMont, 2001), 502–3 nos. 124–25).

⁹² In a Catholic context this scene could have shown how good deeds lead to the forgiveness of sins, but this explanation is hardly thinkable after the Reformation. Muller saw here the selling of indulgences (Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 116) but the man is clearly giving money away, not receiving it, and he is not a cleric.

⁹³ Since this text rarely features in catechisms it is hardly ever illustrated (cf. pp. 176, 178), only an 18th-century example was found. There, the Doxology has one image, in which angels surround a ball with the inscriptions "Gloria" and "Regnum" (Reinhard Lieske, *Protestantische Frömmigkeit im Spiegel der kirchlichen Kunst des Herzogtums Württemberg* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1973), 69 and fig. 8, from Ehingen).

⁹⁴ The first scene comes from illustrated Bibles (see e.g. Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 78 fig. 134), the second from Cicero, *Officia*, 80v (Musper, *Holzschritte*, no. 266; also Petrarcha, *Von der Artzney*, II, 93v).

⁹⁵ Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 117–18, sees in these figures human law, and conversely in the Christ-Angel coming from above (cf. p. 189) divine law, and he also regards the figures of Aaron and David, which flank Christ, as representatives of these spheres. However, had Lautensack wanted to depict a court of law he would have found a number of more suitable models in the Cicero; therefore we should rather see here more generally earthly and heavenly power.

Tabernacle. However, he is not placed at the center but stands at the side, turning inwards,⁹⁶ and is paired with an image of King David, whilst an altar from Dürer's Apocalypse takes the center position.⁹⁷ It is not clear if this altar, or the High Priest, or both, conclude the series of furnishings of the Tabernacle.

The illustrations for the corresponding chapters of Revelation in Luther's New Testaments were not symmetrical and hence unsuitable for Lautensack, and therefore he used for the 9th drawing (D858) only a detail from the woodcut to Rev. 9,⁹⁸ and for the 10th image (D859, Fig. 36) the next symmetrical woodcut, the Triumph of the Lamb from Rev. 14.⁹⁹ Here, an image of the Christ Child riding the Lamb was added, and the 11th drawing has a composition unrelated to Bible illustration: two Christ-like figures in the top corners are identified by sun and moon as *Geist* and *Wort*, and beneath the Dove of the Holy Ghost and a star hovers the *Person*, Christ with scepter, orb, large wings and the stigmata at His feet.

The last page of this series (D861, Fig. 37) is structured differently. At the top is an image of God enthroned, holding an orb, between four angels with books, surrounded by the 24 elders. Beneath, a similar figure, with wings and a scepter, is seated on the Throne of Solomon with its 2×7 lions,¹⁰⁰ on the steps are the 3×11 Spirits of the Latin letters. The throne is flanked by small depictions of the two Lutheran sacraments and of Moses – elements that play a more prominent role elsewhere.¹⁰¹

The images to the Our Father in the manuscripts L (tract 1b), A and K (1d) are much smaller than those in the drawings, and therefore the compositions had to be simplified. In manuscript L, in all likelihood the

⁹⁶ His posture may be influenced by the High Priest in the 1534 complete Bible (*Biblia* (1534, Lufft), 1st foliation, 55v, Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 147 fig. 267).

⁹⁷ Bartsch VII.128.69; Hollstein 7:139, H. 171. Although many illustrated New Testaments repeat Dürer's composition, they apparently never copy his strange trapezoid altar, and therefore Lautensack must have taken it from the original woodcut. He probably included this device because it looked similar enough to the furnishings of the tabernacle to convincingly fit into this series (it also does not feature in manuscript L where no lacuna had to be filled, cf. p. 190 n. 103). Lautensack had already used elements of it to embellish the half-hidden altar of D856.

⁹⁸ This is the angel at the top left, who in the illustrated Bibles does not hold a cross, see e.g. Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 11 fig. 20.

⁹⁹ E.g. Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 16 fig. 25

¹⁰⁰ Lautensack probably chose it because of the 2×7 lions and showed no interest in its traditional typological interpretation (cf. Peter Bloch, "Nachwirkungen des Alten Bundes in der christlichen Kunst," in *Monumenta Judaica: 2000 Jahre Geschichte und Kultur der Juden am Rhein. Handbuch*, exh. cat. Cologne, Stadtmuseum, 1963–64. 2nd edition (Cologne: Bachern, 1964), 771–72, with bibliography).

¹⁰¹ See pp. 206 and 227.

earliest of the three manuscripts,¹⁰² Lautensack suppressed the scenes related to the Pater noster so that only the words of the prayer connect the images to the text they are supposed to illustrate. Whereas Lautensack showed most of the furnishings of the Tabernacle as he had done in D (e.g. Fig. 38),¹⁰³ the arrangement of the scenes from Revelation betrays some confusion and changes of plan. In this manuscript, Lautensack juxtaposed the Creed with diagrams containing the paragraph incipits of Rev. 1–11 and the Our Father with Rev. 12–22. He apparently decided therefore to show scenes from these chapters rather than from the first chapters of Revelation, as he had done in D. Accordingly, the first image (L33v) no longer has Christ between the Candlesticks with the Mercy Seat of the Ark but instead combines the Seat with the Apocalyptic Woman, who still has the Child on her arm – this also fits well with Lautensack's habit of placing an image of the incarnate Christ onto the Mercy Seat¹⁰⁴ (it is likewise possible that he first combined the Incarnation and the Ark in a drawing like this and only later saw in it a greater significance). Soon, however, he changed his mind, and images 2–7 (L34v–39v) are similar to the original series in D – only disturbed by Lautensack's attempt to include features of the Man between the Candlesticks, whom he had omitted in the first image, in the fourth,¹⁰⁵ and by constraints of space.¹⁰⁶ The 8th image (L40v, Fig. 33) once again shows the Eagle-Crucifix, but now with Mary and John only. We have seen that Lautensack had difficulties finding suitable Apocalyptic scenes for sheets 9 and 10 of the Pater noster drawings. Here, he depicted in these places images of Rev. 19 and 21¹⁰⁷ and was

¹⁰² For their genesis see pp. 212–13.

¹⁰³ The 8th image, L40v (Fig. 33), does not show many different furnishings like its counterpart D857 (Fig. 32) but only the Mercy Seat, and in L41v the new biblical scene (v.i.) is so large that the Fountain (cf. D858) had to be moved from here to L42v (Fig. 38), and conversely the Altar of Incense from there to L43v. Therefore, there was no need for the additional altar after Dürer (cf. p. 189 n. 97).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. p. 154.

¹⁰⁵ Following the New-Testament woodcuts the fourth image (L36v) should have shown God enthroned with the Four Beasts and the Seven Lamps. However, God, still seated on a throne, was equipped with the attributes of the Man standing between the Candlesticks from Rev. 1, and the Seven Candlesticks were placed in front of him. The Four Beasts were omitted, the Seven Lamps moved to the preceding L35v.

¹⁰⁶ L37v should have shown the Curtain of the Tabernacle together with the Adoration of the Lamb from Rev. 5. However, the curtain fills the whole composition, and therefore the Adoration was moved to L38v and combined with the Robing of the Souls. Now, the book is separated from the Lamb, whose blood is collected in a chalice – a parallel to the Eucharistic allusions in the related D855 (cf. p. 184).

¹⁰⁷ Whilst L42v (Fig. 38) is linked to Rev. 21, it is mysterious why Lautensack illustrated L41v with the woodcut to Rev. 19 and not that for the connected Rev. 20, see e.g. Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 4 fig. 21 and plate 6 fig. 23.

no longer worried about a lack of symmetry. The last two images, which have no counterpart in the Apocalypse illustrations, simplify compositions from the corresponding drawings.¹⁰⁸

In A and K (e.g. Fig. 39), the order of Our Father and Creed is reversed, and the Pater noster is paralleled with Rev. 1–12. The Apocalyptic Woman from Rev. 12 and the Mercy Seat remain linked to Rev. 12, but this chapter now stands with 12th image of the Pater (A49v, Fig. 41). Correspondingly, the original 12th image of the Pater, Christ on the Throne of Solomon, was moved to the first place (A38v, cf. p. 219 Table 10, and its explanation). Whereas the next few images (A39v–41v) are very similar to D and L, the remainder of the series is disappointing: Lautensack gave up the sophisticated combinations and instead showed merely scenes from the corresponding chapters of Revelation.¹⁰⁹

III. *Drawings for the Creed*

Besides the Our Father Lautensack illustrated the Apostles' Creed, a profession of faith that, despite not coming from the Bible, was highly respected by virtually all Reformers.¹¹⁰ Whereas in the manuscripts L, A and K the Pater and Credo series are assimilated to each other, the character of the original Creed illustrations (D862–73)¹¹¹ is clearly different from the earlier Our Father. There all elements – text, illustrations of the prayer, objects from the Tabernacle and scenes from Revelation – share the same pictorial space, whereas in the Creed each page is structured by a rigid system of frames that separate the different parts, so that the principal drawing is now only one element of several, and a grid-like structure

¹⁰⁸ Rev. 22 is not illustrated, and Rev. 23 does not exist. L43v has the Christ-Angel between Aaron and David, L44v Christ on the Throne of Solomon – which is copied from Old Testament illustrations (cf. p. 217).

¹⁰⁹ Only A43v (Fig. 39) shows the first of the two panelings from the Temple in the background; as mentioned, the Mercy Seat was moved to A49v (Fig. 41). By this time Lautensack no longer insisted in choosing symmetrical compositions from Revelation, and he attempted to include elements from every woodcut that illustrated a given chapter. A43v combines the second woodcut of chapter 6, the Robing of the Souls, the only one used beforehand, with the first illustration to this chapter, the Riders; the great number of victims under their feet may relate its third woodcut, the Earthquake. Similarly, A46v joins features of the two woodcuts for Rev. 9: the Star falling into the Bottomless Pit and the Killing Angels.

¹¹⁰ Hans-Martin Barth, "Apostolisches Glaubensbekenntnis, 2. Reformations- und Neuzeit," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 3 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978), 557–58.

¹¹¹ His series is discussed by Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, 4/1:145–46; Muller, "Une vision," and id., *Artistes dissidents*, 118–22.

begins to emerge. Whereas the text of the Creed is still written into the principal drawing (although now, as far as possible, the words stand in or next the scenes they describe, e.g. Fig. 45),¹¹² some additional texts (the Spirits of the 3×11 Latin letters) are placed on decorative boards held by putti at the top and the bottom of each image. Similar text fields, often referring to the literary source of a scene, are not rare in the art of this period,¹¹³ they appear, for instance, in many of the well-known history paintings executed for Duke William IV of Bavaria.¹¹⁴ At the lower margin, beneath this table, are four square fields next to each other: the first and fourth show each a person with two letters, whilst the second and third contain short texts.

In contrast to the Our Father the Creed had been a common subject-matter in late medieval art.¹¹⁵ According to traditional belief it had been composed by the Twelve Apostles before they parted to preach the Gospel in all the world, and therefore it was usually divided into twelve articles.¹¹⁶ Most illustrated versions merely show the Apostles, each holding a scroll with his article of the prayer, and frequently they converse with twelve Prophets who foretell these truths with quotations on their scrolls. Some late medieval works try to visualize the content of each article,¹¹⁷ and

¹¹² A good example for the distribution of the text is D864 (Fig. 45). It has at the image of God the Father at the top the text "Der Entpfangen ist" [who was conceived], around the Dove the continuation "dem heyligen Geyst" [the Holy Ghost], at the Child "geporn" [born] and around Mary "auß maria der iunckfrawen" [of the Virgin Mary]. Sometimes one or two words are omitted, but the full text is repeated in the inner right field beneath the image.

¹¹³ Wohlfeil, "Lutherische Bildtheologie," 285–86.

¹¹⁴ E.g. Albrecht Altdorfer's *Battle of Alexander*, 1529 (München, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv. 688, Volkmar Greiselmayer, *Kunst und Geschichte: Die Historienbilder Herzog Wilhelms IV. von Bayern und seiner Gemahlin Jacobäa. Versuch einer Interpretation* (Berlin: Mann, 1996), plate I), or Abraham Schöpfer's *Mucius Scaevola*, 1533 (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. 297, *ibid.*, plate IV).

¹¹⁵ Overviews are Ernst Wernicke, "Die bildliche Darstellung des Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses in der deutschen Kunst des Mittelalters," *Christliches Kunstblatt für Kirche, Schule und Haus* 29 (1887): 102–5, 123–26, 135–39, 155–160, 30 (1888): 10–15; Raphael Ligtenberg, "Het symbolum Apostolicum in de iconographie der Middeleeuwen," *Het Gildeboek* 12 (1929): 9–34, and Schiller, *Ikono-graphie*, 4/1:134–47. Numerous, chiefly late medieval, examples are discussed in *Pensée, image et communication en Europe médiévale: A propos des stalles de Saint-Claude*, ed. Pierre Lacroix (Besançon: Asprodic, 1993).

¹¹⁶ Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur*, 26, 138, refers, however, also to divisions into 14 parts or into two halves, according to the two natures of Christ, cf. Otto Schlisske, *Die Apostel in der deutschen Dichtung des Mittelalters* (Borna-Leipzig: Noske, 1931), 83–84.

¹¹⁷ Examples are in textiles (D. T. B. Wood, "'Credo' Tapestries," *The Burlington Magazine* 24 (1913/14): 247–54, 309–17; sometimes several of the twelve scenes are joined together in one tapestry), manuscripts (e.g. Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Cent. V. App. 34a; New Haven,

some place the Apostle and the Prophet, each presenting his text, beneath these scenes (Fig. 42).¹¹⁸ Although the Apostolic origin of the Creed was cast into doubt in the early 16th century,¹¹⁹ and although Luther suggested

Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 411, 66v–72r, see Barbara A. Saylor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, vol. 2, MSS 251–500 (Binghampton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 198), 314), or an altarpiece today in Nuremberg-Fischbach (Markus Hörsch, “Pirckheimer und Scheurl als Stifter: über das niederländische Credo-Triptychon in Nürnberg-Fischbach und andere Simultanbilder des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts,” in *Kunst – Politik – Religion: Festschrift für Franz Matsche zum 60. Geburtstag* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2000), 37–68). For the numerous series illustrating the Apostles’ or the Nicæan Creed in Siena, see Marilena Caciorgna and Roberto Guerrini, “Gli Articoli del Credo nell’arte Senese da Ambrogio Lorenzetti al Vecchietta,” in *Alma Sena: Percorsi Iconografici nell’Arte e nelle Cultura Senese* (Florence: Giunti, 2007), 193–261.

¹¹⁸ This layout is used in block-books kept in Heidelberg (Paul Kristeller, *Decalogus. Septimania poenalis. Symbolum apostolicum: Drei Blockbücher der Heidelberger Universitätsbibliothek* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1907)) and Munich (Xylogr. 40, Paul Kristeller, *Symbolum Apostolicum: Blockbuch-Unicum der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München, nebst 12 Holzschnitten gleichen Stils* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1917)). Two similar editions, in Ottokar Smital, *Symbolum apostolicum: Farbige Blockbuch-Wiedergabe nach dem Unicum der Wiener National-Bibliothek* (Munich: Wolff, 1924), and Schreiber 5:206–7 no. 2,757m, photographs in W. L. Schreiber, *Meisterwerke der Metallschneidekunst*, part 1, *Die Schrotblätter in Danzig, Königsberg, Pelplin, Riga* (Straßburg: Heitz, 1914), figs. 23–34, omit the Prophets. This page structure also appears in the incunabula edition [Colophon:] *Erklärung der zwölf Artikel des Christlichen Glaubens* (Vlm: Dinckmüt, 1485, GW 9,379, woodcuts in Schramm 6, plates 25–29 nos. 110–21). Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen probably placed the Apostles above the Prophets (Kurt Steinbart, *Das Holzschnittwerk des Jakob Cornelisz von Amsterdam* (Burg bei Magdeburg: Hopfer, 1937), 108–25 no. 121–56; F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, vol. 5, *Cornelisz.-Dou* (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, n.d.) 18–21, 23–25, H. 92–103, 105–16, 120–31).

¹¹⁹ Luther maintained that only the Apostles could have written a text of such importance (Meyer, *Historischer Kommentar*, 260; Jan Harasimowicz, “Non minus sunt credenda, quam ipsi articuli: Das Apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis in der Lutherischen Katechetik und Kirchenkunst des Reformationsjahrhunderts,” in id., *Kunst als Glaubensbekenntnis: Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der Reformationszeit* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1996), 83), but the Reformer did not mention the Apostles in his catechism, nor did most other Reformation authors, whether they rendered the Creed in 3 or in 12 parts. However, there were exceptions: the catechisms by Loener (1544, L 2,290, Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Katechismus-Unterrichts*, 1:633) and Spangenberg (Iohan. Spangenberg, *Der Gros | Catechismus | vnd Kinder Lere | | D. Mart. Luth. | Für die jungen Christen | jnn Fra|gestücke verfasst* (Wittenberg: Rhaw, 1544, VD 16 L 4,363), 76v) report that the Creed was ‘supposedly’ written by the Apostles but remain non-committal. The title of Georg Rhau, *Die zwölf | Hauptartikel | des Christlichen glau|bens / genant der zwölf | Aposteln Symbolum / grünt|lich erklet vnd auß|gelegt* (Nürnberg: Milchtaler, 1539, VD 16 R 1,708), cautiously speaks in the title of the Creed ‘called that of the Twelve Apostles’ and illustrates the text with pairs of them. A later edition of a commentary by Luther (Martin Luther, *Das Symbolum der | heiligen Aposteln: | darin der Grund vnsers Christ|lichen Glaubens gelegt ist* (Wittenberg: Rhaw, 1548, VD 16 R 1,683)) refers to the Apostles on the title-page and is illustrated with old Cranach woodcuts of the martyrdoms of all Apostles (Bartsch VII.282.37–48; Hollstein 6:36–37, H. 53–64, for the 1538 edition of this text see *Kunst der Reformationszeit*, exh. cat. Berlin (East), Altes Museum, 1983 (Berlin: Henschel, 1983), 370 no. F 2).

dividing this prayer into 3 instead of 12 parts,¹²⁰ the traditional layout with 12 scenes, Prophets and Apostles, which served as a model for Lautensack,¹²¹ was still used occasionally.¹²²

Like many liturgical texts of the Reformation period, the wording of the Creed showed many local variations. Lautensack roughly followed the *Brandenburg Catechism* used in Nuremberg.¹²³ However, he kept some archaic features that are typical of the first Lutheran editions of this text in the early 1520s and that lived on in some places for several years afterwards.¹²⁴ It is not clear if he consciously kept using the earliest translations he had encountered (as he did with the Bible), if he quoted a later edition that had kept some old-fashioned features, or if he simply conflated in his memory several versions from different times.

¹²⁰ Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, 4/1:169–70. These sections describe the Father, Son and Holy Ghost respectively. Apparently, this division only became common in the 1530s, e.g. in 1533 *Brandenburg Catechism* used in Nuremberg (Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 5:260–81).

¹²¹ However, Lautensack shows the sons of Jacob instead of the Prophets (cf. pp. 210–12).

¹²² Examples are an engraving by Daniel Hopfer (Bartsch VIII.482.33, Hollstein 15:70, H. 36, see Wegner, “Beiträge zum graphischen Werk Daniel Hopfers,” 239–40 and fig. 1) that gives the names of the Apostles; woodcuts by Heinrich Holzmüller (*Breuis & utilis Apostolici Symboli explanatio, ex sacris literis congesta per | quendam sacrae scripturae candidatum* [Basle: Oporinus, 1557], VD 16 deest, copy in London, British Museum, inv. 1895,0122.190–201), described in Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, 4/1:143, Hollstein 15:25, H. 13–24, not reproduced); illustrations in Spangenberg, *Gros Catechismus*, 79r–141v (without Apostles or Prophets, several articles have two images), and, from about 1560, reliefs by Sem Schlör in Stuttgart (Wernicke, “Bildliche Darstellung des Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses,” 174, according to Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, 4/1:144, today damaged). From the later 16th century onwards the Apostles were once again shown more frequently in this context (Harasimowicz, “Non minus sunt credenda,” 86, 93).

¹²³ *Catechismus oder Kinderpredig* (Brandenburg), 03r–v, Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 5:260. Typical are “in Got” instead of “an Gott,” “aus Maria der junkfrawen” instead of “aus der Jungfrau Maria,” and “gemainschafft” without preceding article. These features occur, not necessarily together, in many local catechisms up to the 1540s. Rürer’s and Althamer’s catechism (Nuremberg, 1528), has in the Creed Luther’s form “aus der junkfrawen Maria” (Rürer and Althamer, *Catechismus*, A8v) but in the explanation “auß Maria der junkfrawen” (ibid., B1v), showing that these versions were used in parallel.

¹²⁴ “gestiegen” instead of “gefahren” in the 5th and 6th articles and the participle “sitzen” instead of “sitzt” occur in Luther’s *Kurtze Form* (Luther WA, 7:216–17), an early work from 1520; the former variant is also in the first German catechism of the Moravian Brethren (1522, Müller, *Die deutschen Katechismen*, 12). “Steigen” remained apparently common in South-West Germany (e.g. *Fragstück des | Christenlichen glaubens* (VD 16 B 7,625, Cohrs, *Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, 3:151 no. XXVII)) but not in Franconia. Some other texts (e.g. Brenz’s undated catechism, cf. p. 176 n. 52, ibid., 3:147, Gräter (ibid., 2:326 no. XXII), and Luther, *Symbolum*, e3r/e4r), have “niedergestiegen” or a similar verb but “aufgefahren.” Even a text as late as Caspar Huberinus, *Der kleine | Catechismus | Mit vil schönen | Sprüchen heiliger schrift | gegründet* (Königsberg in Preussen: Daubmann, 1555, VD 16 H 5,378), D6v, has still “sitzen.”

Lautensack's drawings for the Creed are considerably less complex than those for the Pater noster. Instead of three series running in parallel there is only one series that combines the illustration of the Creed with many elements of his peculiar iconography.¹²⁵ This allows for more monumental and even more strictly symmetrical compositions than before. As with the Pater noster series, the most elaborate compositions appear in the drawings (1a:D862–73), they had to be reduced to fit into the smaller frames of the manuscripts L (1b), A and K (1d).

Traditionally, the first image of the Creed (*I believe in God, the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth*, 1a:D862, Fig. 43) depicts the Creation. Lautensack seems to follow this convention by showing the world as a ball containing a landscape¹²⁶ with a many-headed sea-monster,¹²⁷ winds, sun and moon and the hovering Dove. However, this ball is mounted like an orb and carries a large crucifix.¹²⁸ It is flanked by two large figures that are hard to interpret. They could represent Father and Son – thus showing the Trinity as creator¹²⁹ – or *Spirit* and *Word*, with the crucified Christ between them as the *Person*.

Surprisingly, the manuscripts L, A and K omit the creation and only show the three figures (here clearly identifiable as *Aspects* of the Trinity).¹³⁰ These compositions furthermore contain early examples for one of Lautensack's most puzzling devices, lines that connect several figures.¹³¹ The typical system is fully developed in 1d:A50v (Fig. 44). One triangle of thin lines links the foreheads of the crucified Christ, of the person at His right, and of the sun. A similar triangle extends from the mouth of Christ to the mouth of the person at His left and to the mouth of the moon.

¹²⁵ However, some other images are placed in spaces separated from the main image by the frame: these will be explained later.

¹²⁶ In Lautensack's time this device often replaced the world maps that had been shown in this context earlier, e.g. an almanac by Etzlaub for 1530 (*Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 1301.292).

¹²⁷ Muller, "Une vision," 229, identifies it with the Leviathan of Ps. 74:14 and 104:26. In this context Luther does not define what this monster looked like, a gloss to Job 41:1 merely calls Leviathan an animal (Luther *WA Bibel*, 10/1:88, 340, 444), hence it is difficult to identify.

¹²⁸ One could therefore call it an OT-Map, upside down.

¹²⁹ These figures are neither characterized as Father and Son nor do they have the crowns, scepters and orbs typical for *Geist* and *Wort*. Some images of the Trinity as creator, but none from late-medieval Germany, are in Adelheid Heimann, "Trinitas Creator Mundi," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1938/39): 42–52.

¹³⁰ For the adoring figures in the background see p. 173 n. 32.

¹³¹ In Tract 1b these lines only connect *Spirits* and *Words* but not yet *Persons*. Whereas manuscripts A and K are in most aspects virtually identical, A has these lines only in the Creed and the first image to the Pater (A38v) whereas K employs them more frequently in the Pater.

Since these lines connect foreheads and mouths respectively they must relate to *Spirit* and *Word*, and accordingly a line from Christ's chest to the center of a star stands for the *Person*. These lines are used frequently in the autograph manuscripts A, K and N, where they can carry different significances.¹³² However, they seldom appear in non-autograph manuscripts – either Lautensack eventually lost interest in this device or it was ignored by copyists; if they appear they are often drawn imprecisely so that it is difficult to determine which elements they are supposed to connect.¹³³

Although such abstract lines seem to be anachronistic in an age of increasing realism in art, they were not uncommon in Lautensack's time. Probably they originated from scientific images, such as the two medical diagrams frequently included in vernacular calendars. In one, lines link the signs of the zodiac with the organs governed by them (Fig. 51),¹³⁴ and in the other they connect different locations for bloodletting with explanatory texts.¹³⁵ Other lines appear in diagrams explaining optics or artificial perspective,¹³⁶ or simply create relations between persons or

¹³² Cf. pp. 227, 234.

¹³³ A good example is 43:V248r, where they link the Images of Revelation with body-parts of Christ.

¹³⁴ For the introduction of these lines (instead of superimposing the zodiac signs on the relevant body-parts) see Karl Sudhoff, "Männliche Eingeweidesitusbilder und Aderlaßmännchen im 15. Jahrhundert," in *Tradition und Naturbeobachtung in den Illustrationen medizinischer Handschriften und Frühdrucke vornehmlich des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Barth, 1907), 30, examples on plates V–VIII. A later example is Regiomontanus, *Kalendarius*, Mm1r.

¹³⁵ Many examples from manuscripts are in Karl Sudhoff, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chirurgie im Mittelalter: Graphische und textliche Untersuchungen in mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Barth, 1914), plates 42–65, for a printed version see [Kalender]: *Das ist der teutsch ka|lender mit den figuren* (Vlm: Schäffler, 1498, GWM 16,032), giv. A similar image in the Cracow House-Book places the numbers of the points for bloodletting in a circle surrounding the patient (Chojacka, *Bayerische Bild-Enzyklopädie*, fig. 28, 27r). A 15th-century diagram associating body parts with the hours of day and night is described in Wolfram Schmitt, "Zur Literatur der Geheimwissenschaften im späten Mittelalter," in *Fachprosa-forschung: Acht Vorträge zur mittelalterlichen Artesliteratur*, ed. Gundolf Keil and Peter Assion (Berlin: Schmidt, 1974), 176. These lines can also be curved, but, according to Herrlinger, *Geschichte der medizinischen Abbildung*, 1:62–63, since the late 15th century lines linking body-parts with their labels were normally straight.

¹³⁶ E.g. Johann de Sacrobosco, *Sphaera materialis: | eyn anfang vnd fundament der Astronomi / auß den el|tisten diser kunst meystern ... durch den weiterümbten Johannem de Sa|cro busto in Latin züsamen gesetzt / vnd nachmals durch M. Cunrad | Heynfoegel von Nürnberg verteütscht* (Straßburg: Cammerlander, 1533, VD 16 J 741), B3v (one of several vernacular editions of this work); Vitellionis *Ma|thematici Doctissimi περὶ ὀπτικῆς*, | *id est de natura, ratione & proiectione radiorum uisus, lu|minum, colorum atque formarum, quam uul|go Perspectiuam uocant*, | *Libri X* (Norimbergæ: Petreius, 1535, VD 16 V 1,759), title-page; Gualtherus H. Rivius, *Der furnembsten / notwendigsten / | der gantzen Architectur*

objects.¹³⁷ In religious imagery lines most often visualize the thoughts of a person, primarily during prayer.¹³⁸ Furthermore, they show divine inspiration¹³⁹ or intervention as in the Stigmatization of St Francis¹⁴⁰ and the Annunciation. In one German Annunciation, several lines form a triangle, as appears in some of Lautensack's drawings.¹⁴¹

For the second article of the Creed (*And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord*, D863) Lautensack did not show the traditional subject-matter, the Baptism of Christ in the presence of the Father and Holy Ghost.¹⁴² Instead, he chose a scene that does not represent Christ at all, the marriage of Adam and Eve in a paradisiacal landscape,¹⁴³ a subject-matter that occasionally appeared in the later Middle Ages.¹⁴⁴ Adam and Eve are not joined

angehörigen Mathematischen vnd | Mechanischen künst / eygentlicher bericht (Nürnberg: Petreius, 1547, VD 16 R 4,001), Book 3, A3v (on sightlines in architecture).

¹³⁷ They connect interacting speakers in *Terentius cum Directorio Vocabulorum, Sententiarum, artis Comice | Glossa interlineali | Commentarijs Donato, Guidone, Ascensio* (Argentina: Grüniger, 1496, GW M 45,481), e.g. iv, 28v, Schramm 20, plates 42–44 nos. 240–45, and objects in the mnemonic composition Thomas Murner, *Logica | memoratiua | Chartiludium logice / siue totius | dialectice memoria: & nouus Petri hyspani tex[tus] emendatus: Cum iucundo pictasmatis | exercitio* (Argentine: Grüniger, 1509, VD 16 J 661), C1r.

¹³⁸ A late 15th-century painting in Straßburg shows a rich man and a poor man kneeling in front of the Man of Sorrows, both with stigmata. But whereas rays of blood from the stigmata of the poor man go to the wounds of Christ, those of the rich man lead to his cellar, his mistress and his gold (Straßburg, Musée de l'Œuvre Notre-Dame, inv. MBA 118, reproduced in Cécile Dupeux, *Straßbourg: Musée de l'Œuvre Notre-Dame* (Paris: Scala, 1999), 57), a less drastic example in *Illustrated Bartsch* B. 163.968 (according to Schreiber 2:89 no. 968, from ca. 1460). In a similar way, lines connect the eyes of a person with a quill and a book to signify writing and reading in [Charles de Bouelles], *Que hoc volumine | continentur: | Liber de intellectu. | Liber desensu. [sic] | Liber denichilo. [sic] | Ars oppositorum. | Liber de generatione. | Liber de sapiente. | Liber deduodecim [sic] numeris | Epistole complures* (Parisiis: Stephanus, 1510), 60v.

¹³⁹ *Liber deflorationum*, a1v. Schramm 22, plate 133 no. 1,059, shows (partially curved) lines from the Trinity to the Evangelists and church fathers.

¹⁴⁰ E.g. Dürer's woodcut from 1503/04 (Bartsch VII.138.110; Hollstein 7:180, H. 224).

¹⁴¹ Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. IV, 37, 126r, made in Franconia in ca. 1400, reproduced in Frank O. Büttner, *Imitatio Pietatis: Motive der christlichen Ikonographie als Modelle zur Verähnlichung* (Berlin: Mann, 1983, 79–80 and fig. 76).

¹⁴² Lautensack included quotations from the Baptism pericopes in his Ayrrer Epitaph (cf. p. 36). The convention to illustrate the second article with the Baptism of Christ apparently weakened after the Reformation; some Creed cycles have instead Christ leaving the Trinity to become incarnate (Hopfer), the Veneration of the Cross (Spangenberg – this scene often opens the section on Christ in the Tripartite Creeds, Schiller, *Ikonographie*, 4/1:144), the Nativity (Holzmüller) or the Adoration of the Shepherds (Schlör).

¹⁴³ Müller, "Une vision," 229–30, identifies the mountains in the background with Zion and Sinai and (tentatively) the sketchy dry tree at the right-hand side with the Burning Bush. Most of these elements appear in images of *Gesetz und Gnade* (cf. pp. 225–26), but there they are clearly identified. It is implausible that a beholder would recognize them in this drawing.

¹⁴⁴ For this iconography see Adelheid Heimann, "Die Hochzeit von Adam und Eva im Paradies nebst einigen andern Hochzeitsbildern," in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch: West-deutsches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 37 (1975): 11–40. This scene normally illustrates the

together by the Father as usual but by the Dove of the Spirit, with two figures (again either Father and Son or *Spirit* and *Word*) assisting.¹⁴⁵ The significance of this scene is unclear; possibly it completes the Creation from the preceding page.¹⁴⁶

Lautensack's third drawing (Fig. 45) ingeniously combines the scenes of Annunciation (*Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost*) and Nativity (*Born of the Virgin Mary*), which traditionally illustrate this article, with his peculiar imagery and his obsession with symmetry. Mary, as the Apocalyptic Woman and thus with sun and moon, kneels in the center, and the Child lies beneath her. Above are the Dove of the Holy Ghost¹⁴⁷ and the Father, while Gabriel and Joseph kneel at the sides (behind Joseph is a diminutive Annunciation to the Shepherds). Lautensack was clearly familiar with the Pre-Reformation iconographic tradition: Gabriel wears a cope,¹⁴⁸ and his scepter identifies him as messenger. Joseph's lantern and the rays of light shining out from the Child (here transformed into a star denoting the *Person*) go back to popular depictions ultimately based on the Revelations

first chapter of the most wide-spread typological handbook, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (although not mentioned in the text); other examples are a single-leaf woodcut (Schreiber 1:6 no. 11, reproduced in *Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 16101.011) and an engraving by Jean Duvet (Bartsch VII.498.1). This scene illustrates a criticism of the Catholic teaching on marriage in [Johann von Schwarzenberg], *Beschwörung der alten Teüfel[ischen Schlangen mit dem | Göttlichen wort* (Nürnberg: Herrgot, 1525, VD 16 S 4,710), 83r, Geisberg, *Deutsche Buchillustration*, vol. 1, plate 209 fig. 427. According to Schiller, *Ikonographie*, 4/1:146, this scene could illustrate Matrimony in catechisms; but only few and later examples were found (e.g. Martin Luther, *Enchiridion | Der Klei[n]e Catechis[mus] für die ge[mei]ne Pfarher | vnd Prediger* (Magdeburg: Lotther, 1542, VD 16 L 5,055), Fiv; id., *Enchiridion | Der Kleine | Catechismus | Für die gemeine | Pfarherr vnd | Prediger* (Leipzig: Bapst, 1545, VD 16 L 5,061), H5v; further examples in Hildegard Zimmermann, "Lutherische Katechismus-Illustration," in *Der Katechismus D. Martin Luthers: Eine Festschrift zu seinem Jubiläum, 1529–1929* (Berlin/Steglitz: Evangelischer Preßverband, 1929), 60, and Martin Hoberg, *Die Gesangbuchillustration des 16. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zum Problem Reformation und Kunst* (Straßburg: Heitz, 1933), 99 and fig. 8, discussing a hymnal from 1569).

¹⁴⁵ They have once again no attributes; sun and moon above them refer to *Spirit* and *Word*, but the word "Sonn" (Son) from the text of the article is written into the halo of the right person.

¹⁴⁶ Incidentally, the first article of the Creed is sometimes illustrated with the Creation of Eve, e.g. in the triptych discussed in Hörsch, "Pirckheimer und Scheurl," or Schlör's reliefs in Stuttgart.

¹⁴⁷ Literally illustrating Gabriel's message "Der Heilige Geist wird vber dich kommen" [The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee], Luke 1:35.

¹⁴⁸ The numerous Annunciations in single-leaf prints (Schreiber 1:12–24 nos. 25–51, *Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 16101.025–.051) show no uniformity in the angel's dress, but copes are more common than Dalmatics or albs. Copes also appear in Veit Stoß's famous Annunciation and the Gotha Unicorn Hunt, a relief painted by Lautensack (cf. p. 12 n. 9).

of St Bridget.¹⁴⁹ In manuscripts L, A and K this composition is somewhat obscured.¹⁵⁰

Whereas most Creed series illustrate the Passion article with Pilate washing his hands (*Suffered under Pontius Pilate*), Crucifixion (*Was crucified, dead*) and Entombment (*And buried*), Lautensack chose no less than six scenes (D865): Flagellation, Crowning with Thorns, Pilate washing his hands, Carrying of the Cross, Lamentation and Entombment. Only the Crucifixion, which he showed frequently in other contexts, is omitted here. I have not been able to identify any graphical models for these compositions, which also have nothing in common with Lautensack's earlier panel-paintings of Passion subjects.¹⁵¹ His old interest in the narrative lives on in figures like Pilate's wife.¹⁵² In the smaller drawings in the manuscripts Lautensack combined elements from all scenes of D865, albeit in an unconvincing way.¹⁵³

The next image (D866, Fig. 46) combines two scenes. The Descent into Hell (*He descended into Hell*) is relatively conventional,¹⁵⁴ while the Resurrection (*The third day He rose again from the dead*) contains, as in Lautensack's earlier paintings, numerous narrative episodes¹⁵⁵ and, at the right-hand side, above the Mouth of Hell, three mourning figures,

¹⁴⁹ The rays around the Child are shown in somewhat less than half of the Nativities in Schreiber 1:26–34 nos. 62–91 (*Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 16101.062–.091-1; in these prints Joseph carries, if anything, a mere candle; but a lantern appears in Schongauer's engraving Bartsch VI.120.4; Hollstein 49:22–24, H. 5).

¹⁵⁰ 1b:L24v places the stable, which is in D half-hidden behind Gabriel, into the center, enhancing the symmetry but slightly obscuring the Divine Persons. Mary is losing the twelve stars in her crown, the Annunciation disappears. Additionally, 1d:A52v and K50v remove the star and put the Child into a basket. It is unclear why the angel in A (but not in K) wears a Dalmatic instead of the usual cope.

¹⁵¹ There might be some iconographic features from his panel-paintings living on, such as the large towel of Pilate's servant (cf. Schongauer, Bartsch VI.126.14; Hollstein 49:64–65 and 78, H. 24, and Lautensack's panel painting Frankfurt, Historisches Museum, inv. B 991).

¹⁵² Cf. p. 14.

¹⁵³ The individual scenes are not taken from D but designed afresh; as usual, 1d:A53v and K51v differ slightly from 1b:L25v but are very similar to each other (only the soldier binding branches together is missing in K). In all of these images, the Ecce Homo appears instead of Pilate Washing his Hands.

¹⁵⁴ The small devils attempting to defend Hell are vaguely reminiscent of Lautensack's earlier panel paintings (Frankfurt, Historisches Museum, inv. B. 902; München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. R 13).

¹⁵⁵ The drawing includes the angel sitting on the stone and the unconscious guard (Matt. 28:4), the women seeing two angels (Luke 24:4), John looking into the tomb whilst Peter is still running towards it (John 20:3–5), and perhaps also Mary Magdalene (John 10:11).

probably Sin, Devil and Death.¹⁵⁶ The versions in the manuscripts are simpler and more conventional.¹⁵⁷

In the illustration for *He ascended into heaven* (D867) Lautensack included an unusual detail: the disciples worshipping the risen Christ.¹⁵⁸ The scene above apparently refers to the second part of this article: *And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father almighty*. Again, the identification of the figures is ambiguous. Two persons are placed side by side, the person seated at the right of the other (i.e., seen from the beholder, at the left) is younger and has a less elaborate crown, and between them hovers the Dove. It could therefore be a traditional image of the Trinity, but the two human figures hold scepter and orb, like elsewhere *Spirit* and *Word*. The manuscripts show three identical figures with sun and moon, therefore probably the three *Aspects* of the Trinity.¹⁵⁹

As usual, the Last Judgment (*From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead*, D868) has Christ as judge between Mary and John. He sits on an orb-like world similar to that in the Creation at the start of the Creed. Its upper half contains the blessed, the lower half the damned (including many clergy and a Jewish High Priest).¹⁶⁰ In a Hell-Mouth at the bottom squats a she-devil with tiara, scepter and orb, like a parody of God. From these insignia serpents emerge and torment the sinners. The images in the manuscripts are more traditional, they depict Christ and the Apostles around the earth, on which angels summon the dead with trumpets.¹⁶¹ Since the three following images need more exploration, the last two will be discussed first. The eleventh section (*The resurrection of the body*, D872, Fig. 47) merely rearranges material from the Judgment: the two poles are again Christ (now surrounded by angels and holding a sickle as described in Rev. 14:14) with putti coming out of His scepter and the Pope-Devil from whose insignia serpents emerge. The Mouth of Hell is

¹⁵⁶ These four personifications feature more prominently in some slightly later drawings, cf. p. 226.

¹⁵⁷ 1b:L26v shows Christ standing in front of the tomb between the stunned guards, thus the conventional late medieval Resurrection image, whilst the women are just entering the garden; 1d:A54v adds an archway to Hell as in Dürer's Engraved Passion (Bartsch VII.39.16) and clearly depicts its scattered gates, which are possibly alluded to in D.

¹⁵⁸ This possibly unique detail may depict Christ's farewell speech from Matt. 27:17. It was omitted in the manuscripts.

¹⁵⁹ 1b:L31v (Fig. 49) has additionally two stars, cf. p. 159 n. 213.

¹⁶⁰ This may be Annas or Caiaphas. Usually, images of the Last Judgment show clergy and princes both in heaven and in Hell; Lautensack's ratio between saved and damned clergy indicates an Anti-Catholic stance, cf. Muller, "Une vision," 230–31.

¹⁶¹ 1b:L28v shows the damned in the fire of Hell in the lower corners, 1d:A56v has instead a heap of skulls and faces, probably a continuation of the Resurrection topic.

placed in the center of the earth, on which the dead are resurrected. The London manuscript presents instead the result of the Judgment: the tombs are empty, the blessed worship God, the damned are in Hell.¹⁶² The final scene (*And the life everlasting. Amen*, D873) shows the blessed souls adoring God and underneath the Heavenly Jerusalem,¹⁶³ depicted as a medieval city as in woodcut illustrations to the Apocalypse.¹⁶⁴

The traditional imagery for the ninth and tenth Articles of the Creed, relating to the Church and to the Forgiveness of Sins, was no longer relevant after the Reformation.¹⁶⁵ As most later Protestant Creeds, Lautensack showed for *The holy Christian*¹⁶⁶ *Church*, *The communion of saints* liturgical scenes,¹⁶⁷ for *The forgiveness of sins* a Baptism.¹⁶⁸ These drawings are amongst the earliest known depictions of Protestant services,¹⁶⁹ a genre that from the 1530s onward frequently appeared in catechisms,¹⁷⁰

¹⁶² Whereas the enthroned figure in 1a is identified by the stigmata as Christ, manuscript L shows him with scepter and orb. The images in A and K reduce the narrative: The figure with scepter and orb, now additionally with wings, is enthroned and forms the center of a circular diagram containing 24 angels, letters and references to sun, moon, morning star and evening star, for the latter see p. 236.

¹⁶³ This is not a traditional motif for the Creed, but it also appeared in Sem Schlör's later reliefs; possibly Protestant artists preferred it for its biblical foundation.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. *Das Neue Testament* (September 1522, Lotther), ee4v, Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 23 fig. 32. In the manuscripts this article is not illustrated (cf. p. 219 Table 10). Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, 4/1:146, identifies the city with Nuremberg but no landmark supports this.

¹⁶⁵ The block-books show for the *Church* a church building with Christ and SS. Peter and Paul, most pre-Reformation Creed cycles have for the *Forgiveness of Sins* a scene of Confession.

¹⁶⁶ This is Luther's wording of this article, which was taken up by most Protestant catechisms.

¹⁶⁷ Holzmüller and Schlör have a sermon next to an altar prepared for Communion, Spangenberg shows a sermon, flanked by Communion and Baptism. Hopfer portrays the faithful, led by the Holy Ghost, as *Communion of saints*.

¹⁶⁸ Hopfer and Holzmüller have the same, Schlör the Baptism of Christ, and Spangenberg Mary Magdalene.

¹⁶⁹ Liturgical depictions in some catechisms from the 1520s do not show Communion in both kinds. Therefore, they had probably been copied from Catholic models and do not reflect contemporary Lutheran practices (e.g. one of Rhaw's 1529 editions of the *Great Catechism* (VD 16 L 4,340), reproduced in Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, 4/1:330 figs. 385–87). An early attempt to Protestantize the iconography appears in a 1534 Low German catechism from Magdeburg (ibid., 330 fig. 389): here Communion is still distributed under one kind only, but the minister wears a gown, and in the background a naked adult is being baptized in a wooden tub.

¹⁷⁰ Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* | *Der kleine* | *Catechismus für die* | *gemeine Pfarher* | *vnd Prediger* / | *Mart. Lu.* (Wittenberg: Schirlentz, 1531, VD 16 L 5,041, G4v and L6r. These illustrations had not been included in its first edition from 1529, VD 16 L 5,036); Spangenberg, *Gros Catechismus*, 128r; Luther, *Enchiridion* (1545), F2v, F7r, K1r; id., *Des Kleinen Catechismi* / | *vnd der Haustaffel kurzer begriff* (Wittenberg: Creutzer, 1549, VD 16 L 5,069), D6r; id., *Enchiridion*. | *Der kleine* | *Catechismus*. | *Für die gemeine* | *Pfarrer vnd* | *Prediger* ([Leipzig:

polemical prints,¹⁷¹ altarpieces and paintings celebrating the new faith.¹⁷² Since many of these images reflect local usages, they are important sources for the development of the liturgy in this chaotic period.¹⁷³ In the image dedicated to the *Christian Church*, Lautensack depicts two important rituals, Marriage and Communion (Fig. 48).¹⁷⁴ Weddings were virtually never shown in 16th-century Protestant imagery, so this subject had no iconographic tradition.¹⁷⁵ Since Lautensack's drawing reflects what we know about Nuremberg customs he probably depicted what he routinely saw

Bärwald, ca. 1550], VD 16 L 5,070), D6v, E4v; id., *Enchiridion*. | *Der Kleyne* | *Catechismus*. | *für die gemeynen* | *Pfarrherrn vnd* | *Prediger* (Marpurg: Kolbe, 1552, VD 16 L 5,072), C4r, D3r, Eiv; id., *Der kleyne Ca|techismus, Doct. Mar|tini Lutheri* (Nürnberg: Newber, 1561, VD 16 L 5,095), C1v, C4v, C6v, D7v, D8r. Because many editions of the catechism are very rare today, no comprehensive survey of their illustration was possible. Frequently, the chapters on the sacraments are not illustrated at all or decorated with biblical instead of liturgical scenes.

¹⁷¹ E.g. the *Vnterscheid zwischen der waren Religion Christi / vnd falschen abgöttischen lehr des antichrists in den furnemsten stücken*, by Lucas Cranach the Younger, ca. 1545 (Geisberg 654–55; Hollstein 6:128, H. 18), contrasting Low Mass with a Communion Service.

¹⁷² E.g. the altar of the Wittenberg town church (1547, Oskar Thulin, *Cranach-Altäre der Reformation* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1955), figs. 4–6) and that of the Neupfarrkirche Regensburg (by Michael Ostendorfer, 1553–55, Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, 4/1:339 figs. 405a–b); Allegory on the Naumburg Treaty, 1554 (Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum Schloß Gottdorf, Johann Michael Fritz, *Das evangelische Abendmahlsgerät in Deutschland: Vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2004), 17 fig. 3); Small Altar from St George's Nördlingen, 1568 (now Stadtmuseum Nördlingen, Freya Strecker, *Augsburger Altäre zwischen Reformation (1537) und 1636: Bildkritik, Repräsentation und Konfessionalisierung* (Münster: LIT, 1998), figs. 2–5). A painting from Liegnitz shows similar scenes, but the arguments for dating it as early as around 1530 are not compelling (Bożena Steinborn, *Malarstwo Śląskie, 1520–1620*, exh. cat. Wrocław, Muzeum Śląskie, 1966/67 (Wrocław: Muzeum Śląskie, 1966), 40 no. 9). A woodcut of Luther and Hus giving Communion was formerly attributed to Lucas Cranach (Bartsch VII.300.152). The best-known of these images, the *Bekenntnisbilder*, only became common in Franconia in the early 17th century (Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, 4/1:155–56, many photos in Angelika Marsch, *Bilder zur Augsburger Konfession und ihren Jubiläen* (Weißenhorn: Konrad, 1980)).

¹⁷³ Most noticeable are differences in vestments: the ministers distributing Communion appear, for instance, in chasuble and gown (Luther, *Enchiridion* (1531), G4v, from Wittenberg), Dalmatic (Lautensack, v.i.), surplice (Nördlingen altarpiece, cf. above, n. 172) or gown (Luther, *Enchiridion* (1552), Eiv, from Marburg).

¹⁷⁴ Other liturgical scenes appear on the neighboring sheets: a sermon on D869 (Fig. 50), Baptism and Confession on D871.

¹⁷⁵ The only identified examples are Johan Pommer [Bugenhagen], *Von der Euangelischen Meß / was die | Meß sey / wie und durch wen / vnd warumb | sy auffgesetzt sey* (Wittenberg [Augsburg: Steiner], 1524, VD 16 B 9,457), C2v (with a bishop officiating), and a woodcut by Vogtherr from 1522 showing the marriages of clergy and a nun (Müller, *Heinrich Vogtherr*, 178 no. 94, and Hans-Joachim Köhler, *Bibliographie der Flugschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, *Das frühe 16. Jahrhundert, 1: Druckbeschreibungen A–G* (Tübingen: Bibliotheca-Academica-Verlag, 1991), 335 fig. 4 (to no. 816)). Later, marriage is occasionally included in *Bekenntnisbilder*, so in Weißenburg (1606, Max Meyer, "Das Konfessionsbild in der Andreaskirche zu Weißenburg," in *Uuizinzurc – Weißenburg, 867–1967* (Weißenburg i. Bay: n.p., 1967), 78) but normally relegated to the background.

happen in his parish church.¹⁷⁶ Surprisingly the bride in manuscript L holds a rosary, which was by then an obsolete devotional tool.¹⁷⁷

As typical for Protestant iconography, the Eucharist is not represented by the Elevation but by the actual administration of Communion.¹⁷⁸ Since the Communion Services in the Nuremberg parish churches kept much of the ceremonial of the Catholic High Mass, the ministers presenting the chalice and hosts to the faithful¹⁷⁹ are wearing Dalmatics.¹⁸⁰ The Communion table, with hosts lying on the spread-out corporal,¹⁸¹ a burse,¹⁸² cruets and a book-stand,¹⁸³ resembles a Catholic altar. The only

¹⁷⁶ The spouses are standing in front of the altar, not at the door (cf. Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 2:293, *ibid.*, 5:169 and n. 807), the bride has a crown similar to one depicted by Jost Amman in the 1586 *Frauwenzimmer* (VD 16 L 727), 13r (Gero Seelig, *The New Hollstein: German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400–1700: Jost Amman, Book Illustrations*, 11 vols. (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision, 2002–3), 9:94, H. 228.51). Surprisingly the minister wears a chasuble, this detail was probably taken from the Communion Service.

¹⁷⁷ Heal, "Images of the Virgin Mary," 39, records, however, that about half of the Nuremberg household inventories from the 1530s still mention rosaries.

¹⁷⁸ Before the Reformation a similar scene had often accompanied private prayers for Communion in devotional books, e.g. *Hortulus animae* (1519), 135r, cf. p. 201 n. 169.

¹⁷⁹ 1d:A68v shows the queuing faithful more clearly. Here men and women come separately to the altar, as recommended by Luther (Luther WA, 19:99, ll. 12–13).

¹⁸⁰ For documents on the liturgy in Nuremberg after the Reformation see Theodor Kolde, "Die erste Nürnberger evangelische Gottesdienstordnung," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 56 (1883): 602–10; Hans von Schubert, "Die älteste evangelische Gottesdienstordnung in Nürnberg," *Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst* 1 (1896/97), 276–85, 316–28, 349–56, 402–4; Bernhard Klaus, "Die Nürnberger Deutsche Messe, 1524," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 1 (1955): 1–46. Max Herold, *Alt-Nürnberg in seinen Gottesdiensten* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1890), gives an overview, including 17th-century comments on vestments that were not described in the older documents (p. 114). Lautensack's image is not totally consistent with these accounts: according to Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 5:161, ll. 6–7, and Kolde, "Die erste Nürnberger evangelische Gottesdienstordnung," 609, the celebrant (in chasuble) would distribute the hosts, one of the 'ministri' (in Dalmatic) the wine – as represented on the title-page of New Testament in *Biblia. | Das ist. Die gantze | heylige Schrift: | Deudsch* (Nürnberg: vom Berg and Newber, 1554, VD 16 B 2,736).

¹⁸¹ Already in the 1530s some Lutheran parishes regarded this Pre-Reformation habit as impractical and began to put the hosts into flat boxes (see Fritz, *Das evangelische Abendmahlsgerät*, 355–56, such a box is possibly depicted in Holzmüller's Creed).

¹⁸² This object is clearly identifiable in 1b:L30v and 1d:K56v, where it is apparently decorated with a crucifixion. In 1a:D870 (Fig. 48) it looks as if St John had thrown it over with his foot, an interesting mixture of realities. It was apparently forgotten in 1d:A58v.

¹⁸³ The book-stand is at the left side of the altar, as it would be at this moment in a Catholic Mass, but the book lies flat at the right-hand side. Since the stand's purpose is to ease reading it seems nonsensical to remove the book from it. Maybe the vernacular monition before Communion had been read facing the congregation, and a server had to hold the book for it and afterwards simply laid it on the table. (Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 5:156, l. 2: "nachfolgende ermanung zum volck thun" [to give the following admonition to the people]; see Kolde, "Die erste Nürnberger evangelische Gottesdienstordnung," 606; Herold, *Alt-Nürnberg in seinen Gottesdiensten*, 125–26. However, Lautensack probably shows the transfer of the book away from its stand in an image of a Catholic mass on D848 (cf. p. 171 n. 23).

new object is an ewer for giving Communion wine to a large congregation.¹⁸⁴ Similar set-ups appear in contemporary images, and the Nördlingen altarpiece (p. 202 n. 172) is especially close.

On the table stands Christ as the Man of Sorrows flanked by Mary and John who direct His attention to the congregation. Christ's blood is flowing into a chalice on the table (not in the chalice from which a minister is giving Communion). In the manuscripts the figures hardly interact with each other, and Christ holds the chalice directly at His side, as in some images of the Man of Sorrows without assisting figures.¹⁸⁵ Christ is neither clearly part of a retable nor the object of a vision, and the composition reflects late-medieval Nuremberg versions of the Mass of St Gregory.¹⁸⁶ This borrowing from earlier art is startling since the Mass of St Gregory was an explicitly 'Catholic' subject-matter that had virtually disappeared (even in Catholic areas) by 1530¹⁸⁷ (although there were some later, awkwardly constructed, images of Christ's blood dripping into a chalice filled with wine, designed to reflect Luther's compromise doctrine on the Eucharist).¹⁸⁸ Apparently, Lautensack had not consciously distanced himself from the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ According to Fritz, *Das evangelische Abendmahlsgerät*, 367, such vessels were introduced early, the first surviving examples, resembling tankards, date from ca. 1540.

¹⁸⁵ E.g. Gert von der Osten, *Der Schmerzensmann: Typengeschichte eines deutschen Andachtsbildwerks von 1300 bis 1600* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1935), 80–81; Schreiber 2:52 no. 877 and 57 no. 891 (*Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 16301.877 and .891 respectively), both localized to Southern Germany; an engraving by Hans Sebald Beham (*Bartsch* VIII.127.26; Hollstein 3:26). A 15th-century Franconian embroidery shows Christ filling the chalice, between Mary and John (Kurth, *Die deutschen Bildteppiche des Mittelalters*, 1:270, 3; plate 298).

¹⁸⁶ Showing Christ in full figure became common in the second half of the 15th century (Karsten Kelberg, "Die Darstellung der Gregorsmesse in Deutschland" (Ph. D. diss., Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, 1983), 35). Mary and John are included especially in the region of Nuremberg. They can stand at the side (e.g. Schreiber 3:106 no. 1,461; *Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 16501.1461 – here Christ is also standing on the altar –, and a relief in Münsterstadt, Kelberg, "Darstellung der Gregorsmesse," 190 no. 112), support the dead Christ (e.g. the Tondorfer Epitaph in St Lorenz, *ibid.*, 198 no. 128, and the Volckamer Altarpiece in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. Gm 156, *ibid.*, 201 no. 135), or adore Him (e.g. an Epitaph in Nürnberg-Kraftshof, *ibid.*, 204 no. 142). Most examples for Christ's blood flowing in a chalice at His side come from Northern Germany (*ibid.*, 45).

¹⁸⁷ Kelberg, "Darstellung der Gregorsmesse," 94, gives only two later examples.

¹⁸⁸ An etching by Matthias Zündt from 1570 shows Christ's blood flowing into the chalice from which a communicant drinks (Klaus Lankheit and Hans-Karl Lücke, "Eucharistie," in *Reallexikon der deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 6 (Munich: Druckemüller, 1973), 206 fig. 32b, text on col. 243). In a *Bekenntnisbild* by Andreas Herneisen from 1601 in the Leipzig Civic Museum (inv. GM001546) Christ's blood drips into a chalice on the altar, into which St Paul pours wine. I am grateful to Michael Volosinovszki, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig, for sending me a photograph of this painting.

¹⁸⁹ If Lautensack had really sympathized with Zwinglian ideas in the late 1520, as Johannes Schwanhauser had feared (cf. p. 16 n. 24), he must have abandoned them without

As in other Creeds from this period, Lautensack depicted a Baptism for the *Forgiveness of Sins* (Fig. 49). This scene is similar to both catechism illustrations¹⁹⁰ and descriptions of the liturgical practice in Nuremberg.¹⁹¹ Predictably, Lautensack adds to the Dove of the Holy Ghost two more figures, perhaps the other two Persons of the Trinity.¹⁹² Arguably the most interesting detail of this drawing is the small representation of Confession at the left-hand side. Luther had recommended making auricular Confession voluntary,¹⁹³ and the Nuremberg authorities had followed this advice in 1527. However, throughout the 1530s and most importantly in 1533, Osiander undertook several failed attempts to restore it as mandatory preparation for Communion.¹⁹⁴ Although Lautensack otherwise displayed little interest in questions of church discipline, the inclusion of this scene could indicate support for Osiander's position. Here, two instances of Confession are shown. In the background a man kneels before a minister in gown (omitted in the manuscripts), and in front of him St Peter, carrying a key, absolves another penitent by laying a hand on his forehead. Although this scene looks hardly congruent with Protestant theology, its iconography resembles an illustration of the 1533 Brandenburg Catechism,

a trace. Chalices collecting Christ's blood already appear in the *Gnadenstuhl* in 1a:D855 (Fig. 35), cf. p. 184.

¹⁹⁰ E.g. Luther, *Enchiridion* (1531), L6r, or Luther, *Der kleyne Catechismus* (1561), C1v (printed in Nuremberg).

¹⁹¹ In Nuremberg it was prescribed to immerse the child (Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 5:132, l. 27 and n. 514). However, A. Gabler, "Taufkufen und Taufkessel im einstigen Bereich des Bistums Augsburg," *Das Münster: Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft* 27 (1974): 137, assumes that, despite such regulations, usually water was sprinkled over the naked child, as shown here. The woman holding a cushion is probably the godmother. The only surprising detail is the boy holding a candle. At the end of a Catholic Baptism a candle is lit and given to the godparents, a moment that is rarely depicted (it appears e.g. in an Augsburg woodcut from 1477, Schramm 3, plate 84 no. 597). However, this ritual is not mentioned in the *Brandenburgische Kirchenordnung* (Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 5:129–33) and therefore probably had been discontinued with the Reformation. Lautensack may have depicted it from earlier recollections.

¹⁹² They are shown in different ages like the Persons of the Trinity but hold scepter and orb respectively, like *Spirit* and *Word*. The manuscripts have instead the Three *Aspects* of the Trinity at the top, in addition to the Dove.

¹⁹³ Emil Fischer, *Zur Geschichte der evangelischen Beichte*, vol. 1, *Die katholische Beichtpraxis bei Beginn der Reformation und Luthers Stellung dazu in den Anfängen seiner Wirksamkeit* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1902), 150.

¹⁹⁴ On this controversy Engelhardt, "Reformation in Nürnberg," part 2, 130–36; Gerhard Pfeiffer, "Die Einführung der Allgemeinen Beichte in Nürnberg und seinem Landgebiet," *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte* 20 (1951): 41–42; Laurentius Klein OSB, *Evangelisch-Lutherische Beichte: Lehre und Praxis* (Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1961), 168–72; Dietrich Stollberg, "Osiander und der Nürnberger Absolutionsstreit: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Praktischen Theologie," *Lutherische Blätter* 17 (1965): 153–68.

which was used in Nuremberg,¹⁹⁵ and which even calls Confession “ampt der Schlüssel” [office of the keys]. Ministers holding keys also appear in some images of Confession from outside Nuremberg.¹⁹⁶

Whereas Lautensack depicted Confession and Marriage in this context only, abbreviated images of Baptism and Communion sometimes form part of larger compositions, as in the last section of the Our Father (1a:D861, Fig. 37). There, Baptism is reduced to minister, child and font, and Communion to the rare and thoroughly un-Lutheran scene of consecration.¹⁹⁷

Finally, the 8th scene of the Creed (*I believe in the Holy Ghost*, D869, Fig. 50) has little to do with the text but shows – like the 8th part of the Pater noster – the Eagle-Crucifix.¹⁹⁸ The faithful point to it and venerate it as if it were an apparition of God. One woman even embraces its stem, as the Magdalene does in many conventional crucifixions.¹⁹⁹ The Eagle-Crucifix is here flanked by the Lamb seated on an altar prepared for a Communion Service, and a preacher.²⁰⁰ In some of Lautensack’s later diagrams similar liturgical scenes appear: there the preacher stands behind the altar, and a font is placed on the opposite side.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 5:320. In this text Osiander underlined the importance of Confession by discussing it between the sections dedicated to the uncontested Lutheran sacraments of Baptism and Communion. The laying of hands at the absolution was recommended by Osiander (Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 5:486–88), otherwise it is unusual both in Catholic and in Lutheran depictions of Confession. It appears, for instance, in [Andreas de Escobar], *Incipit modus confitendi* ([Magdeburg: Simon, ca. 1490], GW1,832), title-page, and in Rogier’s Sacrament altarpiece in Antwerp (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 393–95), perhaps also in the Anti-Papal tract Hans Sachs, ed., *Eyn wunderliche Weyssa[gung] / von dem Babstumb* ([Nuremberg]: Guldenmund, 1527, VD 16 W 4,642), C3v, *Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 1301.048(r).

¹⁹⁶ Normally, the ministers are depicted holding two keys: with one they touch a kneeling penitent, with the other they send an unrepentant man away (so in Cranach’s altarpiece in the Wittenberg town church, with Bugenhagen officiating, Thulin, *Cranach-Altäre*, fig. 6; and the Nördlingen altarpiece, Strecker, *Augsburger Altäre*, fig. 5). Luther, *Der kleyne Catechismus* (1561), C6v (printed in Nuremberg), and the *Brandenburg Catechism* (see above, n. 195) display one key only.

¹⁹⁷ As mentioned earlier, the standard Lutheran image is the distribution of Communion, whereas Catholic depictions normally show the Elevation (a rite that still existed in Nuremberg in Lautensack’s time, Georg Ernst Waldau, *Vermischte | Beyträge | zur Geschichte | der Stadt Nürnberg*, vol. 2 (Nürnberg: Waldau, 1787), 306–7), not the pronouncing of the Words of Institution beforehand.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. p. 184. The only possible link to the article of the Creed may be that the divine person holding the cross has wings like a dove, which contain the words “heyligen Geyst” [Holy Ghost].

¹⁹⁹ Since this woman has no halo it is probably not the Magdalene. In D869 (Fig. 50) she is labeled with the word “glaub” from the article of the Creed and thus she may simply personify the ‘I believe.’

²⁰⁰ In the manuscripts the altar is left out altogether, for similar combinations cf. p. 201 n. 167.

²⁰¹ Cf. pp. 226–27.

IV. *Patriarchs and Apostles*

As described above, the layout of Lautensack's Creed drawings is similar to that of block-books that show beneath the illustration of each article the Apostle who was its author and a Prophet who had foretold it (Fig. 42).²⁰² Lautensack kept the Apostles and their quotations but replaced the Prophets with Jacob and his sons, the 12 Patriarchs, and the texts next to them are taken from Jacob's Blessing, in which he prophesied about their fates. These texts have no connection with the Creed. However, the Bible several times links the Apostles with the twelve tribes of Israel (especially in Rev., e.g. Rev. 21:12, 14) so that both groups are sometimes placed into a typological relationship,²⁰³ or the Patriarchs are added to the traditional

Table 8. Locations of Patriarchs and Apostles.

Patriarch	D	L	A	K	Apostle	D	L	A	K
Jacob	862	22v	38v	36v	Peter	862	22v	50v	48v
Reuben	863	23v	39v	37v	James the Greater	863	23v	51v	49v
Simeon / Levi	864	24v	40v	38v	John	864	24v	52v	50v
Judah	865	25v	41v	39v	Andrew	865	25v	53v	51v
Zebulun	866	26v	42v	40v	Philip	866	26v	54v	52v
Issachar	867	27v	43v	41v	Thomas	867	27v	55v	53v
Dan	868	28v	44v	42v	Bartholomew	868	28v	56v	54v
Gad	869	29v	45v	43v	Matthew	869	29v	57v	55v
Asher	870	30v	46v	44v	James the Lesser	870	30v	58v	56v
Naphtali	871	31v	47v	45v	Simon	871	31v	59v	57v
Joseph	872	32v	48v	46v	Jude	872	32v	60v	58v
Benjamin	873	–	49v	47v	Matthias / Judas Iscaiot	873	–	61v	59v

²⁰² This is the case in both the drawings and in manuscript L, whereas in the other manuscripts the Patriarchs were moved to the Pater noster (cf. p. 214).

²⁰³ *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, 8 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1968–76), 2:383 (Jürgen Paul). Together with other twelve-part groups (including the Twelve Minor Prophets, not the Prophets usually depicted in the Creed) they appear in Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, *De | Occvltā Phi|osophia | Libri Tres* ([Cologne: Soter], 1533, VD 16 A 1,181), reprint with modern pagination ed. Karl Anton Nowotny (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1967), 122, 144. Patriarchs and Apostles are paralleled in the mystical diagrams of Opicinus de Canistris (Richard Georg Salomon, *Opicinus*

parallel series of Prophets and Apostles.²⁰⁴ Like the Ancestors of Christ, the Patriarchs and Apostles frequently feature in Lautensack's tracts, albeit in most cases only as names. They can be broken down into four groups of six,²⁰⁵ and occasionally additional names extend their list from 24 to 27 or 30 elements.²⁰⁶

In the Middle Ages the Apostles could be placed in different orders, often according to one of the four biblical lists.²⁰⁷ Lautensack always followed Acts 1:13. This arrangement was not common in his time;²⁰⁸ he may have chosen it because it relates to the time after the Ascension, shortly before the actual compilation of the Creed.²⁰⁹ Since at this point Matthias had not yet been elected as replacement for Judas, the text names only

de Canistris: Weltbild und Bekenntnisse eines Avignonesischen Klerikers des 14. Jahrhunderts (London: Warburg Institute, 1936), 104 n. 8 – these pairs appear, for instance, twice on T. 30 (plate 20), once interspersed with the Minor Prophets). Georgius, *De Harmonia*, 316r–v, a numerological treatise, lists Apostles and Patriarchs according to different biblical lists, see also *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, 1:152 (Josef Myslivec). Different arrangements of the Patriarchs alone appear in Joachim de Fiore, *Expositio magni prophete Abba[ti]s Joachim in Apocalipsim* (Venetiis: Bindoni and Passini, 1527), 270v.

²⁰⁴ In the late Gothic choir sculpture of Blaubeuren Abbey the Apostles (with the Prophets beneath them) are placed under the vault-respond, the Patriarchs are much higher up, as corbel-heads (Anna Morath-Fromm, "Erneuerung braucht Erinnerung: Raumprogramm und liturgische Dispositionen," in *Kloster Blaubeuren: Der Chor und sein Hochaltar*, ed. Anna Morath-Fromm and Wolfgang Schürle (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2002), 47–48). The destroyed "Patriarchs" in the Protestant town church of Freudenstadt were probably other persons (Lieske, *Protestantische Frömmigkeit*, 103). Like other English editions of the Scriptures, the title-page of *The Bible, That is, The Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and New Testament* (London: Barker, 1599), contrasts the Apostles with the tents and coats of arms of the twelve Tribes of Israel, most of whose names are identical with the Patriarchs (cf. p. 211 n. 226).

²⁰⁵ Cf. p. 239.

²⁰⁶ To reach 27 elements, Moses, Christ and Elijah are inserted after the Patriarchs (e.g. 37:W71r–72r). For 30 elements the names of Peter, James and John are repeated at the end of the Apostles (e.g. 37:W72v) – these additional names belong to all those featuring in the Transfiguration episodes of the Gospels (e.g. Matt. 17:1–3).

²⁰⁷ Matt. 10:2–4, Mark 3:16–19, Luke 6:14–16, Acts 1:13. Wernicke, "Bildliche Darstellung des Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses," 136–37; Ligtenberg, "Het symbolum Apostolicum," 18; Bertrand-Georges Guyot, "L'attribution des articles de foi aux apôtres dans la littérature pastorale Latine des XIII^e–XIV^e siècles," *Pensée, image et communication en Europe médiévale: A propos des stalles de Saint-Claude* (Besançon: Asprodic, 1993), 179–84.

²⁰⁸ This arrangement was neither used in the block-books nor in any of the Reformation period Creeds examined in this chapter (with exception of the Stuttgart reliefs). However, Guyot, "Attribution," 180, described it as one of the most common choices for earlier Latin texts.

²⁰⁹ Cf. *Erklärung der zwölf Artikel*, 6r: "wann zū den zeiten do all zwelffboten von einander schiden zebredigen aller welt das ewangelium do machten sie ein simbolum zū einer erfüllung des gelaubens" [for in the time when all the Apostles parted from each other to preach the gospel to all the world they made a Creed to complete [probably: define] the faith].

eleven Apostles. Lautensack added the mourning traitor and his successor side by side in the last image of the series (e.g. 1a:D873).²¹⁰ Although the Apostles were a very common subject-matter in the late Middle Ages, German printed Apostle series from the late 15th century show only a consensus about the physiognomy and attributes of about half of them whereas the others were somewhat interchangeable. However some consolidation took place after 1500.²¹¹ Most of the Apostles in Lautensack's Creed drawings reflect the 16th century conventions: Peter with the typical half-bald head and a key, James as a bearded pilgrim, John as a young man with a chalice, Andrew again old and bearded, with a saltire,²¹² Philip relatively bald, holding a cross-staff,²¹³ Bartholomew with woolly hair and beard carrying a knife,²¹⁴ and the bearded Thomas with a lance.²¹⁵ Whereas the axe as attribute of the – as usual bearded – Matthew is uncommon,²¹⁶ James the Less shows the familiar fuller's club.²¹⁷ Simon's

²¹⁰ In 1d:A61v and K59v Lautensack showed Matthias only. For isolated images of the pair Matthias / Judas see p. 221 n. 267. When Lautensack needed to fill 13 spaces, Matthias appeared on the twelfth, and Judas on the last place, e.g. 18:U170v–72v. In 26:W99r Christ is added as the 13th figure of the Patriarchs.

²¹¹ Only series that are labeled by the printer (and not, more or less arbitrarily, by later scholars) could be taken into account: the block-books (p. 193 n. 118); *Erklärung der zwölf Artikel* (like the block-books it hardly distinguishes facial types); Fridolin, *Schatzbehalter*, V3v (Schramm 17, plate 153 no. 405); Master E. S., not dated (Bartsch VI.19.38–VI.21.49); Master of the Berlin Passion, not dated (Bartsch X.18.16–X.20.27); Hans Baldung Grien, 1505 (in *Beschlossen Gart*, 283va–87ra); Erhard Schoen, 1515 (Bartsch VII.476.1–VII.478.12); Hans Vischer, 1518 (Creed, Geisberg 792–97); Hans Springinklee, 1519 (Bartsch VII.325.14–24, without Matthias); Lucas Cranach (an undated series Bartsch VII.281.24–35, Hollstein 6:30–33, H. 32–44, and the images of relics of the Apostles for the 1509 *Heiltumsbuch*, Bartsch VII.290.99–110, Hollstein 6:78 nos. 5–15), and Hans Sebald Beham, 1545/46 (Bartsch VIII.134.43–VIII.136.54, Hollstein 3:34, H. 34–35).

²¹² These facial types and attributes appear in all examined series, only James has been given a sword as attribute by the Munich block-book and the Master of the Berlin Passion.

²¹³ In the Munich block-book he has a sword, in Vienna a club, the *Schatzbehalter* has him bearded with a T-cross. Beham also shows him with a beard and Grien beardless, in both cases he is holding a cross-staff. In Lautensack's manuscripts he looks tonsured.

²¹⁴ Only Cranach shows him with his flayed skin (Bartsch VII.281.29).

²¹⁵ The *Erklärung der zwölf Artikel* gives him an axe, the Master of the Berlin Passion a square.

²¹⁶ In the block-books Matthias has a book, the *Schatzbehalter*, Springinklee and Beham give him a sword, Master E. S. and the Master of the Berlin Passion a halberd, Cranach a square and Grien, who shows him beardless, no attributes. The *Erklärung* shows him as a scribe. Axes appear only in Vischer (where he is beardless) and Schoen.

²¹⁷ So in the Heidelberg block-book, the *Schatzbehalter*, Springinklee, Schoen, Beham and Vischer – the Vienna block-book has a sword, the Munich one an axe, the *Erklärung*, Master E. S. and the Master of the Berlin Passion a club, Cranach and Grien no attributes at all. Apparently, there was no agreement on James's physiognomy. Lautensack shows him as a young Christ-like figure.

saw,²¹⁸ Jude's club²¹⁹ and Matthias's halberd²²⁰ are their most common attributes, yet portraying Jude beardless is rare. In the manuscripts Lautensack paid less attention to the correct attributes, especially towards the end of the series:²²¹ Simon was dressed in a sinister-looking hood-like headgear,²²² Jude received a beard and a strange, remotely sword-like, object,²²³ Matthias a club.

The corresponding series of the Twelve Patriarchs is based on the so-called Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:1–27), a list of prophecies that the dying Jacob made to his twelve sons.²²⁴ In his usual manner Lautensack quoted on each page the incipit of one paragraph of this text, and next to it he portrayed the person mentioned in it. Therefore the series starts not with Reuben, the first son, but with Jacob, whose name appears in the introductory paragraph of the chapter; and Simeon and Levi share not only one paragraph but also one drawing.²²⁵ Hence, the number of elements is altogether 12. Confusingly, Lautensack adds in manuscripts A and K the list of the Tribes of Israel from the vision of the Sealing of the 144,000

²¹⁸ This also appears in Beham, Vischer, Cranach and Grien. The block-books and the *Schatzbehalter* had a sword or a sabre, the *Erklerung* a fuller's club.

²¹⁹ The club is Jude's most common attribute in the 16th century; in the 15th century he appeared with a square (Vienna and Munich block-books, Master E. S.), a book (Heidelberg block-book), a saw (*Erklerung*, Master E. S., Master of the Berlin Passion) or a box (*Schatzbehalter*). He is beardless in Cranach's series.

²²⁰ A halberd is also in Springinklee, Grien, Schoen and Vischer, a club in the Munich block-book. By contrast, Master E. S., the *Schatzbehalter*, the Master of the Berlin Passion and Cranach have an axe, the other block-books a staff (Vienna) or a book (Heidelberg), the *Erklerung* no attributes.

²²¹ The small, cursory drawn images in 5a:A6r show the same iconographic features as those in 1d:A50v–61r, those on 5a:A4r have no attributes but similar facial types.

²²² No parallels could be found for it, but in Beham, Cranach and Vischer (where he is atypically beardless) he wears at least a hat.

²²³ It appears to have two blades but only one handle, and therefore it may be a misunderstood representation of a different object; no example of Jude with a sword was found.

²²⁴ This text also appears on the scrolls of the Blaubeuren Patriarchs (Morath-Fromm, "Erneuerung braucht Erinnerung," 47).

²²⁵ For unknown reasons Jacob is also added to the Twelve Tribes in a very unusual panel painting from 1541 in the Fürstlich Hohenzollernschen Sammlungen Sigmaringen (inv. 4,883). Here armies from all the Tribes come on horseback to watch the Crucifixion – but their leaders carry flags with their names, not signs, see *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, 4:591 (Jürgen Paul and Werner Busch). I am grateful to Mr. Peter Kempf for sending me a photograph of this painting. Some commentaries on the biblical text likewise treat Simeon and Levi together, so Ambrose in his *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum* (*Patrologia Latina*, 14:676–78). When Paul Kaym collected and explained Lautensack's tracts in the early 17th century he did not understand his rationale in this case and therefore he began some lists of Patriarchs with Reuben (pp:Kk193v and 206r, Fig. 102).

(Rev. 7:4–8), which not only has a different order but also contains several different names.²²⁶

In Jacob's Blessing, and the similar Blessing of Moses (Deut. 32:7–25), the character and fate of each of the tribes is predicted in rich metaphors, which were exploited several times to design attributes or coats of arms for them – although there was no continuous tradition.²²⁷ Whereas some of these programs are very complex, Lautensack's bust portraits only use information from Genesis. As with the Apostles, the designs of D, L, A and K are not identical.²²⁸ Unsurprisingly, Jacob is always an old man, while Simeon and Levi are discussing and thus forming an evil council (Gen. 49:6).²²⁹ Judah appears as a majestic ruler,²³⁰ Zebulun as wealthy man.²³¹

²²⁶ 1d:A43v (Fig. 39) combines, for instance, the Blessing of Issachar with the Sealing of the Tribe of Naphtali. Most lists of tribes omit Levi (whose descendants were not given land) and have instead of a tribe of Joseph the tribes of his sons Ephraim and Manasseh. Revelation, however, includes Levi and instead omits Dan. As in the case of Jacob's blessing Lautensack also gives the introductory passage (Rev. 7:4). However, the description of the Sealing proper has twelve paragraphs (and not eleven, as the text of Jacob's blessing), and therefore its last section (Benjamin) had to be omitted.

²²⁷ The banners of the tribes are already described in the Hebrew Bible commentary *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 5, *Numbers, Part 1*, ed. Judah J. Slotki (London: Soncino, 1939), II, 7 (pp. 29–30), for a list of the sources see "Heraldry," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 8 (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971), 334. Representatives of the tribes carrying these banners are depicted in the Alba Bible, an early 15th-century rabbinical Bible translation for a Spanish nobleman (images in Sonia Fellous, *Histoire de la Bible de Moïse Arragel: Quand un rabbin interprète la Bible pour les chrétiens* (Paris: Somogy 2001), e.g. 139 fig. 85 and 168 fig. 102, discussed in Otto Nordström, *The Duke of Alba's Castilian Bible: A Study of the Rabbinical Features of the Miniatures* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967), 70–81, see also Giacomo C. Bascapè, "Note di araldica e simbologia ebraiche," in *Insegne e Simboli: Araldica Pubblica e Privata, Medievale e Moderna* (Roma: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1983), 433–34). Much later these shields played some role in Masonic iconography (Lionel Brett and M.V. Walsingham, "Some Sets of Royal Arch Ensigns in Somerset," *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 94 (1981): 7–14), cf. p. 208 n. 204. These elements are used as attributes for the Sons of Jacob in the 11th-century English manuscript *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Reg. Lat. 12, 109r–v, illustrating Ps. 104 (Adelheid Heimann, "A twelfth-century manuscript from Winchcombe and its illustrations: Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. 53," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965): 91, plate 14a–b) and, from ca. 1550 onward, in complex humanist compositions, which furthermore combine each Patriarch with an animal and a classical god. Some of these prints were studied in Ilja M. Veldman and Henk Jan de Jonge, "The Sons of Jacob: the Twelve Patriarchs in sixteenth-century Netherlandish prints and popular literature," *Simiolus* 15 (1985): 176–96.

²²⁸ As with the Apostles, 5a:A4v/5v (Fig. 6) show reduced versions of the drawings elsewhere in the volume (1d:A38v–49v).

²²⁹ In the manuscripts L, A and K one of them wears a strange headgear that vaguely resembles a miter and therefore could allude to the priestly duties of Levi's descendants.

²³⁰ In D he carries the scepter mentioned in Gen. 49:10, in A and K he is the only Patriarch depicted frontally.

²³¹ According to Gen. 49:13 Zebulun would possess a harbor.

Whereas Issachar has no special attributes,²³² Dan carries the baton of a Judge (Gen. 49:16), Gad is a knight holding a banner (Gen. 49:19), and Asher is not characterized.²³³ The counting positions of Naphtali's fingers in manuscripts A and K might hint at his eloquence (Gen. 49:21). The images of the last two Patriarchs allude to their biographies rather than Jacob's prophecies. The drawing shows Joseph as a young man in an elegant tunic, possibly the coat of many colors (Gen. 37:3), the manuscripts portray him in the gown and hat of an official. Benjamin, the youngest, is always a child.²³⁴

V. *Pater Noster and Credo in Manuscripts L, A and K*

As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, woodcut illustrations for the Book of Revelation were an important model for Lautensack's Berlin drawings of the Our Father. It is therefore not surprising that he subsequently decided to combine variants of these drawings with quotations from Revelation, more precisely, with a series of diagrams that list on each page the paragraphs of one chapter of this Book (Fig. 40).²³⁵ These diagrams appear once without the drawings (tract 1c), yet already there Lautensack added to every page a sentence from the Credo and Pater noster respectively, and (for both prayers) the names of a Patriarch and an Apostle.²³⁶

Lautensack combined the images for the Pater and Credo in two different ways with the diagrams from Revelation, and both appear in manuscripts dated to 1535 (manuscript L has 1b, manuscripts A and K 1d). The series in L is clearly the earlier variant but nevertheless betrays a complex genesis (see p. 213 Table 9). Most probably Lautensack first produced a (now lost) manuscript that, like the later manuscripts A and K, had first the Pater noster, then the Credo. To underline the unity of these two halves, the very last words of the Pater ("In Ewigkeit Amen" [*For ever and ever. Amen*]) were removed from the 12th section of this prayer and joined

²³² Gen. 49:14–15 would have suggested depicting him as peasant.

²³³ Gen. 49:20 describes him as a provider of bread.

²³⁴ In A and K Benjamin had to be displaced into the main scene to make way for an additional diagram (Fig. 41), cf. p. 133 n. 91.

²³⁵ These diagrams link the paragraphs of the chapters of Revelation with some of the 7×11 Hebrew Greek and Latin letters, Ancestors and Books (whose positions swap between the two prayers), the 3×11 Latin letters and their Spirits, and images of Stars and Candlesticks (all these elements are explained in Chapter 3).

²³⁶ It appears in the unfoliated appendix of K, but both its relatively primitive nature and the use of colors place it close to manuscript L. Tract 1e, which only survives in a later copy, is similar – but some elements suggest that its Prototype was drawn up later than 1d.

together with the 12th section of the Creed, thus the 24th section overall. This resulted in 12 parts for the Pater noster alone, 11 for the Creed alone, and one for the 12th part of the Creed and the 13th of the Pater noster combined. When preparing L, Lautensack decided to swap the two prayers – maybe because catechisms normally have the order Commandments / Creed / Our Father. Accordingly, he began with the 11 scenes for the Creed. The 12th scene would have contained the 12th part of the Creed together with the last (13th) part of the Pater. Naturally, this did not make sense, and hence Lautensack combined the 12th part of the Creed with the 1st part of the Pater noster instead, and the illustration of the page is taken from the latter. Accordingly, the following images are linked to sections 2–12 of that prayer. Its 13th part, which had originally been split off so that it could be combined with the last part of the Creed, appears on its own at the end. The awkward arrangement of this manuscript may have caused Lautensack to return for A and K to the order of the hypothetical precursor of L.

Table 9. Development of the Arrangement of Scenes from D to L. The left three columns show the two separated series for the Pater noster and the Credo in D; the central block the hypothetical intermediary state beginning with the Pater, with a final leaf combining its 13th part with the 12th section of the Creed, as later done in A and K; the right column shows the situation in L, where the two sections have been swapped. For the sake of convenience the sections of the two prayers are numbered 1–12 and 1–13 respectively, and the texts of the Pater are shaded in grey.

D	Hypothetic Intermediary (structure like A and K)	L
1 850 <i>Vnser Vater</i> 2 851 <i>Deyn name</i> – [9 scenes] 12 861 <i>Vnnd dye herligkeit</i> <i>jn Ewigkeit Amen</i>	1 <i>Vnser Vater</i> 2 <i>Deyn name</i> – [9 scenes] 12 <i>Vnnd dye herligkeit</i>	1 <i>Jch glaub in</i> 22v – [9 scenes] – 11 <i>Auffersteung</i> 32v
1 862 <i>Jch glaub in</i> – – [9 scenes] 11 872 <i>Auffersteung</i> 12 873 <i>Vnd eyn ewiges</i>	1 <i>Jch glaub in</i> – [9 scenes] 11 <i>Auffersteung</i> 12 <i>Vnd eyn ewiges</i> <i>Jn Ewigkeit Amen</i>	12 <i>Vnd eyn ewiges</i> 33v 1 <i>Vnser Vater</i> 2 <i>Deyn name</i> 34v – [9 scenes] – 12 <i>Vnnd dye herligkeit</i> 44v 13 <i>Jn Ewigkeit Amen</i> 45v

The images for the Pater noster and Credo in the manuscripts differ in two respects from the earlier drawings, which have up to now been the focus of our interest. Whereas in the drawings of the Pater noster the pictorial composition fills the whole sheets and the Creed only reserves small spaces at the top and bottom for other elements, the manuscripts place these compositions into a rich and complex framework (Fig. 50) – due to this, and due to the smaller size of the pages, the compositions had to be considerably reduced in space and therefore simplified (these changes have already been discussed in the description of the drawings).²³⁷ Already in manuscript L the last texts had been removed from the central images – the words of the prayers appear beneath them, the letters and their Spirits are no longer on tablets within the compositions but above the frame. In the drawings, only the leaves with the Creed also display letters and Spirits, but in manuscript L these elements are repeated on the Pater noster pages in order to make the series more similar to each other. In manuscripts A and K, finally, the framework for both prayers is exactly the same. Consequently, whereas the Creed pages in L show both a Patriarch and an Apostle whilst the Pater noster has no comparable figures (Fig. 33),²³⁸ in A and K the Patriarchs were moved to the Pater, so that each composition now shows either a Patriarch or an Apostle. Naturally, this obscures the typological link between the Patriarchs and Apostles.

Now everything has its place (e.g. Fig. 44): the principal image appears in an arched field, above which an elaborate cartouche presents the Spirits of three Latin letters like a heading. At the bottom are three rectangles surrounded by four semicircles that contain the image of the Patriarch or Apostle, several texts, a small image (often one of the celestial bodies) and one of the three Latin letters whose spirits were written above, whilst the other two letters appear in the spandrels of the central arch. This strictly organized mixture of narrative images, single figures, signs, texts and headings is reminiscent of some late-medieval manuscripts, especially the *Biblia pauperum*, which combines on every page three biblical scenes with their tituli, four images of Prophets with their prophecies and two paragraphs of explanatory text.²³⁹

²³⁷ Cf. pp. 189–91 (Pater), 195–206 (Credo).

²³⁸ The resulting gap at the bottom of the pages is filled with quotations from Luke 1–3, displayed in an awkward permutation (cf. p. 131 n. 77).

²³⁹ Many examples in Henrik Cornell, *Biblia Pauperum* (Stockholm: Thule, 1925), and Gerhard Schmidt, *Die Armenbibeln des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Graz: Böhlau, 1959).

Whilst such layouts could equally well be used in block-books,²⁴⁰ they became impractical with the arrival of moveable type. Whereas beforehand both text and images were produced in the same way (with the quill or by carving them into the same block of wood) the later technology forced a sharp distinction between texts set in lead and woodcut illustrations. Close links between texts and images probably lived on longest in some very conservative genres of vernacular publications like calendars, which were most likely compiled for a literate, semi-educated audience to which craftsmen like Lautensack belonged.

A block-book calendar sheet from 1493, for instance, combines scenes of feasts and labors of the months with the zodiac signs in circles, 'lists' of busts of saints, as well as a circular and two grid-like diagrams (Fig. 51).²⁴¹ Lautensack's heading-like lists of the Spirits at the top resemble the list of relevant oracle numbers in a *Losbuch*.²⁴² Furthermore, the elaborate headers and footers of Lautensack's diagrams may reflect border decorations in early 16th-century illuminated manuscripts, or their imitations in woodcut.²⁴³

Most elements placed in this framework are already familiar. In the Pater noster each Patriarch has at the left the corresponding quotations from Jacob's Blessing, at the right the words from the prayer and a sentence from the Sealing of the Twelve Tribes (e.g. Fig. 39, cf. p. 207 Table 8).²⁴⁴ The outer semicircles contain the subtotals of chapters from the entire Bible²⁴⁵ and some left-over letters and Spirits.²⁴⁶ Additionally, the margins have references to the Three Ages (top left) and the letters

²⁴⁰ An example for the block-book editions of the *Biblia pauperum* is reproduced in Avril Henry, *Biblia Pauperum* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1987).

²⁴¹ Calendar by Glockendon, 1493, Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Graphische Sammlung, inv. HB 14,913, Heitz, *Hundert Kalender-Inkunabeln*, 30 and plate 80. The other calendar sheets published by Heitz are already typographical prints that primarily contain texts and grid-like diagrams; images, if any, are relegated to the margins.

²⁴² So in the *Losbuch* of Konrad Bollstatter, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 312, 121r–22r, from the third quarter of the 15th century (facsimile Karin Schneider, ed., *Ein Losbuch Konrad Bollstatters aus Cgm 312 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1973)). The non-autograph manuscripts of Lautensack tracts do not have such elaborate headers, but sometimes a pediment-like structure marks the top of a page, e.g. 12:W36v–44v.

²⁴³ E.g. Fig. 44, cf. *Hortulus animae* (1519).

²⁴⁴ Cf. p. 211 n. 226.

²⁴⁵ Cf. p. 130 n. 70. In manuscript L the subtotals of chapters are written at the margin of the Pater noster pages but not yet integrated into the framework.

²⁴⁶ Each of the first 2×11 sections of this prayer is marked with a Hebrew, Greek and Latin letter. The last 11 Latin letters with their Spirits, which have no place in this system, appear in A and K in the bottom right semicircle.

Arsawu with the corresponding celestial bodies.²⁴⁷ In manuscript A the paragraph incipits from the *Six Chapters* are squeezed onto the left and right margins. The Creed pages are similar but have the Apostles instead of the Patriarchs.²⁴⁸ On their left-hand side Lautensack quotes ten Hebrew names for God with etymological explanations.²⁴⁹ Many contemporary theologians, both mainstream and radical, had commented on similar names,²⁵⁰ but Lautensack's list differs from theirs. I have not been able to identify his source. It must have been a vernacular reworking of an earlier list by Jerome, which had been commonly used in the Middle Ages. Its editor probably lived before the 16th century and knew some Hebrew.²⁵¹

When linking Pater noster and Credo with Revelation, Lautensack had to deal with the fact that these prayers have altogether 24 parts, whilst the Biblical Book contains only 22 chapters. In the already mentioned tract 1c

²⁴⁷ The celestial bodies are in the bottom center semi-circles, the letters are beneath them.

²⁴⁸ Furthermore, they contain subtotals of the paragraphs and not of the chapters and have in the right-hand field sentences from the Creed only, without additional texts.

²⁴⁹ The names are *Jos he waf he, El, Eloah, Elohim, Eh Jeh, Jah, Schaddai, hehon, zebaot, Adonai* (after 1d:A). The 11th page (A6ov) has instead a short text referring to the Holy Ghost, on the 12th page (A6iv) this space is taken over by the sums of the subtotals of chapters and paragraphs. The same names of God also appear in tract 21, albeit in a mutilated form.

²⁵⁰ E.g. Johannes Reuchlin, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, 1, *De verbo mirifico: Das wundertätige Wort* (1494) (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1996), 244–84; Joseph ben Abraham Gikatilla, *Portae Lvcis | Hęc est porta Tetragrammaton iusti intrabunt per eam* (Augustæ Vindelicorum: Miller, 1516, VD 16 J 954), Kır (edition of a medieval text); Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, 140–41 (from 1533); Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 6:314–20 (from 1537); Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens/Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1983), 62–64 (on Michel Servet); later Paulus Ricius, “Pavli Ricii Do|ctissimi Ac Sapientissimi Viri Ex Ivdaica | Familia: | De cœlesti Agricvltrva | Libri IIII,” in *Artis | Cabalisticæ: | Hoc Est, | Reconditæ Theologiæ | Et Philosophiæ, | Scriptorum*, vol. 1 (Basileæ: Henricpetrus, 1587, VD 16 P 3,034), lib. 4, 177. These tracts are unrelated to the much longer lists common in magical practices (e.g. Carl Kiesewetter, *Faust in der Geschichte und Tradition* (Leipzig: Spohr, 1893), 397–400, 403, 406, 448; Johannes Bolte, “Nachtrag: Über die 72 Namen Gottes,” *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 13 (1903): 444–50).

²⁵¹ These names appear in Jerome's Letter 25 (Hieronymus, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, ed. Isidorus Hilberg, 3 vols., 2nd edition (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 1:218–19). The Ashkenazic letter-name *jos* instead of *jod* in the Tetragrammaton, which was rare after ca. 1500 (cf. p. 144 n. 138) indicates that the German version of this list was not very recent, and some differences from Jerome's version suggest that it was compiled by someone who understood Hebrew: Jerome merely gave “Eloe” for *God*, whereas A52v uses the accurate singular form “Eloah” and adds that “Elohi” [my God], derived from it (Jerome's “Eloim” and “Eloe” could also be not singular and plural but plural standard and Pregenitive forms, in this case Lautensack's source would have introduced a major change). Jerome's “Elion” is here rendered as “Hehon,” the “Eser ieiei” as “Eh Jeh,” no parallels for these variants were found. Furthermore, Lautensack's order of the names does not follow Jerome's.

(appendix of manuscript K), Lautensack separated the diagrams with the paragraph incipits from Rev. 1–11 and 12–22 respectively with an opening showing the *Two Images* from Revelation. The first eleven parts of the Creed are paralleled with Rev. 1–11, while the 12th section is linked to the opening in the center. The first eleven parts of the Pater appear with Rev. 12–22, but its 12th part is simply omitted. In manuscript L (1b), which has the chapters of Revelation on the rectos and the images on the following versos, there is no such break, and therefore the combined Pater and Credo overruns the Revelation by two folia; Lautensack thus had to devise images in lieu of “Rev. 23” and “Rev. 24.” Furthermore the described irregularities in this manuscript necessitated a new composition for the 13th part of the Our Father.²⁵² As in the case of the early drawings, Lautensack found pictorial sources for these supplementary images in the illustrations of Luther’s Bible. The twelfth of the Berlin Our Father drawings (1a:D861, Fig. 37) had shown Christ on a fanciful rendition of the Throne of Solomon; but the Throne of Solomon at the same place in the London manuscript derives from a woodcut in the second part of Luther’s Old Testament (1b:L44v).²⁵³ Two further woodcuts of Solomon’s buildings on nearby pages were used for the supplementary images. The new 13th part of the Pater noster is illustrated by Christ standing between the two columns in front of the Temple,²⁵⁴ whilst the corresponding verso (in place of ‘Rev. 24’) shows Solomon’s House of the Forest of Lebanon²⁵⁵ under a diagram of the letters and their Spirits (Fig. 52). In place of ‘Rev. 23’ (L44r), a strange image is drawn beneath a similar diagram: Christ is crucified to a vine held by God, who is bearing scepter and orb.²⁵⁶ Under the vine, the drunken Noah is discovered by his sons (Gen. 9:20–23), and the spandrels contain the raven and the doves that he had sent out from the Ark (Gen. 8:6–12). The most plausible explanation for this choice of subject-matter is offered in Lautensack’s 1538 tract on the paintings he had made for the

²⁵² Cf. p. 213. Since the 12th image of the Creed was replaced by the 1st image of the Our Father there are altogether still 24 (11+13 instead of the usual 12+12) images.

²⁵³ These woodcuts come from the Second Part of Luther’s Old Testament translation, cf. p. 121 n. 33. 1b:L44v, later 1d:A38v, a similar composition is in 17:U142r, see Schramm, “Illustrationen der Lutherbibel,” plate 84 fig. 144.

²⁵⁴ 1b:L45v, later 1d:A61v, in a different context 7a:N6r, cf. Schramm, “Illustrationen der Lutherbibel,” plate 82 fig. 141.

²⁵⁵ 1b:L45r (Fig. 52), later 1d:A61r, also in the fragmentary 6:U26v, see Schramm, “Illustrationen der Lutherbibel,” plate 80 fig. 139. This house and the columns illustrate 1 Kings 7, the throne 1 Kings 10. The inscriptions of the house are one of the earliest instances of Lautensack quoting from the Letter to the Hebrews, cf. p. 238.

²⁵⁶ In a traditional Gnadenstuhl this would be the Father, but here the identification is not clear.

Gundelfingerin. It describes a vine-like frieze with the Ancestors of Christ and digresses from thence to Noah's vine and the doves.²⁵⁷ Probably, lists of Ancestors, even if not represented as a vine, were in Lautensack's mind always linked to Noah. This composition is the only supplementary image that was altered substantially in manuscripts A and K (A38r, Fig. 53). There, an upper register shows the Ark of Noah²⁵⁸ beneath a rainbow (similar to the arched tops in the images to the prayers) and surrounded by the four birds. The lower half displays the cross-vine, which is watered by God the Father (?), whilst a man with a hat similar to Noah's in the earlier image digs the soil next to it.²⁵⁹ This image was probably inspired by a late medieval devotional composition (Fig. 54),²⁶⁰ which was taken up several times in the Reformation period, both as a didactic image, like a *Tree of Faith* tended by the Apostles,²⁶¹ and in polemical contexts, which contrasted the cross-vine with the dead trees of the old religion.²⁶²

In manuscripts A and K the positions of the Pater noster and the Credo are interchanged, and the diagrams with the paragraphs from Revelation appear now on the recto following the corresponding image, rather than on the recto preceding it. These shifts caused a major displacement of the additional images. There was less need for them at the end: the Pater noster no longer has a 13th image, and Lautensack concludes the tract with the last page of the Creed (e.g. 1d:A61v), abandoning its counterpart representing 'Rev. 24.' On the other hand the tract now begins with a verso so that the preceding recto had to be filled. Furthermore, as has been described earlier (p. 191), the first image of the Our Father from L had been

²⁵⁷ II:gi5, cf. p. 28.

²⁵⁸ Like many woodcuts in editions of Luther's Bible, Lautensack followed the biblical wording and depicted the Ark as parallelepiped, not a conventional ship (e.g. Allte Testament (1523, Lotther, VD 16 B 2,894), inserted leaf after fol. 4, r, Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 29 fig. 43).

²⁵⁹ He uses an instrument common among winegrowers and called in German "Karst."

²⁶⁰ E.g. Wilhelm von Bode and Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, "Mittelrheinische Ton- und Steinmodel aus der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 39 (1918): 129 no. 38, plate 4 fig. 6 (a Middle Rhenish clay mold, here Mary waters the cross-tree and the Father – not Joseph, as the authors claim – hoes the soil), see Alois Thomas, *Die Darstellung Christi in der Kelter: Eine theologische und kulturhistorische Studie* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1936), 179, and Alfred Weckwerth, "Einiges zu der Darstellung des 'Reben-Christus,'" *Raggi* 8 (1968): 18.

²⁶¹ Heinrich Vogtherr designed this tree crowned by the Gnadenstuhl, probably with Peter and Paul as gardeners, Geisberg 1426–27, dated 1524, see Frank Muller, "Une visualisation de la leçon luthérienne: le 'Bom des Glaubens' d'Heinrich Vogtherr l'Ancien," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 68/2 (1988): 181–93. A devotional print with a cross-vine was still produced in Mid-17th-century Nuremberg (Harms 3:62–63 no. III, 29).

²⁶² Geisberg 1,140, from 1532. Hollstein 31:261, without number, attributes it to Georg Pencz; Hollstein 47:113, H. 77, tentatively to Erhard Schoen.

Table 10. The movement of supplementary images between manuscripts L, A and K. The left part of this diagram shows the situation in manuscript L, the right part the structure in the very similar manuscripts A and K. Only the images added in the manuscripts L, A and K to the original series (as in D) and those that are moved between them are indicated. An asterisk marks images that are added to the rectos, which otherwise display diagrams from Revelation. For the sake of convenience the sections of the two prayers are numbered 1–12 and 1–13 respectively, and the texts of the Our Father are shaded in grey.

L			A and K			
					A	K
[nil]			Vine	* 'Rev. 0'	38r	36r
1	22v	<i>Jch glaub in</i>				
2–10	—	[9 scenes]				
11	32v	<i>Aufferstheung</i>				
12 / 1	33v	<i>Vnd eyn ewiges</i> /	<i>Vnser Vater</i> Throne [10 scenes]	1	38v	36v
		<i>Vnser Vater</i> Apocalyptic Woman		2–11		
		[10 scenes]	<i>Vnnd dye</i> <i>herligkeit</i>	12	49v	47v
2 – 11			Apocalyptic Woman			
* 'Rev. 23'	44r	Vine	<i>Jch glaub in</i>	1	50v	48v
			[9 scenes]	2–10		
12	44v	<i>Vnnd dye</i> <i>herligkeit</i> Throne	<i>Auffersteung</i>	11	60v	58v
* 'Rev. 24'	45r	House	House	* 'Rev. 23'	61r	59r
13	45v	<i>Jn Ewigkeit</i> <i>Amen</i>	<i>Vnd eyn ewiges</i>	12	61v	59v
		Columns	<i>Jn Ewigkeit</i> <i>Amen</i> Columns			

moved to the twelfth place of this prayer, leaving a lacuna at the beginning. Lautensack's simple solution was to move the two images from the penultimate leaf of manuscript L to the front: the cross-vine becomes the new title-page, the Throne of Solomon opens the Pater noster.²⁶³ The images on the last leaf of L kept their place, although their contexts have changed: the House of the Forest of Lebanon is now no longer in the place of 'Rev. 24,' but of 'Rev. 23,' and Christ between the columns marks the joint 12th section of the Creed and 13th section of the Pater, not the latter alone.

VI. *Additional Tracts in Manuscripts L, A and K*

A codicological examination of the three autograph manuscripts by Lautensack that contain the Pater noster and Credo combined with the chapters of Revelation (L, A and K, all dated to 1535) shows that this tract forms their core part, and that other sections were added later – for unknown reasons the new material was placed at the beginning of the existing manuscript.²⁶⁴ The apparently earliest autograph, now in London (L), ends for instance with the Credo and Pater as described above (1b:L22r–45v), which fills six regular binios. Lautensack decided to place in front of it another tract, which likewise could have stood on its own; it consists of four, again regular, binios (3a:L4r–19r). Since its last page was empty, the painter closed the gap by inserting a further tract that only took five pages: this page and a double leaf (2:L19v–21v). Then, he added another double-leaf – possibly planned originally as a stand-alone short tract (4b:L2r–3v), and finally a single leaf with the title (4b:L1r–v).

The last two thirds of manuscript A, most probably the next surviving manuscript, contain virtually the same tracts, but the collation of these pages is virtually regular, showing that it had been planned as a unity.²⁶⁵

²⁶³ Since the reconstructed precursor of manuscript L must have been similar to A and K, one could speculate that their arrangement of the supplementary images was the precursor of the series in L rather than vice versa, as argued in the text. If the Vine really refers to the Ancestors of Christ it would indeed most suitably be placed at the beginning as in A and K, because Lautensack gives the Ancestors prominence in the diagrams related to Rev. 1–11. However, it is hard to explain how the Throne of Solomon should have moved to its place, if not via a manuscript like L.

²⁶⁴ For more detailed codicological descriptions see the Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Appendix.

²⁶⁵ They cover A19r–61v. Tract 2 is not included in A and K. The only codicological irregularity in these sections is a cut-out leaf after A36 (similar after K34). Since Lautensack wrote on the stub, this operation must have happened during the production of tract 3b. Possibly he cut out the leaf so that 3b could be directly linked to an already completed tract 1d, which began on the next quire.

By contrast, the pages bound before them are of different types of paper and collated irregularly, like several individual pieces that were later joined together. Manuscript K is very similar to A, but its first quires are less chaotic, so Lautensack must have been relatively sure about its contents from the beginning.

As a result of this growth from back to front these manuscripts have several title-pages.²⁶⁶ Surprisingly, most of them contain the words of the last section of the Creed and even some elements of its iconography.²⁶⁷ This might have originated from 'accidents' in the complex process of uniting Pater noster, Credo and Revelation,²⁶⁸ and at some point Lautensack must have decided for unknown reasons that these elements were appropriate for title-pages.

The other tracts in these manuscripts all have very different characters. The opening sections of manuscripts A and K (5a/b) contain short introductory texts together with highly complex and innovative diagrams that will be described in the following chapter.

The next section, which is akin to the beginning of manuscript L, consists of a title-leaf²⁶⁹ followed by a double leaf, the layout of which suggests that its archetype had been planned as a loose folded leaf (tract 4b). On its inner pages are two diagrams of the 77 Ancestors, Books and letters, while the outer pages show diagrams of the 3×11 Latin letters and their Spirits.²⁷⁰ The first is linked with an image of Rev. 1, but the second surprisingly has instead of the Apocalyptic Woman the High Priest in his robes, as depicted in editions of Luther's Bible for the Book of Exodus.²⁷¹

²⁶⁶ In manuscript A they are 5a:A1r, 5a:A2r (Fig. 60), 4c:A19r (Fig. 66), 3b:A22r, 1d:A38r (Fig. 53).

²⁶⁷ In manuscript A the phrase "vnnd eyn Ewiges lebenn. Amenn" [*And life everlasting. Amen*] appears at the title-pages 5a:A2r (Fig. 60), 4c:A19r and 3b:A22r, and furthermore at 4c:A20r and 21v, the outer sides of what probably derived from an isolated double-leaf (v.s.). 3b:A19v, the verso of a title-page, has the mourning Judas and Matthias, the Apostles depicted in the last section of the Credo (cf. p. 209), in full figure.

²⁶⁸ The early diagrams in the appendix of K (1c), for instance, have no place for the last sentence of the Creed and therefore move it simply to the next page, which has nothing to do with it, cf. p. 212.

²⁶⁹ In L this page is badly damaged, it may have been similar to the corresponding leaf in manuscripts A and K (cf. p. 232). Here, it is counted as part of tract 4c, but originally tract 4 was a mere double-leaf, and this leaf was only added as title-page for the manuscript version.

²⁷⁰ One of them, 4c:A20r, is reproduced in Kress, "From elementary school," 325, plate 21.4.

²⁷¹ Another version of the same tract, in the unfoliated appendix of manuscript K (4a), shows on the first page of the vision of Rev. 12, and on the last that of Rev. 1. In manuscripts A and K the vision of Rev. 1 appears on the following page, which opens tract 3b; it could be linked with this tract, which focuses on Rev. 1–3, but also have migrated from the last page of 4c. For this form of tract cf. p. 26.

The lengthy, unillustrated tract that follows (3a/b) links the paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* of Revelation with numerous other Biblical passages.²⁷²

By far the most appealing of the additional tracts is their last section, which can only be found in manuscript L (tract 2), where it was, as demonstrated,²⁷³ inserted to fill a gap between tracts 3a and 1b (Figs. 55–58). Here, Lautensack used complex heraldry to visualize aspects of his theology. Since the High Middle Ages shields and crests, originally simple devices to identify knights in armor, had been used to convey abstract concepts. However, most examples betray little interest in the peculiar visual language of heraldry: the so-called *Scutum Fidei*, although occasionally depicted as a shield held by a knight, is a theological diagram that merely has the shape of an escutcheon;²⁷⁴ and the attributes placed on shields and crests of some personifications of the Virtues and Vices are considerably less complex than actual heraldic signs.²⁷⁵ Only in the late 15th century did the *Arma Christi* (the name itself encouraged a heraldic treatment) cease to be mere assemblies of objects on a blank escutcheon and, through the addition of crests, supporters²⁷⁶ and (primarily after 1550) divided

²⁷² Fig. 8. Most of its elements have already been explained in Chapter 3, others will follow in Chapter 5, cf. pp. 239–40 n. 66. Its main part is not illustrated in any manuscript. In manuscripts A and K (3b) it begins with a verso page, and the preceding recto is designed as a title-page and shows the Vision of Rev. 1 with the Mercy Seat (e.g. 3b:A22r, cf. p. 221 n. 271).

²⁷³ Cf. p. 220.

²⁷⁴ For this shield see Michael Evans, “An Illuminated Fragment of Peraldus’s *Summa of Vice*: Harleian MS 3244,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): 14–68, and František Šmahel, “Das *Scutum Fidei* Christianae Magistri Hieronymi Pragensis in der Entwicklung der mittelalterlichen trinitarischen Diagramme,” in *Die Bildwelt der Diagramme Joachims von Fiore: Zur Medialität religiös-politischer Programme im Mittelalter*, ed. Alexander Patschovsky (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 2003), 185–210. It is carried by a knight in the de Quincy Apocalypse (Evans, “Illuminated Fragment,” 27 and plate 6b), examples for its use without heraldic pretensions are drawings in British Library, Cotton Faustina B VII, 42v (Šmahel, “*Scutum Fidei*,” fig. FS 2), and woodcuts in some 16th-century Parisian Breviaries (e.g. *ibid.*, fig. FS 28, from 1515).

²⁷⁵ These images reflect texts like the *Etymachia* (Nigel Harris, *The Latin and German ‘Etymachia’: Textual History, Edition, Commentary* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994), e.g. 109–11, for *Superbia*), lists of the attributes employed are in Joanne S. Norman, *Metamorphoses of an Allegory: The Iconography of the Psychomachia in Medieval Art* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), 203–31. For some merely literary descriptions of symbolic shields see Huon de Meri, *Le Torneiment Anticrist*, ed. Margaret O. Bender (University (Mississippi): Romance Monographs, 1976), 30–31; Evans, “Illuminated Fragment,” 27.

²⁷⁶ For the iconography see Rudolf Berliner, “*Arma Christi*,” *Münchener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, new ser., 6 (1955): 35–152; Robert Suckale, “*Arma Christi*: Überlegungen zur Zeichenhaftigkeit mittelalterlicher Andachtsbilder,” *Staedel-Jahrbuch*, new ser., 6 (1977): 177–208; later examples in Wolfgang Scheffler, “Das Wappen Christi,” *Der Herold für Geschlechter-, Wappen- und Siegelkunde* 3 (1943): 89–108. Master E. S. showed God’s blessing hand as a crest, and Christ (as Man of Sorrows or as risen Christ) and Mary as supporters; they are assisted by the Symbols of the Evangelists and once also by the Lamb

shields,²⁷⁷ they became more similar to actual heraldry. Furthermore, the range of subject-matter that could be expressed through heraldry was dramatically expanded in Lautensack's time. The device came to be used for devotion,²⁷⁸ Reformation polemics,²⁷⁹ entertainment²⁸⁰ and even alchemy.²⁸¹

Lautensack had already experimented with heraldry on an altarpiece from 1511, long before he began his theological speculations (Fig. 3, cf. p. 14). The first pages of tract 2 have identical layouts: each displays a pair of shields similar to the arms of a married couple, supported by an angel wearing a priest's stole.²⁸² As in many fictive coats of arms all shields are

(Bartsch VI.34.88–89), similar is Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. brev. 12 (1476, Suckale, "Arma Christi," 186 no. 8). Master M B with the Swastika and Israhel van Meckenem have a similar crest, here Christ alone presents the shield (*Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 0906.003 and Bartsch VI.285.216, Hollstein 24:72, H. 162. Without supporters it appears in the *Doernen krantz van Collen*, G5r, Schramm 8, plate 55 no. 321; [Bertholdus Ratisbonensis], *Das andechtig zeyt glocklein | des lebens vnd leydens cristi nach | den .xxiiij. stunden / außgeteylt* (Nurmberg: Hochfeder, 1495, GW 4,171), a1v, Schramm. 18, plate 98 no. 666. Another tradition places parts of the Arma in the crest and has Unicorn and Lamb as supporters (Bartsch X.56.33), see Berliner, "Arma Christi," 98; the supporters also feature in a 15th-century manuscript (British Library, Harley MS 2,999, 61v, see Rodney Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1975), 99). Both hand and Arma appear in the crest of Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 212, 9v (Berliner, "Arma Christi," 62 fig. 15, dated already to the 14th century). Occasionally even the Arma in the Mass of St Gregory came to include heraldic elements (e.g. van Meckenem, Bartsch VI.291.228, Hollstein 24:138, H. 352; Johann zu Brunn, Schreiber 3:103 no. 1,455, *Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 16501.1455).

²⁷⁷ British Library, Add. 15,249, 1r, is an early example from the 15th century. From the 16th century come Berliner, "Arma Christi," 98 fig. 32 (with the Paschal Lamb on one crest); 100 figs. 34–35; Harms 3:31 no. III, 13 (as in some Lautensack drawings with three helmets), several more examples are in Scheffler, "Wappen Christi." Apparently, these compositions became more complicated in the Baroque, see Harms 3:33 no. III, 14 (1621, with seven helmets). A Baroque example of the use of heraldry to visualize speculative theology is the German manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. A. 287 (S.C. 29,493), 75v–76v.

²⁷⁸ E.g. the Shield of the Christian Pilgrim (*Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 100.520).

²⁷⁹ E.g. Vogtherr's arms of Cardinal Wolsey with butcher's knives (from 1528, Muller, *Heinrich Vogtherr*, 253 no. 189), or papal arms with purses and crumbling cross-keys (*Luther und die Folgen*, 166–67 nos. 38–39). Several Wittenberg prints of Luther's Bible pair a shield displaying the Lamb or the Brazen Serpent with Luther's rose (e.g. Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 70 fig. 121 or plate 129 fig. 233).

²⁸⁰ E.g. the arms of Cockaigne (Geisberg 1,192 as by Erhard Schoen; in Hollstein 48:171–72, H. rejected 224, as anonymous work in the manner of Peter Flötner), see also William A. Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century: Historical and Iconographical Studies* (Baden-Baden: Heitz, 1966–67), 128.

²⁸¹ Reusner, *Pandora*, 245. Some of the strange designs in the *Book of the Holy Trinity* (cf. p. 141 n. 126) are placed in shields, more advanced heraldry appears in the copy Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 188 Blank. (from 1471), which displays alchemical instruments in a crest (144r).

²⁸² An angel holds the arms of papacy and empire in the mid-15th-century Rhenish *Hyghalmen Roll* (London, College of Arms, M Series, 5b, Louise Campbell and Francis A. Steer, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms*, vol. 1 (London: College of Arms,

quarterly, with an inescutcheon in the center,²⁸³ the tinctures of the quarterings follow Lautensack's rainbow colors (with grey in the center).²⁸⁴ Their elaborate crests are linked with an image of God at the top of the page. The first example, L19v (Fig. 55), has in the quarterings of the shields the Twelve Stars from Rev. 12 and, as a somewhat labored counterpart, twelve moons: the inescutcheons contain sun and moon. In the crests the Seven Stars and Seven Angels from Rev. 1 frame two mirrors that show images of God, which are connected with lines to the enthroned God at the top. These mirrors are convex and have a decorated frame that sits at the top of a staff emerging from the crest; such mirrors could be either held in the hand or placed on a table.²⁸⁵ Despite the prominence of the word *Speculum* in late medieval learning and of literary mirror-similes for both the Incarnation²⁸⁶ and the nature of mankind,²⁸⁷ mirrors (apart from attributes) hardly play a role in medieval religious iconography.²⁸⁸

Visually richer is the next folio (L20r, Fig. 56): here the quarterings have four of the Seven Lamps (Rev. 4:5) and Seven Candlesticks (with Orb and two scepters in the inescutcheons), the remaining three lamps and candlesticks respectively surround the Dove and the Lamb on the crests.²⁸⁹ Most

1988), 106, reproduced in Dennys, *Heraldic Imagination*, opposite p. 97) and those of the Archdiocese of Mainz and of Archbishop von Ysenburg engraved in a Missal (no title-page or colophon ([Würzburg: Reyser], 1482, GW M 24,571), 1st leaf, v). In allegorical heraldry such arrangements are very rare, but the *Hyghalmen Roll* has the *Arma Christi* distributed over two persons, both with a shield (in one case even quartered) and a helmet carrying a crest (iv/2r, reproduced in Dennys, *Heraldic Imagination*, opposite p. 80, copied in British Library, Harley MS 2,169, 66r/67r).

²⁸³ Similar structures appear in many of the arms of fictive Bavarian Dukes by Jost Amman (1583, Seelig, *New Hollstein Amman*, 8:68–98, H. 201.1–.80), also some fictive arms by Virgil Solis are quartered (Bartsch IX.312.548–IX.313.551, Hollstein 65:228–29, H. 958–61). A 17th-century example with inescutcheon is in Coupe, *German Illustrated Broadsheet*, 130 fig. 30.

²⁸⁴ A different order of tinctures occurs, probably by mistake, in 2:L19v (Fig. 55).

²⁸⁵ Contemporary images show examples of both uses (as well as mirrors without handles): the first appears in a *Vanitas* sold as Cranach (Christie's 29/11/1963, Lot 139, photo in the Warburg Institute Photographic Collection) and a late-Gothic French misericord (Paris, Musée de Cluny, Cl. 22,859, *Miroirs: Jeux et reflets depuis l'Antiquité*, exh. cat. Rouen, Dieppe, Bernay, 2000–1 (Paris: Somogy 2000), 165 no. 8, illustrated on p. 113), the second is depicted by the Master of 1515 (Bartsch XIII.415.13).

²⁸⁶ Heinrich Schwarz, "The Mirror in Art," *The Art Quarterly* 15 (1952): 98.

²⁸⁷ E.g. Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Essai sur une légende scientifique: le miroir: Révélation, science-fiction et fallacies* (Paris: Elmayan, 1978), 74–83; *Miroirs: Jeux et reflets*, 129.

²⁸⁸ Some examples are in Paula M. Hancock, "Transformations in the Iconography of the Mirror in Medieval Art" (Ph. D. diss., Emory University, 1988), especially 94–97, 121; for later occurrences see Karl Kroth, "Die mystischen und mythischen Wurzeln der ästhetischen Tendenzen Gg. Phil. Harsdörffers: Ein Beitrag zur Psychologie des Barock" (Ph. D. diss., Munich, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 1921), 27.

²⁸⁹ The combination of God with the sealed Book in the top center and the Lamb on the right crest could be inspired by woodcuts illustrations of Rev. 4/5, from which also the

motifs from these pages are taken up in the fourth image (L21r, Fig. 57), where they are arranged on one large shield that is divided into nine sections ('quarterly of nine') and (like the 1511 painting) surmounted by three crests. The side crests support two busts,²⁹⁰ which are identified by sun and moon as *Spirit* and *Word* but nevertheless labeled as Father and Son. Above the central helmet the Dove of the Holy Ghost is surrounded by the twelve stars and crescents from the escutcheons of L19v, whilst the Seven Stars and Angels from the crests on this page join the Seven Candlesticks and Lamps of L20r in the side quarterings. The central quarterings (2, 5, 8) show once again Christ with the Mercy Seat²⁹¹ – unusually, He is depicted as Man of Sorrows, and accordingly the Arma Christi are placed above.

Whilst the third image (L20v, Fig. 58) is structured like the first two, its coats of arms represent contrasting powers: the dexter (left) shield has the Symbols of the Evangelists²⁹² in the quarterings and in the center the Book with Seven Seals, above the Christ Child holds the Brazen Serpent. On the sinister side the Tablets of the Law are surrounded by four personifications, which are elsewhere identified as Sin, Death, Devil and Hell.²⁹³ The crest shows Adam before the Tree of Knowledge.²⁹⁴ At the top center the Christ Child rides on the apocalyptic Lamb and carries a T-shaped cross. Most of these motifs are familiar from one of the few genuinely Lutheran pictorial inventions, the imagery known as *Gesetz und Gnade* (Law and Grace) or Sin and Redemption. It was developed in the late 1520s by the Cranach workshop, most of its elements had already been used in early Reformation prints.²⁹⁵ Lautensack may have taken his inspiration from

Seven Lamps come are taken (In his Pater noster Lautensack distributed elements from these woodcuts over two compositions, cf. p. 183 n. 72). Likewise God, the Lamb and the Dove can stand for the Persons of the Trinity.

²⁹⁰ A bust as crest already appears in Dürer's book-plate for Pirckheimer (Geisberg 734-2, Bartsch VII.192.app.52, Hollstein 7:224, H. 280), this device became more popular later in the 16th century, so in works of Jost Ammann (e.g. Bartsch IX.365.23).

²⁹¹ Since the Cherubim represent *Spirit* and *Word* they are linked to Christ's forehead and mouth respectively. A further line, from the crown of His head to the chest of the Dove, may link these persons of the Trinity, cf. p. 227.

²⁹² Unusually for Lautensack, they only have one pair of wings.

²⁹³ They appear first in the Creed drawings (1a:D866, Fig. 46).

²⁹⁴ It is bearing skulls, a device that is rare in Lutheran compositions yet appears, for instance, in Berthold Furtmeyr's late 15th-century Salzburg Missal (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15,710, 60v, reproduced in *Regensburger Buchmalerei: Von frühkarolingischer Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, exh. cat. Regensburg, Museen der Stadt Regensburg, 1987 (Munich: Prestel, 1987), plate 75). This motif is also sketched in 6:U27r, surprisingly with a wind-god in the tree. Although Adam is clearly standing for sinful humanity and not for the *Word*, his mouth is, similar to the other images, linked to the mouth of the Christ Child.

²⁹⁵ This composition has been subject of much debate, especially the complicated relationship between different versions and a possible humanist model, see Donald

one of them, or from Cranach's first fully-developed woodcut version from ca. 1529 (Fig. 59).²⁹⁶ These images show the history of salvation in several scenes placed in a landscape: the Fall, the Law of Moses that only exposes human sin and scares man with Death, Devil and Hell, the Brazen Serpent as a model for salvation by Faith²⁹⁷ and Type of the Crucifixion, a prophet (in some images) and John the Baptist²⁹⁸ directing the sinner to the cross, and finally the triumph of the risen Christ over Death and Devil. Lautensack arranged the different representatives of Law and Sin as counterparts to the Evangelists.²⁹⁹ Whilst his Death and Devil are conventional, Hell is here, as several times, reduced to a crocodile-like head, and Sin is a wild-looking old man with a small tree and a scourge.³⁰⁰

Elsewhere Lautensack combines some of these elements with imagery that is already familiar. The opening drawing of manuscripts A and K (Fig. 60)³⁰¹ has Christ on a cross-vine emerging from the Mercy Seat, supported by a figure that may represent the Father,³⁰² the Dove of the Holy Ghost is at the side. Christ is flanked not only by Mary and John but

L. Ehresmann, "The Brazen Serpent: A Reformation Motif in the Works of Lucas Cranach the Elder and his Workshop," *Marsyas: Studies in the History of Art* 13 (1967): 33–47; Susanne Urbach, "Eine unbekannte Darstellung von 'Sündenfall und Erlösung' in Budapest und das Weiterleben des Cranach'schen Rechtfertigungsbildes," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 28 (1989): 33–63; Matthias Weniger, "'Durch und Durch Lutherisch': Neues zum Ursprung der Bilder von Gesetz und Gnade," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, ser. 3, 55 (2004): 115–34; Heimo Reinitzer, *Gesetz und Evangelium: Über ein reformatorisches Bildthema, seine Tradition, Funktion und Wirkungsgeschichte* (Hamburg: Christians, 2006).

²⁹⁶ Geisberg 615, Hollstein 6:124, H. 14. Most of the better known painted versions of this composition postdate Lautensack's drawings, and the subject-matter was not common around Nuremberg (a catalogue of images is in Reinitzer, *Gesetz und Evangelium*, 1:141–491). For earlier woodcuts using elements of this composition see Weniger, "Durch und Durch Lutherisch," 124–28, and Wanda Drecka, "'Allégorie de la rédemption' de Lucas Cranach, le Vieux," *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 4 (1963): 1–13.

²⁹⁷ Suggested by Ehresmann, "Brazen Serpent," 46.

²⁹⁸ The early print shows a man in ragged clothes who cannot be clearly identified with John, although this would be plausible.

²⁹⁹ In a similar way, the title of a very rare tract by the dissenting theologian Melchior Hoffman (cf. p. 41) speaks of "Satan / | Todt / Hell Sünd / vnd dy ewige verdam|nuß" [Satan, Death, Hell, Sin, and eternal Damnation], VD 16 H 4,227, from 1531.

³⁰⁰ This could refer to Adam or reflect depictions of penitents. *Die wilden Leute des Mittelalters*, exh. cat. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1983 (Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1983), gives no concrete parallel. There was no iconographic tradition for depicting Sin; Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia | overo | Descrittione | Dell'Imagini Unversali | Cavate dall'Antichità | Et Da Altri Lvoghi* (Roma: Gigliotti, 1593), 197–98, suggests, for instance, a blind, black, naked man girded with a serpent.

³⁰¹ 5a:A2r (Fig. 60), 5b:K1r.

³⁰² This figure holds scepter and orb and thus could be one of Lautensack's ambiguous images of God. However, since the other Persons of the Trinity are clearly identifiable, and since the connecting lines do not reflect *Geist* and *Wort* (cf. 227 n. 304), it is probably the Father.

also by a minister at an altar, and a font. From the *Gesetz und Gnade* images derive Moses with the Tablets of the Law on the right-hand side and Sin, Death, Devil and Hell in the corners. In a later variant of this composition dating from 1538 (Fig. 61) the Mercy Seat is not under the Cross but in front of the altar, behind the priest appears the Fall, behind Moses the Brazen Serpent.³⁰³

In these images the connecting lines are used in a new way. In manuscripts A and K they link the three Persons of the Trinity,³⁰⁴ and additional lines connect the Five Wounds with the Law and the personifications in the spandrels, probably to indicate their defeat through Christ's Passion. Furthermore, some lines go from the wounds on Christ's hands to the font and the chalice, into which also a (curved) stream of blood from the side wound flows.³⁰⁵ These lines are possibly inspired by traditional images of the Sacraments, although those normally display streams of blood rather than abstract lines.³⁰⁶ Simpler versions of them already appear in some of Lautensack's earlier drawings.³⁰⁷ Some of these motifs are taken up again on the last page of tract 2, which repeats many motifs from the preceding coats of arms but is no longer heraldic.³⁰⁸ In the center Christ, holding the Book with Seven Seals, rises above the Tablets of the Law (with the incipit of the Commandments).³⁰⁹ Christ's forehead and mouth are linked with

³⁰³ 10a:N6or (Fig. 61).

³⁰⁴ They link the mouths of Father and Son with the chest of the Dove.

³⁰⁵ In 10a:N6or (Fig. 61) the lines are more conventional, linking Christ's forehead and mouth with sun and moon, and the star on His chest with the diagram on the opposite page. There are no lines between the hands and the sacraments, and the only (straight) line issuing from the side wound leads into the chalice.

³⁰⁶ For images of the Man of Sorrows see p. 204. A woodcut from 1507 shows the blood of the wounds of the crucified Christ streaming both into the Baptismal font and, instead of water, onto the head of the adult baptizee (Pfefferkorn, *Der Juden Spiegel*, title-page), and a slightly later woodcut by Wolf Traut links the Mass of St Gregory through lines coming from Christ's side to all the Seven Sacraments. Since one of them is slightly curved they can also be read as rays of blood (Geisberg 1,417).

³⁰⁷ In the last image of the Pater noster drawings (1a:D861, Fig. 37) Christ's mouth is connected to the host at the Communion Service and the pouring hand in the Baptism, thus emphasizing their sacramental character; D855 (Fig. 35) again links Christ's mouth with the hosts, and His wounded hands with two chalices. A later non-autograph drawing has God the Father holding Christ on the Cross above the Mercy Seat, with Christ's blood flowing into the chalice, the scene is flanked by the Lamb and the Book with Seven Seals (13a:B110v).

³⁰⁸ Here, 16 small images form a frame. The Symbols of the Evangelists appear at the top, Sin, Death, Devil and Hell at the bottom. The sides show seven angels, each with a star and a candlestick, and the Nativity.

³⁰⁹ They contain Exod. 20:2–4 and Exod. 7. It is unusual to have the text running over both tables, see Israel Abrahams, "The Decalogue in Art," in *Studies in Jewish Literature Issued in Honor of Kaufmann Kohler*, ed. Joseph Gutmann (Berlin: Reimer, 1913), 51.

the letters M and Ω on the facing pages of the Book; a further line points from its spine (hold before Christ's chest) to the *Person* of the Christ Child in a small image of the *Nativity* in the margin.

Whereas for the modern beholder Lautensack's heraldic compositions belong to his visually most compelling works, he was apparently not satisfied with them on the long term. Some sketchy drawings that probably reflect a lost work vaguely related to tract 5 show several coats of arms,³¹⁰ and a later diagram has a large coat of arms that is similar to L21r but much plainer (Fig. 86).³¹¹

³¹⁰ 6:U27r has a blank escutcheon with Adam in the crest (cf. p. 225 n. 294) and a circle with the Symbols of the Evangelists in "quarterings" and a star in the center.

³¹¹ This is 25:S66v (Fig. 86). Here the shield only shows the Symbols of the Evangelists with the Lamb in the center, the crests display three busts that probably relate to the *Aspects* of the Trinity. The halos around them and the permuted words at the top are typical for Lautensack's later works, cf. pp. 248, 257.

CHAPTER FIVE

LAUTENSACK'S LATER DIAGRAMS

This chapter covers over twenty years of Lautensack's activity, from 1535 to his death in 1558. In contrast to the detailed analysis of a small number of drawings in Chapter 4, the following pages will deal with hundreds of diagrams. This is possible because the Pater noster and Credo cycles are the richest and most complex speculative works produced by the Nuremberg painter, whereas most of his later diagrams (with the exception of his very last tracts) are considerably plainer and more repetitive. Furthermore, all of Lautensack's tracts produced after 1538 only survive in copies made about 1600; they have frequently been mutilated in this process,¹ and since no copy was made by a trained artist they are visually less attractive than the autographs – indeed at times blatantly ugly. Nevertheless, some of their diagrams belong to Lautensack's most interesting compositions. They add much new material to his already known quotations, references, lists and images, and, most importantly, show new and inventive forms of presentation.

To begin with, this chapter will return to the introductory pages of the early autographs A and K (tract 5). The first section will show how Lautensack there developed new ways, beside the standard grid, to present his material, the second will discuss extensions of familiar series of names or signs and new ways of quoting the Bible that appear very occasionally in these two manuscripts but gain greater importance in his later works. After a discussion of Lautensack's interest in celestial prodigies, which play an important role in his tracts from his last autograph (manuscript N, dated 1538) onward, the last two sections will deal with developments of the form and content of his diagrams in the 1540s, and finally with the highly complex and startling drawings he produced in the last years of his life.

In the course of Lautensack's activity as a theological author both the relation between texts and images and the character of his diagrams changed considerably. Most of his early works, which were discussed in

¹ Sometimes, copyists were interested in the texts or in the diagrams exclusively, sometimes they grouped together images from several tracts, cf. p. 5.

the previous chapter, consist of long diagrams going over many openings, with little or no text inserted between them. However, the last autograph, from 1538, already contains long texts, so that the diagrams (despite their pivotal role in Lautensack's way of arguing) increasingly look like illustrations of a text. In the following years they become shorter (one, or sometimes two, pages) but more complex and diverse. Some pages combine several small diagrams: circular and cruciform layouts, but also large figures, appear next to the familiar grids, which are still predominant but handled with increasing freedom.

I. *Circular Diagrams*

The introductory section of manuscripts A and K, here called tract 5, is different from the other parts of these manuscripts² because it is a heterogeneous assembly of diverse types of texts and diagrams.³ Whereas most of their content is familiar, the form of some of these diagrams differs drastically from what has been described so far.⁴ We have seen how Lautensack increasingly compartmentalized large pictorial compositions, as in his 'Evangelists,' and so created the format of the rectangular grid, which covers the entire page and displays headings, quotations, lists, letters and images of different sizes. Tract 5, however, also contains introductory and explanatory texts authored by Lautensack that are not part of a grid. Some pages consist of a heading, a block of text and then, quasi as an illustration, a diagram (Fig. 64) – a layout familiar from some House-Books, vernacular repertoires of astronomical, medical and technical

² These are tracts **1d**, **3c** and the short **4b**, all discussed in Chapter 4 (pp. 220–22).

³ In contrast to other tracts in the autograph manuscripts, 'tract 5' is not a self-contained unit. This name is rather used for the sake of convenience for a group of diagrams that appear in the introductory sections of manuscripts A and K. Some of them are self-contained (e.g. A8r–12r, with a permutation of 1 John), whereas others form an introduction to the main sections of the manuscripts. To this group belong several diagrams in a conventional grid form: a table of alphabets (A2v, Fig. 16), two diagrams of letters, Ancestors and Books (A3r–v), the 'Crosses of the Three Ages' *Crucified* downward (A7r, Fig. 26), the celestial bodies in permutation with *Arsawu* (A7v, Fig. 20), and a text on the structure of the remainder of the manuscript (A18r–v).

⁴ To this group belong three diagrams that introduce the three main sections of the manuscript: The first diagram (A15v, Fig. 68) deals according to its heading with Rev. 1–3 and is probably related to tract **3b**; the third (A16v, Fig. 69, with a long explanation on A17r–v) clearly refers to the Credo section of tract **1d**, and therefore the second (A16r) probably points to the Pater noster. Indeed, the heading of A38r, the page before the beginning of the Pater noster (Fig. 53), announces the beginning of the second part of the manuscript, and a notice on A49v, the last page of the Pater noster (Fig. 41), the start of the third part.

knowledge.⁵ According to their new, limited, role, most new diagrams are no longer grids that can be expanded in every direction but circles placed within a square.⁶ This form probably goes back to drawings of a large figure framed by a circle: the relatively primitive tract 1c shows the *Two Images* of Revelation in plain circles with the letters A and O in the spandrels,⁷ and in 1d the angels surrounding God in the penultimate image of the Creed are arranged in 24 sectors of a ring, linked with the first 2×11 Latin letters in an inner ring.⁸

Typically, these circular diagrams contain an image of God in the center, surrounded by one or more rings, which are divided into (normally 24)⁹ sectors. Further images are placed in the spandrels. 5a:A15r (Fig. 64), for example, has four rings. The outermost contains the first 22 Spirits, the next two the corresponding 22 letters and the numbers 1–24, whilst the innermost has both the last 11 letters and their Spirits.¹⁰ A similar diagram on A12v shows the Hebrew, Greek and Latin letters surrounding God holding an open book. Whereas in most later diagrams the sequence begins at '9 o'clock' (e.g. 10a:N38r, Fig. 75), Lautensack wanted here to connect the quarters of this series with the celestial bodies in the spandrels,¹¹ and hence turned the circle clockwise by 45°. In A15r the central image is tilted accordingly, in A12v it is moved back upright. A more complex version in a later tract places all alphabets into one diagram (Fig. 65).¹² The title-page

⁵ E.g. 5a:A15r (Fig. 64). Cf. the Cracow House-Book (p. 116 n. 11). A good example of its layout is 62r (Chojecka, *Bayerische Bild-Enzyklopädie*, fig. 73). The similar manuscript Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 1.463, from 1524, is described in Lutze and Kyriss, *Bilderhandschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*, 58–70, and localized in Nuremberg (for the layout see p. 63 fig. 34, reproducing 67r).

⁶ Even 5a:A16r, a narrow grid with many overarching semicircles at the sides, is treated like a circular diagram and equipped with spandrels in the corners.

⁷ They appear on two facing pages, the first is numbered 12, the second unpaginated (cf. pp. 216–17). Later this device will be linked with the circular rainbow, cf. p. 248.

⁸ In 1a:D872 (Fig. 47) there is only an approximately circular halo around God, 1b:L32r has a simple circle, the full two-ring-system is in 1d:A60v. A possible precursor is 1d:A42v: here God is surrounded by a circular rainbow (not yet the four-part halo adopted by Lautensack in later years), in its upper half it is surrounded by 14 nearly identical putto heads.

⁹ A later tract has a design for a vast diagram comprising 48 sectors, each with four rings, but apart from the numbers 1–48 in the innermost ring and putto-heads in all fields above the 1 it remained empty (37:U116v–17r).

¹⁰ The 12th and 24th spaces are not filled by letters and Spirits, they contain instead pointing hands, the letters M and Ω, and the words "Gott" and "mensch."

¹¹ For this four-part division of the celestial bodies, which becomes very common in Lautensack's later tracts, see p. 236.

¹² 12:V171r, with the image of Rev. 12 in the center.

of tract 4c¹³ shows an 8-part compass rose whose points (each with a star) subdivide two rings containing longer texts (Fig. 66).¹⁴

These schemes have some resemblance with late medieval catechetic Rotae and with the combinatorial diagrams of Ramón Lull¹⁵ and Johannes Trithemius,¹⁶ which, like Lautensack's compositions, often show two concentric rings, one with letters and one with numbers. However, diagrams of this kind would hardly have been accessible to a craftsman, and the Rotae had all but died out in Lautensack's time.¹⁷ Rather, one should once again look to vernacular scientific texts for possible models. Concentric circles feature in a device to demonstrate Perspective,¹⁸ but they appear more commonly in astronomical diagrams of the earth surrounded by the planet spheres. In most of these the center is very small, and only the outermost ring that represents the zodiac is divided into 12 sectors.¹⁹ Such diagrams often have the four winds in the corners, and since the winds have no significance for Lautensack's theology, their presence in one of

¹³ 4c:A19r. Possibly this image also appeared on 4b:L1r, a page which is almost totally destroyed – otherwise manuscript L does not yet have circular diagrams.

¹⁴ These texts are the four sentences referring to "A vnnd o" (see pp. 237–38) and the beginning of John 1. Apparently Lautensack wanted the cardinal points of the compass rose to separate four groups of sentences, and the secondary points to divide each sentence into halves.

¹⁵ E.g. Agrippa, *In Artem Breuem*, A5r, cf. Andreas B. Kilcher, "Ars memorativa und ars cabalistica: Die Kabbala in der Mnemonik der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Seelenmaschinen: Gattungstraditionen, Funktionen und Leistungsgrenzen der Mnemotechniken vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Beginn der Moderne*, ed. Jörg Jochen Berns and Wolfgang Neuber (Vienna: Böhlau, 2000), 206, 209 fig. 9 shows a circular diagram with Hebrew letters. These tracts were only available in Latin.

¹⁶ E.g. Trithemius, *Steganographia*, 55. Although Trithemius (1462–1516) was older than Lautensack, most of his works (including the diagrams in his *Steganographia*) were only printed in the 17th century, so they can hardly have influenced the Nuremberg painter.

¹⁷ One of the last examples of this genre is the long poem [Nicolas Volcyre de Serouville], *Chronicque abregee | Par petis vers huytains des Empereurs / Roys / et ducz Daustriasie: Auecques | le Quinternier / et singularitez | du Parc dhonneur* (Paris: Couteau, [1530]). It describes (without illustration) a large circular diagram in form of a garden with references to the Seven Virtues, Sacraments, Gifts of the Holy Spirit, branches of the Candlestick, together with five wounds, senses, Books of the Pentateuch and logical categories to fill altogether 12 sectors (see Paulette Choné, "Orbis Austriasie: Zum Bau eines mnemonisches [sic] Ruhmmodells am lothringischen Hofe zur Zeit des Bauernkrieges," in *Ars memorativa*, ed. Jörg Jochen Berns and Wolfgang Neuber (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), 145–53).

¹⁸ [Jean Pélerin], *Von der kunst | Perspectiua*, ed. Jörg Glogkendon ([Nuremberg: Glockendon], 1509, VD 16 P 1,238), title-page.

¹⁹ Regiomontanus, *Kalendarium teütsch*, Ee4r. Sometimes, such diagrams show the earth tilted in order to emphasize the rotation of the planetary system (e.g. Schedel, [Nuremberg Chronicle], 4v and 5v), similar to Lautensack's tilted crucifix in 5a:A15r (Fig. 64). More similar to Lautensack than most of these diagrams is the title-page of the virtually contemporary *Organum Vranicum* from 1536 (VD 16 M 6,726, Hollstein 45:202, H. 103), which has a relatively large view of the earth in the center surrounded by only one planetary ring divided into seven sectors.

his drawings (Fig. 75) can only be explained through such models.²⁰ Furthermore, Lautensack could have taken some inspiration from contemporary calendars, as he had done for his grid-like diagrams. Many calendars, as those in numerous editions of the *Hortulus animae*, contain circular diagrams for the Golden Numbers²¹ (a ring with the numbers 1–19) and the Dominical Letters²² (two rings, of 28 sectors each, the outer has a letter in every field, the inner only in every fourth field). A moon and a sun respectively are often shown in the center of these rings,²³ and some similarly structured diagrams have a star in this place.²⁴ Therefore they combine, like Lautensack's tracts, letters, numbers and celestial bodies. The Easter table of a xylographic calendar consists of three concentric circles with 19 sectors each and, as in some of Lautensack's diagrams, the spandrels are decorated with the Symbols of the Evangelists (Fig. 67).²⁵

²⁰ The winds appear, for instance, in one of the astronomical diagrams in some editions of the *Lucidarius*, a popular vernacular treatise on Astronomy and Geography, so in *Maister Elucidarius | von den wunderbern | sachen der welt* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1491, GWM 9,334), a4r.

²¹ The Golden Number is a number between 1 and 19, and years with the same Golden Number have the new moons on the same days.

²² In most medieval calendars the letters "abcdefg" are written alongside each group of seven days. If the dominical letter for a year is, for instance, *b*, all days marked with *b* are Sundays. Leap-years use a second dominical letter after the intercalary "dies bis-sextus" (25 February). This letter is given in the inner circle, which correspondingly has only entries for every fourth year.

²³ E.g. *Hortulus animae* (1519), 14th leaf, v (Dominical Letters), and 15th leaf, r (Golden Numbers). A diagram in Regiomontanus, *Kalendarium teütsch*, E2v, combines the 19 Golden Numbers with the Epacts (on the inner ring – the Epact indicates the age of the moon on March 22 of a given year and therefore is a tool for calculating Easter. Each Epact corresponds to one Golden Number) and has both sun and moon in the center. Another diagram (ibid., E4r) adds the numbers 1–28 to the two rings of Dominical Letters. Although the cross, normally indicating the beginning of the sequence, is at the top, the numbering begins at ca. "1h30," similar to Lautensack's occasional use of the diagonals as starting-points (cf. p. 231). Less relevant for the painter are rare attempts at displaying both the 19 Golden Numbers and the 28 Dominical Letters in one complex system (e.g. [Heinrich von Laufenberg], *Versehung des Leibs* (Augsburg: [Ratdolt], 1491, GWM 17,217), E5v, reproduced in Schramm 23, plate 75 no. 354).

²⁴ E.g. an astrological diagram in the calendar [Almensor]: [Incipit:] Es spricht der Meyster Almensor (Augsburg: Blaubirer, 1481, GWM 16,008), 71st leaf, r, reproduced in Schramm 23, plate 154 no. 752.

²⁵ Cf. 5a:A16r. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1,189 Helmst. folio, 2r (old foliation 181r), Ad Stijnman, "Ein unbekanntes Blockbuch in Cod. Guelf. 1,189 Helmst. der Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 84 (2009), 87 fig. 3. Several late 15th-century woodcuts likewise place the Symbols of the Evangelists in the spandrels of a circle that, however, only contains the monogram of Christ (e.g. Schreiber 4:13 no. 1,811, reproduced in Sabine Griese and Volker Honemann, "Zauber – Segen – Katechese: Position und Leistung der xylographischen Einblattdrucke in der Medienwelt des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Pragmatische Dimensionen mittelalterlicher Schriftkultur*, ed. Christel Meyer et al. (Munich: Fink, 2002), 397 fig. 21).

The circular diagrams in the popular *Losbücher* (oracle books) are simpler. Most consist of one ring only, but at least one mixes Hebrew and Latin letters.²⁶ Lautensack was not the only religious author who was interested in such diagrams. The circular compositions associated with Nicholas of Flüe have already been discussed,²⁷ and a tract from 1521 links biblical Books and characters with contemporary rulers through a rota of two rings with 12 sectors each.²⁸ Soon after Lautensack's death a book on angels with complex diagrams of interlocked circles and arches was published.²⁹

The most intricate diagram of tract 5 (5a:A15v, Fig. 68) is neither a circle nor a grid but an assembly of 15 circlets, which are held together by leaf-decorated brackets (as are elsewhere the cells of a grid) and arranged (from left to right) as 1+2+4+1+4+2+1. They refer to the 15 paragraphs of the *Six Chapters*, and accordingly their lower halves contain the Seven Stars (left) and the Seven Candlesticks (right), whilst the upper parts have different images of God; spread over both halves are the 11×3 Latin letters.³⁰ The familiar connecting lines are used here with less precision than elsewhere, apparently they have three different purposes: some link the foreheads and mouths of the central image of Christ and those in the larger circles at the sides to signify *Spirit* and *Word*, some join the 7 circles on each side into a hierarchical structure, and finally some connect most of the stars and candlesticks to the central star.³¹ The same 'hierarchical' use of lines also appears in some other diagrams of tract 5, grids surrounded with several levels of arches (Fig. 6).³² Altogether, this multi-circle composition roughly fills an octagon, but it is treated like a circular scheme and

²⁶ Schneider, *Losbuch Konrad Bollstatters*, 121r–26v (with more complex circles, divided into three rings, cf. p. 215 n. 242).

²⁷ Cf. p. 161.

²⁸ Christannus Fädem de Landeck, *Prophecia simpli[cis] Militis ad status ecclesie | simplici sed non imperita | distione [sic] deprompta* (Basilee: [Lamparter], 1521, VD 16 F 547), G1r, Hollstein 45:180, H. 64.

²⁹ *Engelbüch | Das ist | Be|richt von der Göttlichen | Mayestet / Nachmals von | den lieben engeln / vnd | dem gantzen Him|lischen heer* (Ingolstatt: Weyssenhorn, 1565, VD 16 E 1,223), e.g. 101r–2v, 136r.

³⁰ The first seven groups of letters are in the left half, the eighth is in the center, the last three in the three larger circles of the right-hand side. Confusingly, the four small circles on that side do not only have four times A and o which were probably supplied at the end of the alphabets, but beneath it once again the first four groups of the 11×3 letters.

³¹ The two large circles at the sides are not linked this way, and the 2×2 largest circles after them are only connected indirectly. Lines of this kind are also used on A16v (Fig. 69). A vague parallel is in Bouelles, *Que hoc volumine*, a textbook of philosophy, 41r.

³² 5a:A4r–v, A16r (the latter also connects many stars and candlesticks to a central star, similar to A15v, Fig. 68).

has spandrels containing the Three Celestial Bodies and the Mercy Seat. Possibly these multi-circle compositions turned out to be too complex for Lautensack, they appear only here and in fragments copied from a probably contemporary tract.³³

With these complex diagrams contrasts a seemingly conventional image, Christ crucified between the thieves (Fig. 69).³⁴ The connecting lines indicate how the good thief participates in the divine *Spirit, Person* and *Word*,³⁵ whilst his unrepentant counterpart remains isolated. However, the cross-shaped diagrams beneath the drawing, the contents of which are repeated in *Crucified* order along the margins, show that this image primarily illustrates the technique of *Crucifying* texts, and that all narrative details are merely 'visual rambling' by the painter.³⁶

II. Four-Part Divisions

Most of Lautensack's early grids are structured according to the number of the Books of the Bible ($77 / 7 \times 11$), of the chapters of Revelation ($22 / 2 \times 11$) or of the paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* ($15 / 3 \times 5 / 7+1+7$). However, the new centralized diagrams (and many of Lautensack's later compositions) leave four small spaces in the spandrels. In order to fill them, new groups of four elements were devised, and later four-part grids came into use, too. We have already encountered some of these groups in the spandrels of Lautensack's early circular diagrams. Some of them are self-explanatory,

³³ Some sketches of combinations of (up to 7) circles appear on 6:U27r – if these are unfinished copies of a lost tract or copies after unfinished sketches by Lautensack is unclear.

³⁴ 5a:A16v (Fig. 69), 5b:K16r. The crosses of the thieves are placed diagonally as, for instance, in Dürer's *Calvary* (Bartsch VII.127-59, Hollstein 7:145, H. 180) and the woodcut *Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 1301.122, Hollstein 48:128–29, H. rejected 199 (sometimes attributed to Erhard Schoen). The latter is more similar to Lautensack's because it includes sun and moon in the corners. In manuscript K the thieves are not nailed to the cross as in A but bound to it in contorted poses. Both solutions were common (e.g. in two woodcuts once attributed to Schoen: one mentioned above and *Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 1301.004(as), Hollstein 50A:136, H. rejected 103.67). In both manuscripts Lautensack shows them not wearing loincloths like Christ but rather short braies as common in the 16th century (C. W. and Phillis Cunnington, *The History of Underclothes* (London: Joseph, 1951), 31).

³⁵ It is probably for compositional reasons that the line from the thief's forehead (*Spirit*) leads directly to the sun above, whilst the lines from his mouth (*Word*) and his chest (*Person*) go to the respective body-parts of Christ. In K the thief is only connected through his mouth to Christ's mouth, which might also indicate speech.

³⁶ To a certain extent drawing and diagram contradict each other: all three 'Crosses' needed for the *Crucifixion* of texts are of equal importance whereas the three crosses in the drawing display a clear hierarchy from Christ over the good down to the bad thief.

like the Symbols of the Evangelists (Fig. 65) or the four winds (10a:N38r, Fig. 75), others were extensions of familiar schemes as, for instance, the Four Celestial Bodies, and a third group has not yet been discussed, like the sentences containing 'A and o' in the compass-rose (4c:A19r, Fig. 66).

Most prominent is Lautensack's extension of the familiar tripartite system sun / star / moon into the quadripartite sun / star / moon / star (e.g. Fig. 70), which changed its significance incisively.³⁷ Whereas the older system was closely linked to the triad of *Spirit*, *Word* and *Person*, which explained (inter alia) how each divine *Person* consisted of God's *Spirit* and *Word*, the quadripartite version implied a chronology paralleled to the 24 (4×6) hours of the day. The sun represents Christ, his going down to the earth accordingly the Incarnation, which was expressed in the image of Rev. 12 and the evening star. Night and moon stand for human life governed by God's *Word*, which will end with the coming of Christ as indicated by the image of Rev. 1 and the morning star.³⁸ The two stars, which signify morning and evening star, are indistinguishable from each other and from the sole star of the original system (e.g. Figs. 64, 70). The Four Celestial Bodies appear not only in spandrels³⁹ and four-part diagrams but also in familiar schemes of the 'Three Crosses.'⁴⁰ A diagram in an oracle book arranges – similar to Lautensack's description – the sequence

³⁷ E.g. 17:U104v.

³⁸ E.g. 7a:N51r–v: "Also scheint dye warhafftig sonne Jhesus der Geist ... dye muter mit dem kindt das ist auch der Abent stern ... welchs wort dan den mon zu mitternacht beschleust ... welchs wort dye ganczen nacht beschleust das ist dye gancz zeyt dises lebens / So nun dye zwolff stunt der nacht sich enden wöllen. So steigt herfür der helle lichte morgenstern vnd pringt mit sich den hellen lichten tag" [Thus shines the true sun, Jesus, the *Spirit* ... the Mother with the Child that is also the evening star ... which *Word* then the moon completes at Midnight ... which *Word* completes the whole night, this is the whole time of this life. When the twelve hours of night shall end, then the bright and clear morning star rises and brings with it the bright and clear day], cf. p. 242 n. 77. This simile furthermore points out that the *Spirit* is necessary for understanding the *Word*, just as the moon needs the sun's light to shine. This astronomical fact was common knowledge and displayed in diagrams explaining eclipses in vernacular almanacs like Jacobus Honniger, *Almanach in der hochgebreysten hohen schule zu Erfört durch Jac[obum] [sic] Honniger von Grussen auf das M.CCCC.XCIIIJ. iar gecalculeyret* ([Nuremberg: Hochfeder], 1494 (Eisermann, *Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke*, no. H–33, Schramm 18, plate 98 no. 664).

³⁹ In some early tracts Lautensack shows the Mercy Seat as fourth image (e.g. Fig. 68) – since the Cherubim on it stand for *Geist* and *Wort* and the void for *Person*, it merely summarizes the content of the other images; accordingly its parts are paralleled with the Three Celestial Bodies in 26:W105r (cf. pp. 153–54).

⁴⁰ E.g. 26:B75v/76r/79r (in manuscript W the first two 'Crosses' are on W85v and W81r respectively, the third is lost). The Four Celestial Bodies appear in the small circles at the end of the arms of each of the 'Crosses,' the Three Celestial Bodies sun / star / moon in their centers.

sun / star / moon / star at the four cardinal directions of a disk.⁴¹ Lautensack was less consistent in naming a fourth *Aspect* of the Trinity, probably his most frequent choice was "Menschheit" [Humanity].⁴² In some texts this four-part system is paralleled with the feasts Easter (*Geist*), Ascension (*Person*), Pentecost (*Word*) and Christmas (*Menschheit*).⁴³ The number of the Persons of the Trinity can be increased to four by starting with "Gott" or (in case the sequence appears twice) once with "Gott" and once with "Wort" (e.g. Figs. 78, 79).

Some four-part systems include Biblical quotations. Whereas most of the excerpts from the Bible presented in previous chapters are incipits of chapters or paragraphs from a continuous text, the passages discussed here are real 'quotations,' sections taken out of their surroundings because of their contents.

The Latin⁴⁴ Title of the Cross ("Jhesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum") is not only displayed in images of the Crucifixion⁴⁵ but frequently surrounds diagrams (e.g. Fig. 68)⁴⁶ or features in four-part grids.⁴⁷ Sometimes it appears together with a paraphrase of John 1§1: "Gott ist das Wort / vnd das Wort ist Gott," which can be divided into four (e.g. Fig. 73)⁴⁸ or into two parts – in the latter case often combined with the *Two Images* (e.g. Fig. 21).

Another group consists of four sentences in Revelation, in which God is calling Himself the Alpha and the Omega.⁴⁹ These quotations are likewise

⁴¹ Leopold Zatočil, "Die Heidelberger (H) und die Olmützer (O) Losbuchhandschrift," in id., *Germanistische Studien und Texte*, vol. 1, *Beiträge zur deutschen und niederländischen Philologie des Spätmittelalters* (Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně: 1968), 11–164, unnumbered plate (then Olomouc, Vlastivědný ústav, CO 637). This diagram is not labeled and therefore we do not know if these stars represent morning and evening star. In astronomical diagrams both are naturally identified as the planet Venus.

⁴² It appears already in 1d:A60v, but tract 4c shows some experiments to fill this position, like the duplication of "Person" (A20v–21r) or the repetition of "Geist" (A20r). Other possibilities are "Jhesus" (5a:A6v), "Gott vnd Mensch" (12:B13v–14v), "Gnadenstuhl" (13a:B113v, cf. p. 236 n. 39), "Wolgefallen" (15:W51r), "Person" (26:W81v), "Lamb" (45:E32r).

⁴³ E.g. 27b:B103r (with explanations). Another mystical interpretation of the church calendar is in Hoffman, *Der leuchter*, A3v–A4v.

⁴⁴ Although Lautensack chose the Hebrew, Greek and Latin alphabets because they relate to the three languages of the Title of the Cross (e.g. 35:t7), the only example of a trilingual Title in his tracts was probably added by a copyist: 13a:B10v (the similar 13b:U13r shows three attempts to render the Hebrew text).

⁴⁵ E.g. 5a:A2r (Fig. 60).

⁴⁶ E.g. 5a:A15v (Fig. 68).

⁴⁷ In 10a:N32v–33r (Fig. 73), for instance, it is combined with the Ascending Quarters of Rev. (v.i.).

⁴⁸ E.g. 10a:N32v–33r (Fig. 73).

⁴⁹ Rev. 1:8, Rev. 1:17, Rev. 21:6, Rev. 22:13. Luther always rendered "Alpha and Omega" as "A vnd o."

placed around diagrams (e.g. Fig. 65)⁵⁰ and the already discussed combinations of the letters *A* and *o* are derivatives of them.⁵¹

The first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews contains solemn praises of Christ, the Son of God.⁵² From early on Lautensack quoted a part of its first paragraph, divided (not following formal criteria but according to its syntax) into five sections, which could be inserted into images of King Solomon's Buildings (e.g. Fig. 52).⁵³ These quotations also appear in some diagrams (e.g. Figs. 55–58),⁵⁴ but soon afterwards the entire paragraph was quoted, divided into eight sections.⁵⁵ Later, the other two paragraphs of the first chapter of Hebrews were structured in the same way, resulting in altogether 3×8 (often as 3×2×4) sections, which were frequently arranged in a complicated way with special emphasis on the middle group (e.g. Fig. 71).⁵⁶

Lautensack's interest in four-part divisions was not limited to short quotations. We have seen that, by adding the *Two Images* to the 22 chapters, he extended Revelation to 24 parts, which could be divided into 4×6. With some manipulations he made sure that the last chapter of each

⁵⁰ These four sentences appear, e.g., in the spandrels of 12:W2r–v, or at the sides of the square diagram 10a:N59v (Fig. 15). The first two of these sentences, each divided in turn into four parts, surround the similar diagrams on 5a:A12v and A15r (Fig. 64) – possibly a continuation with the other two sentences was planned. Surprisingly, they first appear (preceded by Rev. 1§1 and 14§1 as one unit), in 2:L19v–21v.

⁵¹ Cf. p. 164.

⁵² This passage also forms the basis of Osiander's theology of the Trinity, though his interpretation (Osiander, *Gesamtausgabe*, 1:326, l. 4 – 327, l. 2) differs strongly from Lautensack's (11:g4–5).

⁵³ These quotations surround Solomon's Throne in 1d:A38v and K36v and mark the gates of his palace in 1b:L44v (Fig. 52) – here the remaining text of the paragraph is added at the bottom.

⁵⁴ In this case they are sometimes paralleled with the four passages containing 'A and o,' and the incipit of Revelation added to have five elements (e.g. 5a:A7r, which is related to the *Crucifixion* of the *Six Chapters* downward. In the similar 13b:U11v the quotations from Hebr. are missing – the chaotic layout suggests a clerical error rather than a change in concept).

⁵⁵ E.g. 10b:U77r/78v/75r/76v/79r–80r (the 1st and 5th passages on U77r). The first section is much longer than the others, betraying that it was added later and had to cover everything from the beginning of the paragraph to the beginning of the second section. Interestingly, 5a:A7r had originally the five passages already quoted at Solomon's Throne (i.e., the 2nd–6th overall), but soon Lautensack glued a strip of paper with a corrected version over them, which shows instead the 1st–5th sections, reflecting the extension of the series. (5b:K6r still reflects the earlier state).

⁵⁶ In 45:E16v (Fig. 71) the quotations from Heb. 1§1 are above, those from Heb. 1§3 beneath the diamond, whilst each of the four circles in the spandrels of the diamond contains a passage of each half of the 2×4 sections of Heb. 1§2. Once Lautensack explained that the number 8 could derive not only from 7+1 but also represented the human nature of Christ in a way that numbers 1–4 meant His exterior, and 5–8 His interior nature (26:W9or).

quarter (Rev. 6, 12, 18 and 1 (= 24), here called the Ascending Quarters) consisted of six paragraphs.⁵⁷ These 4×6 paragraphs were associated with the 4×6 wings of the Symbols of the Evangelists, and in lists of chapters each of these paragraphs can be highlighted by a drawing of a wing in the margin.⁵⁸ Lautensack sometimes quotes all 24 paragraphs of these chapters,⁵⁹ but more frequently only the last paragraph of each.⁶⁰ Occasionally they appear in a transposed order starting with the last element.⁶¹ This interest in the 'Concluding' elements of a series will become more influential in his later works.⁶² Besides these Ascending Quarters, Lautensack devised two similar systems, and sometimes all of them appear together (Fig. 72).⁶³ One of them counts the first paragraphs of these chapters, in descending order (Descending Quarters),⁶⁴ the other links four paragraphs, for unknown reasons (Unexplained Quarters).⁶⁵

In addition to these three systems of Quarters, and sometimes paralleled with one of them, Lautensack invented three more quadripartite groups of Biblical quotations. The earliest and most common of them (here called the Four Pauline Chapters) consists of the 12th chapters of those Pauline Epistles that have twelve or more chapters (Rom. 12, 1 Cor. 12 and 2 Cor. 12) together with 1 Cor. 15, the only chapter of them that is divided into 12 paragraphs (e.g. Fig. 81).⁶⁶ The other two arrangements

⁵⁷ For this calculation, Lautensack apparently did not insert the image of the Apocalyptic Woman between Rev. 11 and Rev. 12; after Rev. 22 he must have inserted one of the images as 'Rev. 23' and then a repetition of Rev. 1 as 'Rev. 24.' Since Rev. 1 has only 5 paragraphs Lautensack counted Rev. 2§1 as 'Rev. 1§6' (in 34:U156v it is even labeled as such).

⁵⁸ E.g. 5:E19r/22r/24r/25r. In this diagram, Rev. 12 is moved to the 13th spot (with an image of the 1534 Parhelia and quotations from 1 John in the 12th spot), and Rev. 1 is repeated in the 24th spot; it is marked with the wings in this position, not at the beginning of the Book.

⁵⁹ E.g. 26:W102v–3r.

⁶⁰ Thus Rev. 6§6, 12§6, 18§6, 2§1 (= 24§6), e.g. 10a:N32v–33r (Fig. 73).

⁶¹ E.g. 17:U114v–15r. The order is then Rev. 2§1, 6§6, 12§6, 18§6.

⁶² Cf. p. 259.

⁶³ 37:U20r combines all three systems on one page, and copies of this diagram appear in Meffert's commentary on Lautensack (e.g. 22a:Km120, Fig. 72). The text 30a:B214v–15v may describe two similar systems, each comprising 3×6 units only.

⁶⁴ Rev. 18§1, 12§1, 6§1, 1§1, e.g. 26:W84v. Rev. 1§1 may also stand for "Rev. 24§1," thus indicating a circular structure as in the Ascending Quarters. Accordingly it is once placed at the beginning, probably reflecting a secondary transposition as was also sometimes applied to the Ascending Quarters (45:E29r, cf. above, n. 61).

⁶⁵ These are Rev. 3§2, 3§4, 12§3 and 13§4 as, e.g., on 26:W81v. These paragraphs also appear on their own, in this case Rev. 14§5 is added, e.g. 37:U25r. For another group of four paragraphs from Rev. see p. 263 n. 205.

⁶⁶ Since Luther did not regard Heb. as an authentic work of St Paul it is not counted here. These quotations normally appear in the order Rom. 12, 1 Cor. 12, 1 Cor. 15, 2 Cor. 12;

consist of four paragraphs each (Fig. 73). One quotes four instances in which the arrival or the unveiling of God's prophecies is foretold; they were most probably chosen not because of their place in the Bible but to support Lautensack's claims to authority.⁶⁷ The last system is based on diagrams combining each paragraph of Revelation with a Biblical Book – Lautensack chose the Books that are in some diagrams linked with the sixth paragraph of each of the Ascending Quarters and picked from each Book either chapter 1§6 or chapter 6§1, a method we will encounter again.⁶⁸ Such complex systems are not only difficult to comprehend for the modern reader; Lautensack himself frequently made mistakes in their use, such as confusing elements from different schemes.⁶⁹

III. *Celestial Prodigies*

As signs created by God, stars and celestial prodigies played an important role in Lautensack's theology. He claimed that he had been called through the appearance of a star in 1533;⁷⁰ and six unusual sights in the sky from the early 1530s regularly feature in his tracts: comets from 1531, 1532 and 1533 and Parhelia (atmospheric reflections, creating the effect of multiple

they are more common than the two sets described afterwards and feature in different contexts. Often there are only references to them, but sometimes all paragraph incipits are quoted. They appear first in 2:L19v–21v, where they are followed by a reference to 2 Tim. 4, the last chapter of the last Book according to a permuted list of Epistles in a later tract (21:V262r–66r); in 3a:L15v–18v the paragraph incipits of these chapters fill in the lacunae caused by paralleling the 15 paragraphs of Rev. 1–3 with the 11–13-part quotations from Exod., Heb. and John, in 5a:A13r–14v they are paralleled with the Ascending Quarters.

⁶⁷ E.g. 10a:N32v–33r (Fig. 73, lower set of quotations, paralleled with the Ascending Quarters). These are Dan. 12, 1 Cor. 1§4, Rev. 2§5 and Rev. 22§4. In Dan. 12:4 the prophet is told to seal his writings until the last days, 1 Cor. 1:5–7 states that God's grace had made the Corinthians so wise that they only had to wait for Christ's revelation, Rev. 2:25 admonishes the faithful of Thyatira to keep what they have received until the arrival of God, and in Rev. 22:16 Christ states that He sent out His angel to the churches. Some tracts add Phil. 3§3 and 2 Pet. 1§9, which have a similar content (e.g. 33:B192r–v).

⁶⁸ These are Eph. 1§6, Acts 6§1, Phil. 1§6 and Exod. 6§1, these Books appear next to the last paragraphs of the Ascending Quarters in diagrams such as 10a:N54r–57v. Lautensack used similar ways of choosing a paragraph from a Book when establishing the Concluding passages of the 4×5 Books, see p. 259. In a similar way, 5a:A6v, quotes from the Five Johannine Books John 1§4, 1 John 4§1, 2 John §4, 3 John §4 and Rev. 4§1, cf. p. 163.

⁶⁹ Often, for instance, the second or more frequently the fourth quotation of the last system described here (cf. above, n. 68) is replaced with one of the Concluding elements of the 4×5 Books (cf. p. 259, an exception is 12:B53r where, however, the first quotation is missing). Probably for similar reasons an unorthodox series of the Descending Quarters, but in Ascending order (Rev. 1§1, 6§1 etc.), is paralleled with Gen. 6, Josh. §6 (whatever that may be), Gen. 6 again and Judg. 1§6 (17:U14v–15r).

⁷⁰ Cf. p. 45 n. 37.

suns, or of halos of different shapes around the sun) from 1532, 1533 and 1534.⁷¹ Apparently, it took Lautensack some time to appreciate their significance, since he only began mentioning them in 1538.⁷² The large number of surviving pamphlets on such phenomena shows that they stirred up considerable interest amongst Lautensack's contemporaries. These texts reflect the widely-shared belief that such unusual sightings heralded great, in most cases disastrous, events. Some authors tried to find natural explanations for these omens (regarding, for instance, comets as burning gases in the higher atmosphere, which caused heat and thus aggression in human hearts so that wars were more likely to emerge). Many other pamphlets maintained that such prodigies were caused directly by divine intervention or were the signs in the sky of Luke 21:25, and some suggested compromises between these two theories.⁷³

⁷¹ Additionally, Lautensack once mentioned a fiery star in 1530 (40:B125r, together with the familiar comets). Whereas modern studies record no comet for 1530 (e.g. Gary W. Kronk, *Cometography: A Catalog of Comets*, vol. 1, *Ancient–1799* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)), one features in some collections of prodigies (Marcus Fryschtius, *Meteoro|rvm* [sic], *Hoc Est, Im|pressionvm Aerearvm Et | mirabilium nature operum, loci ferè omnes ... Item: | Catalogvs Prodi|giorvm Atqve Ostento|rum* (Noribergæ: Montanus and Neuber, 1563, VD 16 F 3,028), O6r; Conradus Lycosthenes, *Prodigi|orum ac | Ostentorum | Chronicon, | Quæ Præter Naturæ Ordinem, Motum, | Et Operationem, ... acciderunt* (Basileæ: Henricpetri, 1557, VD 16 W 4,314), 539, for August; Georgius Cæsius, *Catalogvs, | Nymqvam | antea visvs, omnivm | cometarvm secvn|dvm seriem Annorum a div|uio conscriptorum, vsque ad hunc præsentem post Christi | natiuitatem 1579 annum, cum portentis seu euentuum | annotationibus, & de Cometarum in singulis Zodiaci signis effectibus* (Noribergæ: Furmannus, 1579, VD 16 C 152), H2v no. 175; Theodorus Majus, *Historischer Bericht | Von dem Cometen / was | bey Zeiten Lutheri / vnserm Teutschen Prophe|ten / so im Jahr Christi 1483. gebahren / vnd seidthe|ro / Binnen hundert Jahren / auß derselben erscheinung für vn|heil in der Welt entstanden* (Magdeburg: Franck, 1619, VD 17 23:264815M), A4v, for August). Accordingly some (not surviving) broadsheets may have claimed the existence of such a comet. 39:B165v speaks of a fourth comet that appeared in 1534, but apart from a chronicle referred to in Kronk, *Cometography*, 304–5, it is not mentioned in the literature).

⁷² They first appear in tracts 9a:N7v–8r, 9r, 11v–12v, 13v, 10a:N37v (Fig. 75), 39v, 43v.

⁷³ Natural explanations of comets appear e.g. in Michael Krautwadel, *Anzaygung grüntlicher | natürllicher vrsachen der natur | | wachung / vnderscheyd / farben / gestalt / bewegung / be|deutnus &c. aller vnd sunderlich diß Newlich erschienen Cometen* ([Augsburg: Steiner], 1531, VD 16 K 2,311), e3v–f3v, and Petrus Apianus, *Ein kurtzer bericht der Obser|uation vmd vrtels / des Jüngst erschinen | Cometen / jm weinmon vnd wintermon dises | XXXII. Jars* ([Ingolstadt: Apian], n.d., VD 16 A 3,093), and of Parhelia in Reisch, *Margarita philosophica*, lib. IX, E3r, and Joseph Grünpeck, *Ein neue außlegung. Der seltzamen | wundertzaichen vnd wunderpürden / so ein zeyther im reich / als vorpotten des Allmechtigen gottes / auffmonende auffrüstig zesein ... erschinen sein* ([Nuremberg: Peypus, ca. 1515], VD 16 G 3,632), A2r–v (in contrast to them, monstrous births are regarded as miraculous). On the other hand, Fridericus Nausea, *Frederici | Nauseæ Blanci|campiani / Eximii LL. | doctoris, inclytæ ecclesiæ Moguntinæ à | sacris Concionibus eminentiss. | Libri Mirabilium | Septem* (Coloniæ: Quentell, 1532, VD 16 N 250), 54r, depicts God the Father sending out a comet. In 1531

Also the shapes of these phenomena were sometimes taken into consideration: some comets were likened to punishing rods⁷⁴ and the multiple suns of Parhelia were frequently regarded as harbingers of political discord,⁷⁵ other authors interpreted their structures in complex religious allegories.⁷⁶ Lautensack was convinced of the divine origin of the phenomena he described and sometimes even regarded them as manifestations of God.⁷⁷ Their primary purpose was to signify the imminent coming of the End, which, for Lautensack, was the period when the fullness of truth would be revealed to mankind through him. Furthermore, since God

Paracelsus claimed that comets were made by God to indicate changes of empires (Paracelsus, *Medizinische, naturwissenschaftliche und philosophische Schriften*, vol. 9, 'Paramirisches' und anderes Schriftwerk der Jahre 1531–1535 aus der Schweiz und Tirol, ed. Karl Sudhoff (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1925), 371–93, in the same year he interpreted a conspicuous rainbow as sign that God's wrath expressed through an earlier comet had passed, *ibid.*, 403–10). Petrus Apianus, *Practica auff das 1532. Jar ... Auch wirdt nachuolgend von dem nechst erschinen Cometen / wie vnnd in | was gestalt in gmelter Apianus obseruirt hat: vnd welhe biß her / dero | vil stadt / in jrem schreiben jrrig gefunden / bewerlich angezaygt* (Landshüt: Apian, [1531], VD 16 A 3,105), K4r, and Joannes Schöner, *Coniectur odder ab nemliche aus|legung Joannis Schöners | vber den Cometen so im | Augstmonat / des M. | CCCCC. XXXI. | Jars erschinen ist / zu Ehren | einem Erbern Rath / vnd | gemeyner burgerschafft | der stat Nurmberg | ausgegangen* (Leypztzig: Blum, 1531, VD 16 S 3,471), A4v, regard comets as natural phenomena but also warn that signs in the sky can be calls to repentance. Achilles Gasser, *Beschrybung vnnd ab|nemen über den Cometen / so im Herbst | des M. D. XXXII. jar zů morgens allweg er|schinen ist / sampt einer kurtzen erklärung siner erschreckenlichen beditnuss* ([Zurich: Froschauer, 1532], VD 16 G 489), B1v–B2v, and Christoph Ireneus, *Wasser Spiegel | Ergiessung der wasser sind | anzusehen | Als ein (1 Zorn | 2 Creutz | 3 Trost) Spiegel* (Eisleben: Petri, 1566, VD 16 I 312), B2v, see comets and Parhelia, like *monstra*, as expressions of divine wrath.

⁷⁴ Nicolaus Bruckner, *Ein kurtzer bericht vnnd | auflegung des nechst verschienen Co|meten im Brachmonat vnd Hewmonat | Anno 1533* ([Straßburg: Albrecht, 1533], VD 16 ZV 12,860), A2v, cf. Wilhelm Gundel, "Naive Ansichten über Wesen, Herkunft und Wirkungen der Kometen," *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* 7 (1908): 91.

⁷⁵ A good example is Matthias Brotbeihel, *Der dreier Sonnen / mit | jren Regenbogen vnd ringen beschreibung / so im M. D. | xlj. Jahr / am iij tag Wintermons / ob der stat Ballingen | ein meil wegs von hohen Zollern in Wirttemberg | glegen / erschinen* (N.p., n.d., VD 16 B 8,411), discussing political implications of Parhelia in 1541 and scourging the wickedness of his contemporaries. On the other hand, a halo that supposedly appeared during sermons of Thomas Müntzer was regarded as a sign of God's covenant with the revolting peasants, cf. p. 46 n. 39.

⁷⁶ Jacobus Herrenschmid, *D. O. M. S. | Coronologia Sacra. | Oder | Christliche / Hertzchafft vnd | Schriftliche Gedanken / von dem schönen gefärb|ten Sonn- vnd Wunderbogen / welcher sich den 13. Maji | laufenden Jahrs / im Rieß zu hellem Mittag nicht | ohne verwunderung sehen lassen* (Ulm: Meder, 1622, VD 17 23:289896Z), 19–24: in this later tract the circle means constancy, its colors redemption through Christ's blood (red), future glory (green) and purity (white).

⁷⁷ 45:E35r: [1532] "der Einige Morgenstern etzliche tage mit einem Schwantz erschienen" [the only morning star appeared for several days with a tail]. The word "Morgenstern" normally refers to Christ, as in 10a:N25v: "So bekent ye Jhesus er sey allein der klare morgen stern" [so Jesus confesses that He alone is the bright morning star].

had depicted these signs in the sky so that they could be beheld,⁷⁸ they belonged for the painter to the range of legitimate subject-matter for artists, and hence he made them the basis of some of his later diagrams. Although the promised End had obviously not occurred, Lautensack gained a posthumous reputation for interpreting celestial prodigies.⁷⁹

We have reports of purported comets for nearly every year during the 1530s,⁸⁰ but the three sightings in 1531–33 are attested through numerous pamphlets, and several authors were worried about their quick succession.⁸¹ Lautensack's sparse information fits with the published reports.

⁷⁸ E.g. 9a:N11v: "bey den zeygen dye vns Gott hat fur gestelt vnd abgemalet an dem firmament / we dan angezeigt ist / Als drey Comedstern" [at the signs which God had presented and depicted on the firmament, as is then demonstrated, such as three comets].

⁷⁹ In a treatise on a comet from 1618 the controversial astronomer Paul Nagel (ca. 1575 – after 1642) noted that Lautensack's interpretation of the comets and Parhelia came closer to the truth than these of other scholars: Paulus Nagelius, *Stellæ prodigiosæ seu cometæ | per oculum triplicem observatio & explicatio | Das ist: | Des newen Cometen | vnd WunderSterns im October / Novem|ber vnd December 1618. erschienen / warhafftige Deu|tung vnd Außlegung per Magiam insignem dergleichen zuvor nicht | gesehen* (n.p.: Nagel, 1619, VD 17 39:124846Y), C4r, cf. Kathrin Pfister, "Paracelsus in frühneuzeitlichen Astrologica," in *Analecta Paracelsiana: Studien zum Nachleben Theophrast von Hohenheims im deutschen Kulturgebiet der frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994), 534 n. 23. The Paracelsist Franz Wendler replied that also Paracelsus could interpret such phenomena, Franciscus Wendlerus, *Methodus Cometæ | Practica. | Dieser Comet oder Wunderstern | | ist am vnd in firmamento erschienen / im | anfang des Novemb. vnd ist endlich den | 16. Januarii, An. 1619, widerumb | verschwunden* (Görlitz: Rhambaw, 1619, VD 17 23:289489U), E4r; cf. Gerhard Eis, "Ein Pesttraktat des Görlitzer Paracelsisten Franz Wendler," in id., *Vor und nach Paracelsus: Untersuchungen über Hohenheims Traditionsverbundenheit und Nachrichten über seine Anhänger* (Stuttgart: Fischer, 1965), 129. In a manuscript tract from 1614 Nagel suggested that the celestial phenomena from 1532–34 announced Lautensack's revelations, as the Star of Bethlehem had announced Christ's birth, and a star from 1572 the ministry of Valentin Weigel (Paul Nagel, "Vniversale Iudicium | ex Magia, quæ dicitur insignis, con|textum. | Auß dem grossen newen Wunderstern | Anno 1604 erschienen, recht Magischer | weise erkläret ... durch M. P. N. L. Anno | 1614" (manuscript München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 4,416-28), first foliation, 39r, and second foliation, 1v–2r). I am very grateful to Dr. Carlos Gilly for drawing my attention to this manuscript and for identifying Nagel as its author. Nagel quoted Lautensack's work in several of his tracts, cf. pp. 269–70.

⁸⁰ A list of reported comets is Alexandre Guy Pingré, *Cométographie ou traité historique et théorique des comètes*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1783).

⁸¹ Johan Virdung, *Außlegung vber den Cometen | der do gesehen worden ist im Herbstmen vnd | Weynmon / in diesem M. CCCC. vmd | xxxij. Jahre / durch Doctor Johansen | Virdung von Haßfurt* (Speyer: [Nolt, 1532], VD 16 V 1,254), A4r, laments that no-one had repented after seeing the first comet so that God had to send a second one in 1532, which in turn would be followed by swift punishment. In 1532 Bruckner notices with astonishment the short sequence of two comets (Nicolaus Pruckner, *Was ein Comet sey: wo|her er komme / vnd seinen vrsprung habe ... vnd sonderlich von dem Cometen erschinen im | Weinmonat des xxxij. Jars. Durch Nico|laum Prucknerum beschriben* (Straßburg: Albrecht, 1532, VD 16 P 5,167), A3v), after observing the 1533 comet this author wondered which event would be so great that it would be announced by the three comets (Bruckner, *Ein kurtzer bericht*, A2r);

His first sighting, during evenings in 1531, was Halley's comet.⁸² It must have been an impressive phenomenon since it inspired numerous publications⁸³ and caused disquiet amongst the leading reformers.⁸⁴

a tract in Paracelsus, *Medizinische, naturwissenschaftliche und philosophische Schriften*, 9:427–43, singles out the years 1531–34 for two comets and many other celestial miracles; Achilles Gasser, *Ain kurtze vnderricht | von dem Cometen vnd harigen | Sternen so den Summer des M. D. | XXXIII. Jars etlich zeyt zû | morgens / darnach auch | lang zû abents er|sehen ist wor|den* (n.p., n.d., VD 16 G 497), a1v, remarked on the number of recent comet sightings. Josef Grunpeck, *Prognosticon Doctor Joseps Grunpeck / werend | vom XXXII. Jar bis auff das | vierzigst* ([Leipzig: Schumann, 1532], VD 16 ZV 7,115), a5v and a6v, compares two sightings, probably those of 1531 and 1532. Matthias Brotbeihel, *Auflegung mit grund | der geschrift / Des erschrockenlichen Cometen / | So im Jar M. D. XXXIII. am xxvij. tag des Hew-|monats vmb zwû vr nach mittnacht | gesehen worden ist* ([Augsburg: Ulhart, 1533], A1v, claims that the three comets, seen in three different parts of the sky, were still caused by the great conjunction of 1524 (similar, if more vague, [Eckhart zum Trübel], *Eckart der trew sagt dir | verwar | wie es im M.D. XXXiiij Jar / | Sol erghan auff erd durch all Ständ ... Mit auflegung deß Cometen diß jar gesehen* ([Straßburg: Cammerlander, 1533], VD 16 Z 656), B1r). In 1539 Luther remarked on the number of recent prodigies (Luther *WA Tischreden*, 4:468 no. 4,755, cf. Volker Leppin, *Antichrist und jüngster Tag: Das Profil apokalyptischer Flugschriftenpublizistik im deutschen Luthertum, 1548–1618* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999), 9).

⁸² 9a:N7v. This comet appeared in Mid-July in the morning and later in the evening, but many contemporary authors only reported the evening sighting, e.g. Apianus, *Practica auff das 1532. Jar*, E4v; Antonius Brelochs, *Eyn sunderliche Prognostication vber den Cometen / in dem | Augstmonat / des M. CCCC. vnd .xxxj. Jares / | zû etzlichen malen erschinen* ([Nuremberg: Gutknecht], 1531, VD 16 B 7,425), A3r; Johan Virdung, *Auflegung vnd bedeyt-|niß des Co|meten der gesehen worden ist / im Augstmon im 1531. | jare / durch Doctor Johansen Virdung von Haßfurt* ([Speyer: Nolt, 1531], VD 16 V 1,255), A1v, and probably the *Carmen de Cometa* in Georgius Sabinus, *Cæsares | Germanici De|Scripti A | Georgio | Sabino* ([Wittenberg: Rhau], 1532, VD 16 S 81), B3r. Schöner, *Coniectur odder ab nemliche auslegung*, A2r, reports the morning sightings but personally only saw the comet in the evening. Grunpeck, *Prognosticon*, a6v, is only aware of the comet appearing in the West, therefore in the evening. A broadsheet by Gassar in Volker Fritz Brüning, *Bibliographie der Kometenliteratur* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2000), 20, mentions only sightings from 10 August onward, thus probably in the evening. However, Krautwadel, *Anzaygung grüntlicher natürlicher vrsachen*, g4v, saw it soon after 25 July. Most later texts also refer to the morning sightings: e.g. Frytschius, *Meteorvm omnes*, O6v–O7r; Lycosthenes, *Prodigiorm ac Ostentorm Chronicon*, 544; Cæsius, *Catalogvs cometarvm*, H2v no. 176; see also Pingré, *Cométographie*, 487–89; Kronk, *Cometography*, 298 no. 1P/1531P1. Wolfgang Kokott, *Die Kometen der Jahre 1531 bis 1539 und ihre Bedeutung für die spätere Entwicklung der Kometenforschung* (Stuttgart: Verlag für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik, 1994) examines professional observations of comet movements rather than popular publications.

⁸³ Brüning, *Bibliographie der Kometenliteratur*, lists 14 contemporary publications on this comet, 13 on the comet from 1532, 7 on that from 1533, and then no similar works until 1538.

⁸⁴ It caught the attention of Luther (Luther *WA Briefwechsel*, 6:165, ll. 5–8; Klaus Lämmel, “Luthers Verhältnis zu Astronomie und Astrologie (nach Äußerungen in Tischreden und Briefen),” in *Lutheriana: Zum 500. Geburtstag Martin Luthers von den Mitarbeitern der Weimarer Ausgabe*, ed. Gerhard Hammer and K.-H. zur Mühlen (Cologne: Böhlau, 1984), 311), Melanchthon (Warburg, *Heidnisch-Antike Weissagung*, 7) and Zwingli (Ferdinand Vetter, “Schweizerische Reformationslegenden,” *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte* 3 (1923): 66).

The second comet, observed in 1532 before sunrise, may be identical with one reported for the early mornings between September and November of this year,⁸⁵ and the third, visible in 1533 between midnight and morning, was probably that year's only recorded comet seen in July and August.⁸⁶ Lautensack could have observed them all personally, but his complaints about ignorant interpretations by scholars indicate that he had also perused some comet pamphlets.⁸⁷

In contrast to comets, Parhelia, which are not rare phenomena,⁸⁸ only appear locally and only for a short time.⁸⁹ It is therefore not surprising that there are no other surviving records of the phenomena Lautensack

⁸⁵ E.g. 9a:N8r. Apianus, *Ein kurtzer bericht der Obseruation* (mathematical); Matthias Brotbeyhel, *Bedeutung des vn|gewonlichen gesichts / so genennt ist ain Comet* ([Augsburg: Ulhart], 1532, VD 16 B 8,408), with information about its type and significance; Gasser, *Beschrybung vnd abnemen*; Paracelsus, *Medizinische, naturwissenschaftliche und philosophische Schriften*, 9:411–20 (reports two comets, one for August and one for December); Pruckner, *Was ein Comet sey* (astrological); Brotbeyhel, *Auflegung mit grund der geschrift*, A2r; Johannes Carion, *Vom Cometen den man newlich jm | M. D. XXXII. jar gesehen | hat / iudicium* (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1533, VD 16 C 1,036), a2r–v; Grunpeck, *Prognosticon*, a6v (astrological); Virdung, *Auflegung vber den Cometen* (1532); Johannes Vögelin, *Significatio Cometarum qui Anno M. D. XXXII. apparuit cum Passionibus eius scitu iucundissimis* (Viennae Austriae: Singrenius, 1533, VD 16 V 2,039), A4r; Frytschius, *Meteorvm omnes*, O8r; Lycosthenes, *Prodigiorm ac Ostentorm Chronicon*, 544; Cæsius, *Catalogus cometarvm*, H3r no. 177; Majus, *Historischer Bericht*, A4v (no times); Pingré, *Cométographie*, 491–95; Kronk, *Cometography*, 310 no. C/1532/R1. Some collections of prodigia claim that this comet was far greater than its predecessor.

⁸⁶ E.g. 9a:N8r, e.g. in Frytschius, *Meteorvm omnes*, O8r; Lycosthenes, *Prodigiorm ac Ostentorm Chronicon*, 549, 552; Cæsius, *Catalogus cometarvm*, H3v; Pingré, *Cométographie*, 496–97; Kronk, *Cometography*, 303 no. C/1533 M1. As already observed in Bruckner, *Ein kurtzer bericht*, A2r, this comet was circumpolar and therefore visible all night. Brotbeyhel, *Auflegung mit grund der geschrift*, A4r, saw it, like Lautensack, after midnight. According to the detailed description in Achilles Gasser, *Ain kurtze vndericht | von dem Cometen vnd haringen | Sternen so den Summer des M. D. | XXXIII. Jars etlich zeyt zû | morgens / darnach auch | lang zû abents er|sehen ist wor|den* (N.p., n.d., VD 16 G 497), a2v–a3r, it was first visible in late June after midnight, then in the morning and finally in the evening. *Trost des Pasquilli | an die großen Herrn | widder den nehisten er|schinen Cometen vnd | sein drewen* ([Wittenberg: Lufft, ca. 1533], VD 16 ZV 17,082), a satirical pamphlet, only indicates the year of the sighting.

⁸⁷ In 9a:N7v–8r Lautensack remarked that much had been written on the 1531 comet, but without understanding, whereas the second comet had silenced the learned.

⁸⁸ Such phenomena occur on average more often than fortnightly in a given place (Rudolf Meyer, *Die Halo-Erscheinungen* (Hamburg: Grand, 1929), 12), their most common form is a circular halo around the sun (ibid., 83). All events reported by Lautensack happened in spring, when these phenomena appear most frequently (ibid., 24).

⁸⁹ Wilhelm Hess, "Himmels- und Naturerscheinungen in Einblattdrucken des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, new ser., 2 (1910): 1–20, 75–104, 301–20, 341–68, 388–404, and Gustav Hellmann, *Die Meteorologie in den deutschen Flugschriften und Flugblättern des XVI. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Meteorologie* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie, 1921), mention no contemporary pamphlets on them. They are also missing from several lists of Parhelia: Caspar Goltzwurm, *Wunderzeichen Buch: | Das ist / | Warhafftige Be|schreibungen aller | fürnemen / seltzamen / vngewöhn|en / Göttlichen vnd*

discussed. Since he could not assume that his readers knew about these particular sightings he had to describe them in greater detail, including information on his sources. Firstly, three suns were seen in Wöhrd, a suburb East of Nuremberg, in the early morning of 17 March 1532, as reported by the ministers – who, as civic employees, had probably informed the town council.⁹⁰ A second sighting took place in the same place on Shrove Tuesday (25 February) 1533, at mid-day, witnessed by many people. Lautensack had been told about this event by a local minister.⁹¹ His knowledge of the third event – on 22 February 1534 between 3 and 4 P.M. in Eschenbach⁹² – came from a broadsheet, which he copied or even glued into one of his tracts. The autograph has perished, but several copies survive (Fig. 74),⁹³ which are of special interest because the original broadsheet is today lost, and hardly any similar prints survive from before 1540.⁹⁴

Teuffelischen / guten vnd bösen / heilsamen | vnd verführischen zeichen / gesichte vnnnd mißgeburt (Franckfurt am Mayn: Lechler, 1567, VD 16 G 2,603), 60v; the broadsheet Harms 7:293 no. VII, 145 (Nuremberg, 1583); Johan Sawer, *Pareliographia: | Das ist: | Warhafftige Beschreibung dreyer Sonnen / welche den 13. | Maij dieses 1622. Jahrs auff den Abendt / von 4. | an biß vmb 6. Uhr / zu Salfeldt in Thüringen / | vnd andern orten mehr / erschienen vnd | gesehen worden* (Geraw an der Elster: Spies, 1622, VD 17 23:238382K), and Herrenschild, *Cronologia Sacra* (mentions one event in Saxony in 1533, p. 11).

⁹⁰ E.g. 10a:N37v (Fig. 75).

⁹¹ E.g. 10a:N37v mentions again Wöhrd, 9a:N9r the minister.

⁹² E.g. 9a:N9r. The text speaks of the 'weyse[n] Sontag' in this time this referred to the First Sunday of Lent (Hermann Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 10th edition (Hanover: Hahn, 1960), 108). The time is given as "auff der kleynen vr / nach mittag" [on the small clock after noon]. This corresponds with the modern calculation of hours, different from the "ganze Uhr" used in Nuremberg (ibid., p. 24). The modern Wolframs-Eschenbach is only 25 miles South-West of Nuremberg, and Eschenbach / Oberpfalz is about 40 miles North-East of the town).

⁹³ No autograph of this tract survives, it is copied e.g. in 24:B62r (Fig. 74).

⁹⁴ Found were one print from 1509 (Michaela Schwegler, *Erschröckliches Wunderzeichen oder natürliches Phänomenon? Frühneuzeitliche Wunderzeichenberichte aus der Sicht der Wissenschaft* (Munich: Institut für Volkskunde, 2002), 204 no. 2, reproduced in Gisela Ecker, *Einblattdrucke von den Anfängen bis 1555: Untersuchungen zu einer Publikationsform literarischer Texte* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1981), fig. 63, no. 191), two pamphlets from 1520 (Harms 6:17 no. VI, 8, by Pamphilus Gengenbach, and Josef Benzing, *Jakob Köbel zu Oppenheim, 1494–1533: Bibliographie seiner Drucke und Schriften* (Wiesbaden: Pressler, 1962), 50 fig. 15 (for no. 67), by Johannes Virdung). Niklas Stör's illustrations of phenomena of the same year in a history of the Turkish wars came probably also from broadsheets (*Wahrhaftiger grundt vnnnd bericht | von dem Thürkischen krieg / wie es ergangen vnd gehan| delt worden* (Nürnberg: Guldenmundt, [1529], VD 16 W 713), A1v and B4v, *Illustrated Bartsch*, B. 1302.002(b–c)). Contemporary to the Eschenbach broadsheet is an illustrated pamphlet on halos in Schleswig (Hellmann, *Meteorologie in den deutschen Flugschriften*, 38). Unillustrated reports were perhaps more common, see Schwegler, *Erschröckliches Wunderzeichen*, 229 no. 124, 230 no. 126. In 1535 well-documented Parhelia occurred over Stockholm (Kjell Boström, *Jacob Matham och vädersolarna över Stockholm* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958)). Since the systematic cataloguing of broadsheets outside famous collections like the Wickiana in Zurich (Harms 6 and 7, describing many later Parhelia) has only begun, more examples will probably surface in the coming years.

It was probably printed in Nuremberg,⁹⁵ and the information it gives is similar to later examples.⁹⁶

Lautensack's earliest and most detailed depictions of these phenomena can be found on two openings of the autograph tract 10a, probably from 1538. The verso of the first⁹⁷ (Fig. 75) shows in the top half the three suns without halo that had appeared in 1532 and beneath the comet from 1531, while the lower half displays the 1532 comet and beneath the 1533 Parhelia: three suns, the central sun surrounded by a circular halo. The comets are Lautensack's standard stars, with the rays in one direction prolonged to form a short and broad tail – they markedly differ from most conventional representations of comets.⁹⁸ The suns are represented as usual – but the lateral suns have tails similar to comets. This feature was probably observed correctly, but the suns would have appeared on, not outside, the circular halo. The facing recto has at the top an open book with sun, star and moon, and beneath the image of Rev. 1 with Christ's face surrounded by sun-rays and a star on His chest. The celestial phenomena are linked to these objects through Lautensack's familiar connecting lines.⁹⁹ In a similar way, a second opening (Fig. 76) pairs the three suns and beneath two half-halos from 1534 and the 1533 comet (placed between the latter) with the vision of Rev. 12.¹⁰⁰ Like Lautensack's copy of the broadsheet (Fig. 74)

⁹⁵ The text states that reports of this sighting had been brought to Nuremberg.

⁹⁶ Typical are the claim that the event had happened very recently, an exact indication of place and date, references to (here anonymous) witnesses, the quotation on the signs in the sky from Luke 21:25 and the disclaimer that only God knew the true significance of this event, cf. Ecker, *Einblattdrucke*, 236–42; Schwegler, *Erschröckliches Wunderzeichen*, 62–63. Other broadsheets place the phenomenon above a townscape and give more detailed descriptions and interpretations.

⁹⁷ 10a:N37v–38r.

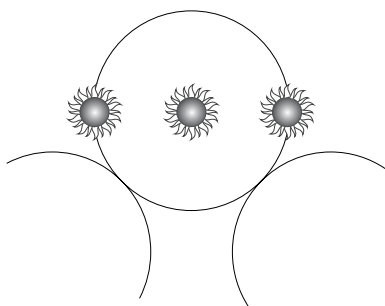
⁹⁸ Scholarly texts describe many different types of comets (Jean Michel Massing, "A Sixteenth-Century Illustrated Treatise on Comets," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977): 318–22), but popular depictions normally showed something like the Caudata type, which has a tail that is normally much longer than in Lautensack's drawings and clearly distinct from the star's rays (Elisabeth Heitzer, *Das Bild des Kometen in der Kunst: Untersuchungen zur ikonographischen und ikonologischen Tradition des Kometenmotivs in der Kunst vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Mann, 1995), 106; in the Barbata type described in scientific texts the tail originates from the halo but then becomes thinner, not thicker as in Lautensack's drawings, *ibid.*). There are furthermore no convincing parallels in Robert J. M. Olson, "... and They Saw Stars: Renaissance Representations of Comets in Pretelescopic Astronomy," *Art Journal* 44 (1984): 216–44, and *id.*, *Fire and Ice: A History of Comets in Art* (New York: National Air and Space Museum, 1985).

⁹⁹ Cf. pp. 195–97. The foreheads of each group of suns are linked to each other. Furthermore, at the top section the forehead of the central sun is linked to that of the sun in the book, and likewise there is a connection between the center of the comet and the center of the star in the book. Beneath, the foreheads of the central sun and of Christ, and the centers of the second comet and of the star on Christ's chest are connected.

¹⁰⁰ 10a:N39v–40r.

this drawing takes some liberties – the two half-halos should have been reflections of a circular halo touching the lateral suns.

Reconstruction of the 1534 Parhelia:



In later tracts the comets do not appear often.¹⁰¹ If two or all three are shown on the same page they are normally labeled with the year of their apparition (e.g. Figs. 72, 91, 94).¹⁰² The Parhelia are depicted more frequently, but in a simplified manner.¹⁰³ The first sighting (three suns without halos) is normally omitted, and of the other two only the halos, not the suns, are depicted.¹⁰⁴

Already tract 10a from 1538 connects the second and third Parhelia with the *Two Images* of Revelation. In later diagrams the vision of Christ in Rev. 1 is surrounded by the round halo of the 1533 event, whilst the Apocalyptic Woman of Rev. 12 is placed between the two half-halos of 1534, which are arranged like) ((Fig. 77).¹⁰⁵ Sometimes, both halos are joined to one composition. The half-halos can either flank the full circle, facing outwards (Fig. 86),¹⁰⁶ or are placed within, thus dividing it into four

¹⁰¹ Sometimes they are normal stars in a circle (e.g. Fig. 72), sometimes they have a short tail added to the circle, e.g. 26:W98v.

¹⁰² In this case they are often shown as normal stars without a tail, e.g. 45:E12v (Fig. 91), in this context the middle comet from 1532 can sometimes be omitted or treated differently from the others (e.g. 40:B125v).

¹⁰³ Some images in Meffert's edition of Lautensack's tracts show all three phenomena above landscapes. These drawings probably do not go back to Lautensack (e.g. 22a:Bm74v).

¹⁰⁴ There are some exceptions: on 25:W78r, the three suns of 1532 and 1534 are added to the conventional composition of halos, and the central halo is flanked by two moons (probably, Lautensack had shown here the lateral suns of the 1533 Parhelia, which were misunderstood by the copyists); on 45:E25v (Fig. 94) probably all three Parhelia should have been shown, but only the drawing of the 1532 event was executed; E25r and E21r show the second and third appearances with their suns.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. 24:V34r (Fig. 77).

¹⁰⁶ The halos can be either at its left and right sides (e.g. 25:S66v (Fig. 88), as background to the three crests of a large coat of arms, cf. p. 228 n. 311), or above and beneath,

sections (Fig. 78);¹⁰⁷ these schemes are often filled with the *Two Images* or depictions of God or the Lamb.¹⁰⁸ Both halos can also appear alone: the two half-halos can flank images of Christ on the Cross (Fig. 79),¹⁰⁹ whilst the circular halo surrounds many different images of God (Fig. 83); it is sometimes difficult to distinguish it from a merely decorative frame.¹¹⁰ Since halos in the sky can faintly display the spectral colors some pamphlets call them “Regenbogen” [rainbows]¹¹¹ and divide them into 3–4 sections to indicate different colors. Lautensack uses the same name and, in colored diagrams, always depicted them with the color sequence yellow, blue, red, green, which is already familiar from some of his grids.¹¹² It has nothing to do with the actual place of colors in a spectrum, but the same could be said about most rainbows depicted at this time.¹¹³ Especially when they are not colored the halos can also contain texts, in most cases these are not biblical quotations but references to four-part systems like the letters *GOTT* (v.i.) and different quotations from Rev.; furthermore, the 2×4 sections of the 1534 halos contain in some cases the Eight Beatitudes (Matt. 5:3–10) (Fig. 79).¹¹⁴ As with many other quotations, Lautensack, who never showed any interest in Moral Theology, probably included them because of their structure.¹¹⁵

e.g. $\lambda\lambda$ a:Bm75r, a composition that in this form survives only in Meffert's edition; here they contain the image of Rev. 1, God with the Lamb and the image of Rev. 12.

¹⁰⁷ E.g. 42:B189v (Fig. 78).

¹⁰⁸ E.g. 17:U150v. Here the sections contain the *Two Images* of Revelation and two stars.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. 37:U22v and the copy $\lambda\lambda$ a:Wm115 (Fig. 79). In this case they are often combined with 12 or 13 suns and moons.

¹¹⁰ E.g. 26:V113r (Fig. 83) has them surrounding God and the Lamb in the Celestial Jerusalem.

¹¹¹ E.g. a broadsheet from 1551 (Harms 6:99 no. VI, 48). It was, however, probably more common to reserve this term to segments of circles and to call the full halos “ring” or “circkel,” e.g. Brotbeihel, *Der dreier Sonnen*, 1st leaf, v.

¹¹² Cf. p. 117.

¹¹³ S. Rösch, “Der Regenbogen in der Malerei,” *Studium Generale* 13 (1960): 418–26; Lottlisa Behling, “Neue Forschungen zu Grünwalds Stuppacher Maria,” *Pantheon* 26 (1968): 14–15; John Gage, *Colour and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1993) 93–94. Medieval sources in Gustav Hellmann, *Neudrucke von Schriften und Karten über Meteorologie und Erdmagnetismus*, vol. 15, *Denkmäler mittelalterlicher Meteorologie* (Berlin: Asher, 1904), e.g. 9, 14, 39, 48, 125, 141, 211, 266.

¹¹⁴ Occasionally the ninth Beatitude – “Blessed are ye when men shall revile you” – is added. $\lambda\lambda$ a:Wm115 (Fig. 79) has, for instance, the Eight Beatitudes in the two halos flanking the crucifix, the ninth is written on a board beneath Christ's arms (this is similar to the arrangement of the 6+6+1 paragraphs of John 1, cf. p. 261 n. 183).

¹¹⁵ To a late medieval audience this text was familiar from catechisms (it appears in virtually all 15th-century examples discussed by Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur*); it is not part of Luther's *Small Catechism* but included in some contemporary catechisms, e.g. that of St Gallen (*Ein Christliche | vnderweisung der Jugend | imm glauben / gegründet inn der | heyligen geschrifft / fragens wyß*

IV. *Innovations in the Layout from the 1540s and 1550s*

The remainder of this chapter describes some of Lautensack's visually most intriguing compositions, which unfortunately only survive in copies. He designed them as an old man, some as a Septuagenarian, but they show considerable innovations, and his last works contain some of his most complex and unusual designs. Lautensack's dated tracts suggest that the 1540s were for him a period of experimentation. Tracts from this time (most importantly tract 26 and probably also parts of tract 37)¹¹⁶ show important innovations in the layout; but new content was introduced with some hesitation.¹¹⁷ The full potential of these additions was only realized in the 1550s, especially in tract 45.

We have seen that Lautensack had begun with large and complex drawings, but soon they became subjected to the limits imposed by a strict rectangular grid. As a result, in tracts such as 10a or 12, images are reduced to tiny figures within cells and occasional larger compositions in the center of a circular diagram. The later tracts return to a greater diversity.

The majority of diagrams can still be described as grids, but their structure becomes more intricate and irregular,¹¹⁸ and quite often they are combined with other elements on the same page (e.g. Fig. 93).¹¹⁹

Most centralized diagrams in the earlier tracts had been rectangles centered on a cross (e.g. Fig. 15), crosses in a circle (e.g. Fig. 25) or subdivided rings surrounding a larger image (e.g. Fig. 64). In one example the layout borrowed elements from a compass-rose, and some elaborate later designs may derive from similar models (Fig. 80).¹²⁰ Other diagrams

(Zürich: Froschouer, 1530, VD 16 C 2,356), B1r–B2r); cf. Friedrich Hahn, *Die evangelische Unterweisung in den Schulen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1957), 63.

¹¹⁶ As some other sections in the non-autograph manuscripts this 'tract' is merely a collection of diagrams, probably taken from different contexts. One diagram is dated to 1552 (37:U20v), but others seem to be earlier.

¹¹⁷ It is also possible that some of this new content like the early system of the Concluding paragraphs (cf. p. 259 n. 170) were only added later to these tracts, and that the surviving copies reproduce such an amended version.

¹¹⁸ E.g. 37:W69v has 3×4 large text fields, each divided into two halves. Additionally, highly subdivided smaller sections at the top and the left of each cell function as a frame, and at the left and right sides are further marginal columns.

¹¹⁹ The top third of 44:R131v (Fig. 93) is, for instance, divided into 2×5 columns, the center has 6 columns, and the last third places a narrow circular diagram next to six rows that are not subdivided by vertical lines. 45:E8r (Fig. 89) has at the bottom a conventional grid but above a large cruciform scheme.

¹²⁰ Cf. p. 232. These are complex schemes that combine six- or eight-point stars with circles, squares and diminutive circlets. 25:W76r, for instance, has a circle inside a six-pointed star surrounded by several rings and numerous small circlets (as with clock-dials, the sequence begins at 'noon'). 34:U154v (Fig. 80) has a regular eight-point star circumscribed

from the 1540s incorporate the numbers I–XII from a clock-dial (Fig. 81).¹²¹ This feature is insofar surprising as Nuremberg had its own peculiar way of reckoning time, which needed dials of 16 or 24 hours.¹²² By using a more conventional form, the painter showed that he wanted to be understood also outside his home town. There are some roughly contemporary examples of clock-dials used as diagrams, but normally they are divided into 24, not into 12 parts.¹²³

by an irregular eight-point star, a square and a circle. Such devices could derive from astrological or from purely decorative compositions. An unconventional horoscope for Conrad Celtis shows a four-pointed compass-rose with diagonals marked through single lines within a ring (Conrad Celtis, *Conradi Celtis proeuticum | ad diuum Fridericum tercium | pro laurea Appolinari* (Nurmberg: Kreusner, [after April 1487], GW 6,467), 6th leaf, v, Schramm 18, plate 36 no. 329). A calendar diagram has two rings with the numbers i–xxii in the outer and the letters a–z in the inner ring, and inside a star-shaped bow with six 'points' (German calendar (Straßburg: Knoblochtzer, 1483, GW M 16,012, Schramm 19, plate 17 no. 114). A similar device appears in Dürer, *Vnderweysung der messung*, E6v. Also other authors employed such figures for new purposes: the highly eccentric *Wonderboeck* of the Dutch dissenter David Joris shows a compass-rose in a section about music (David Joris, *Wonderboeck: | waer in dat van der | Uuerldt aen versloten ghe|openbaert is* ([Vianen: Mullem, 1584], Paul Valkema Blouw, *Typographia Batava, 1541–1600* (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1998), no. 5,643), part 4, 14v), and Thomas Murner's grammatical board game placed a 15-pointed star into the center of three rings, likewise divided into 15 sectors ([Thomas Murner], *Ludus studentum | Friburgensium* (Francphordie: Murner, 1511, VD 16 M 7,039), B3v–B4r).

¹²¹ 37:W70v and the copy $\lambda\lambda\alpha$:Km121 (Fig. 81), 26:W108r. The latter example also has the quarters of the hour in an inner ring. Since clock-works in Lautensack's time were not precise enough to justify a minute hand this feature was most probably added by a copyist. The earliest dial-face with the quarters on an inner circle that could be identified with certainty was the Heilbronn Town Hall clock from 1579/80, Théodore Ungerer, "Un dessin original d'Isaac Habrecht, Horloger à Strasbourg (1580)," *Archives Alsaciennes* 7 (1928): 80. However, a 15th-century design for a clock with a separate minute dial appears in John H. Leopold, *The Almanus Manuscript: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Codex in 2° No. 209, Rome circa 1475 – circa 1485* (London: Hutchinson, 1971), 59, 62–63.

¹²² The Nuremberg Große Uhr began at sunset to count equal hours until sunrise, and then started again from zero for the hours of the day. The time was displayed either on a 24-hour dial with sliding starting-points or on a dial going from 1 to 16 (the greatest length of day or night) that had to be reset on sunset and sunrise (Hans Gaab, "Die große Nürnberger Uhr," *Beiträge zur Astronomiegeschichte* 8 (2006): 43–90, for examples of these dials see 48 and 49 n. 9). However, Nuremberg had also at least one public conventional clock (Klaus Maurice, *Die deutsche Räderuhr: Zur Kultur und Technik des mechanischen Zeitmessers im deutschen Sprachraum*, 2 vols. (Munich: Beck, 1976), 1:33 n. 56).

¹²³ E.g. [Bertholdus Ratisbonensis], *Das andechtig zeitglocklein des le|bens vnd leidens Christi. Nach den | viervndzweinzig stunden aufgeteilt* (Nürnberg: Kreußner, 1493, GW 4,169), Schramm 18, plate 36 no. 323, and Maurice, *Deutsche Räderuhr*, vol. 2, fig. 26, for other editions see *ibid.*, 1:7. Also Heinrich Seuse's *Horologium Sapientiae* is divided into 24 parts (*ibid.*, 1:6). In the Netherlands 12-hour clocks were depicted more often (e.g. *ibid.*, vol. 2, figs. 24, 30). German depictions of 12-hour clocks can be found in the *Sivula* of the poet Georg Sibutus (Leipzig, ca. 1505, VD 16 ZV 14,406, Schramm 13, plate 39 no. 170), and Murner, *Logica memoratiua*, D4r. Since the sequence on Lautensack's dials starts with 'noon' and not at the left-hand side as usual (cf. p. 231), at least the association with clocks was already planned by the painter (cf. above, n. 121).

Some circular diagrams in tracts composed after 1550 reduce the center to a small star that is surrounded by segments like a pie-chart.¹²⁴ Occasionally some wider sectors break through the arrangement of rings (Fig. 82), a device that also occurs in popular astronomical diagrams,¹²⁵ and sometimes several sectors in the rings closer to the center are joined together.¹²⁶

Small circles, which contain a few letters or an image, had been included in earlier grids and in the cross-in-circle diagrams linked with the 'Three Crosses' (e.g. Figs. 5, 25). Later, these circles appear in greater numbers, forming, for example, the beams of large crosses (Fig. 87)¹²⁷ or diamonds, often surrounding a cross (Figs. 71, 88).¹²⁸ Diagrams of a roughly similar layout appear in mathematical textbooks, most frequently for divisions,¹²⁹ but they are not close enough to be regarded as models.

The marginal arches, familiar from Lautensack's early grids, are now applied to centralized diagrams as well. In his latest tracts they often surround a square. Occasionally he arranged several systems of them at different distances from the center, not dissimilar from quatrefoil designs in Romanesque Mosan enamelwork (e.g. Fig. 92). Already in the 1540s Lautensack had developed a complex diagram of the Heavenly Jerusalem: a circular halo with God and the Lamb inside a square with arches at all sides (Fig. 83).¹³⁰ This is a marked departure from the conventional medieval townscape in his earlier works.¹³¹ However, geometrical designs of this city – inspired by its biblical description (Rev. 21:11–21) – occasionally did occur in Reformation art.¹³²

¹²⁴ 45:E12r has six rings and additionally a 'ring' of small semicircles, all of them divided into 24 sectors.

¹²⁵ 45:E28v (Fig. 82), for instance, consists of 4×6 segments that are each divided into four rings. Between them, the diagonals are marked with four wider segments with drawings that are not subdivided further. In the popular *Lucidarius* diagrams several rings are joined together to make space for the sun, e.g. [Incipit:] Djß büch heysset Lucidarius / das | so ticht zû teütsch also vil als eyne | erleüchter (Augsburg: Sorg, 1482, GW M 9,338), 13th leaf, v. Several undivided sectors appear in a circular diagram of eclipses in the Cracow House-Book, 26v (Chojacka, *Bayerische Bild-Enzyklopädie*, fig. 27), and a circle with many small and four wider sectors features in one of the diagrams of Opicinus de Canistris (Salomon, *Opicinus de Canistris*, plate 37).

¹²⁶ 45:E33v–34r has at the outside three rings with 16 sectors, but its much broader inner ring contains longer blocks of text and is only divided into four sectors.

¹²⁷ E.g. 26:W82v; 42:B190v (Fig. 87). These circles are also used in some star-shaped diagrams (e.g. Fig. 80).

¹²⁸ E.g. 26:W90r; 34:U153r (Fig. 88) shows a diamond-shaped grid.

¹²⁹ Apianus, *Eyn Neue vnnd wolgegründte vnderweysung*, czr (division) and e8v.

¹³⁰ E.g. 26:W106r.

¹³¹ 1a:D873, 1b:L42v.

¹³² In 1545 Matthias Gerung used a mixture of perspectival and diagrammatic views to depict the heavenly Jerusalem: the Trinity appears in a circle within a square that is placed inside the square city (Hollstein 10:48, H. 60). A more complex diagram of this city is in

The familiar small images – candlesticks, stars, suns and moons – were now joined by busts with a cross-halo, representing God or Christ (sometimes identified by a star on the chest as the ‘true Morning Star’). Those are surprisingly used in large numbers, occasionally even to separate sections of a text (Fig. 84).¹³³

The Nuremberg manuscript from 1538 probably went furthest in confining all images to small cells within a grid (e.g. Fig. 25), and already soon afterwards some large figures of Christ freely overlap several cells.¹³⁴ In a number of later examples, the relationship between grids and images was even reversed: a large figure dominates a page, with small grids inserted into empty spaces around it (e.g. Fig. 92). Sometimes these images have a simple frame, sometimes their space is determined by monumental versions of the halos observed in the sky (e.g. Fig. 77).

In other cases Lautensack drew onto the page the cover or the opening of a book that seems to contain a diagram. This device probably grew out of earlier images of books with the letters M and Ω (often combined with A and o shown four times, as in Fig. 5),¹³⁵ or the image of the Book of the Lamb that displayed the first and last paragraphs of Revelation and the Three Celestial Bodies (Fig. 75).¹³⁶ Usually, an open book appears as background for Christ on the Cross (Figs. 79, 84),¹³⁷ and a closed book displays on its cover Christ standing before the Mercy Seat (Figs. 85).¹³⁸ The most elaborate book-like composition fills four pages: the inner two show Christ's limbs, whilst the outer contain nothing but the drawing of a decorative cover.¹³⁹ These diagrams reflect Lautensack's multi-faceted

Bouelles, *Que hoc volumine*, 170r. Occasionally Lautensack placed a combination of halos into a similar frame, e.g. 37:U25v.

¹³³ E.g. 26:B81v.

¹³⁴ E.g. 12:W13v.

¹³⁵ E.g. 10a:N47r (Fig. 5, book on its own); 1b:L45v (book held by Christ), in 2:L20v (Fig. 58) and L21v the book is contrasted to the Tablets of the Law. Some closed books display five times the ligature Ao (e.g. 4a:K, appendix, 1st quire, 2nd leaf, v).

¹³⁶ E.g. 10a:N38r (Fig. 75). This device is shown twice at the opening of tract 12, the repetition has the last two sentences with Ao. In a spatially not convincing way, the Lamb is placed atop of the open book. Unsurprisingly, Lautensack often combines the Lamb with the Book with Seven Seals; it is sitting, for instance, on the closed book in 5a:A15r (Fig. 64).

¹³⁷ E.g. 26:W93v. Here, the cross is flanked by the *Two Images* – since Christ's limbs are numbered this composition may have been reworked later. Another example in the same tract, 26:B81v, has the book still smaller than the cross, it only fills a part of the background and quotes the eight parts of Heb. 1§2 (cf. p. 238). This may be a precursor or a secondary reduction of the aforementioned composition, which also occurs in later tracts, e.g. 22a:Wm115 (Fig. 79).

¹³⁸ E.g. 22a:Lm8r.

¹³⁹ 48:B125r–126v. The four-part arrangement is vaguely reminiscent of some of Lautensack's early autograph tracts that may have originated as pamphlets in shape of a double-leaf, cf. p. 221.

metaphorical use of the word “Buch.”¹⁴⁰ Not only the Bible but also nature is a book revealed by the Father.¹⁴¹ All this knowledge, however, is summed up in the “Hauptbuch” [principal Book] of Revelation, which completes heaven, earth and the entire Bible;¹⁴² the opened book has two halves that contain God’s *Spirit* and *Word*.¹⁴³ Besides this Book of divine Revelation a Christian shall neither read nor write anything.¹⁴⁴ This Book is furthermore associated with the Book of Life that is mentioned frequently in Revelation (e.g. Rev. 13:8) and with the Apocalyptic Book, the seals of which are *Broken* by the Lamb (i.e. through the Permutations of Ancestors and Books),¹⁴⁵ and which is opened by Christ through the Instrument Signs of the Stars and Candlesticks.¹⁴⁶ Lastly, this Book is even identified with Christ, the Living Book of the Lamb.¹⁴⁷ Although Lautensack was by

¹⁴⁰ Some examples of the use of the Book as Metaphor in Lautensack and in Pseudo-Weigelian texts inspired by him are discussed in Hermann Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit: Johann Arndts Vier Bücher vom ‘Wahren Christentum’* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 2:107–11.

¹⁴¹ E.g. 8a:N1v: “So sicht mans teglich im buch / das er von sich hat lassen auß gehen Nemlich hymel vnd erden / So sicht man des vaters Geyst an der sonnen. vnd seyn wort an dem mon ...” [So one sees every day in the book that He has made emerge from Him, viz. heaven and earth. So one sees the Father’s *Spirit* in the sun and His *Word* in the moon ...].

¹⁴² E.g. the heading of a diagram in 5a:A4v (Fig. 6): “Der gancze grundt vnd Jnhalt des eynigen Buch Offenbarung Johannis wye es das eynige Corpus ist / In welchem alles beschlossen ligt was hymel vnd erde vnd dye gancze Bibel thun zu beschliessen” [The whole foundation and content of the only Book of the Revelation of St John, how it is the only Corpus, in which everything is completed, what heaven and earth and the entire Bible are completing].

¹⁴³ E.g. 7a:N3v: “So man nun der beder wort Jnhalt eyn verstant hat / Als Geist vnd wort. das ist Jhesus vnd Christus / Als der Geist beschleust Alles das was vnsichpar vnd hymelisch ist Jm ewigen leben. Christus das wort beschleust Alles das do yrdisch sichberlich / vnd greyfflich ist, darumb nun man das (wort) nent ... ist doch zugleich hymel vnd erden Eyn Corpus / oder ein Buch wen das eröffent wirt so hat es auch zwey teyl wye dan das Buch offenbarung bezeugt / welche zwey reych auch in Jm verleibt sind” [Once one has understood the content of both words, viz. *Spirit* and *Word*, that is Jesus and Christ, since the *Spirit* completes everything that is invisible and heavenly in eternal life. Christ, the *Word*, completes everything that is earthly, visible and tangible, hence it is called the *Word* ... but at the same time heaven and earth are one Corpus or Book; if it is opened it has two parts, as the Book of Revelation testifies, and these two realms are embodied in it].

¹⁴⁴ E.g. 8a:N17v.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. pp. 140–41.

¹⁴⁶ E.g. 7a:N3r, §22, 9a:N10v, cf. p. 158.

¹⁴⁷ 5a:A15r (Fig. 64): “vnd in summa solches alles zugleich verfasst vnd beschlossen wird in das lebendige Buch des lambs das da am crewcz hangt / welches erwürget ist von Anfang der welt / An welchem Buch dye sieben sigillen auch hangen das sind alle Patriarchen / Propheten vnnd konigen vnd dye gancz heylig schrift” [and altogether everything is contained and completed in the Living Book of the Lamb, which is hanging there on the Cross, which was slain from the foundation of the world (Rev. 13:8). On this Book also hang the seven seals, i.e. all Patriarchs, Prophets and Kings, and all the Holy Writ]; 7a:N4v, §28: “durch das eynige lebendige Buch / welchs dan der Sün Gottes ist” [through the one Living Book, which is then the Son of God].

far not the only author who employed books as metaphors,¹⁴⁸ visual parallels to the device of showing a text or diagrams as if written or drawn into a book are very rare in his time.¹⁴⁹ In addition to the drawings of books, he placed some shorter notices on images of small boards, which can even have a handle for hanging them on a wall – a device that was not uncommon for artists' monograms.¹⁵⁰

Despite having liberated the image from the confines of the grid-lines, Lautensack never reverted to the rich figural compositions of his early drawings. Instead he used the space to show monumental figures taken from a small range of subject-matters, primarily Christ, the Crucifixion or

¹⁴⁸ For the topos of the Book of Nature see Ernst Robert Curtius, "Schrift- und Buchmetaphorik in der Weltliteratur," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 20 (1942): 390–92; Wolfgang Philipp, *Das Werden der Aufklärung in theologiegeschichtlicher Sicht* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), 48–54; Erich Rothacker, *Das 'Buch der Natur': Materialien und Grundsätzliches zur Metapherengeschichte* (Bonn: Grundmann, 1979), 33, 48.

¹⁴⁹ Hieronymus Brunschwygk, *Liber de arte distillandi. de simplicibus*. | *Das buch der rechten kunst | zu distillieren die einzigen ding* (Straßburg: Grüninger, 1500, GW 5,595), 2v–3r, Schramm 20, plate 84 no. 666, a manual on distillation, places a short text onto a scroll lying on a table (this feature is copied in some later editions, such as VD16 B 8723, from 1531). Augustin Hirschvogel's title-page of a typological compendium that slightly postdates Lautensack's tracts shows an open book lying flat, with the Ark of Covenant (but as three-dimensional object, not as drawing) placed onto one side and the Lamb of God onto the other side (*VORredt vnd eingang | der Concordantzen alt vnd | news Testaments*, VD 16 ZV 12,271 (a second version is not in the VD 16), Karsten Falkenau, *Die Concordantz alt vnd news Testament: Ein Hauptwerk biblischer Typologie des 16. Jahrhunderts, illustriert von Augustin Hirschvogel* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1999), 214 fig. 2). Hirschvogel furthermore flanked his 1548 self-portrait with two closed books labeled "mors" and "vita" (Bartsch IX.180.39; Falkenau, *Concordantz alt vnd news Testament*, 213, fig. 1). Some decades later, an alchemical treatise showed Hermes Trismegistos holding an open book with a crescent, a full moon and something like the Uroboros on the left-hand page, and opposite three suns, one of them in a halo (Reusner, *Pandora*, 241). In Vogtherr's New Testament woodcuts, small closed and open books stand for the Old and New Testament respectively (explained in *Das neu testament* (1532, Grieneringer), 12r). Some French Gothic manuscripts show that visual comparisons between the crucified Christ and a book were plausible already several centuries before Lautensack, e.g. the *Bible moralisée* Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cpv 2,554, 29r, reproduced in Michael Camille, "Visual Signs of the Sacred Page: Books in the Bible moralisée," *Word and Image* 5 (1989): 122 fig. 13 (the book is only behind the lower part of the cross, according to the nearby explanatory text it signifies Christ's "deuinitei" [divinity]). In Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. Fr. 4,338, 143v, a copy of the *Livre de Vie et Aiguillon d'Amour* from ca. 1330–40, a man kneels in front of an open book which has a crucifix placed in the gutter and the conventional Titulus written on the pages. Here, the cross is regarded as the only important book, containing everything necessary for salvation (Anne-Marie Legaré, "L'Image du Livre comme adjuvant mémoriel dans le conte des trois chevaliers et des trois livres," in *Medieval Memory: Image and Text*, ed. Frank Willaert et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 141–42, and 275, plate 9).

¹⁵⁰ E.g. 45:E12v (Fig. 91). It appears, for instance, in Albrecht Dürer's 1504 Adam and Eve (Bartsch VII.30.1, Hollstein 8:4–5, H. 1).

the *Two Images* of Revelation.¹⁵¹ More than most other features of Lautensack's design these monumental figures suffer from the fact that they do not survive in any autographs but only in later copies, none of which were made by a skilled draughtsman.

V. *The Limbs of Christ and Other New Subject-Matter in the 1540s and 1550s*

As if to underline the importance of the large figures of Christ, they were often combined with short Biblical passages. Like other new content these quotations were used sparsely in tracts from the 1540s onward and became more common after 1550. A crucifix can be marked with the familiar Latin "videbunt in quem transfixerunt" (John 19:37), a chronograph for 1533.¹⁵² More common is a phrase from Isa. 44:6 that affirms the eternity and uniqueness of God,¹⁵³ and that is also placed with images of the standing Christ or with diagrams (Figs. 81, 85).¹⁵⁴

The increasing number of centralized diagrams led to a greater demand for four-part schemes to fill the spandrels. Already in tracts from the 1540s, such as tract 26, the familiar groups of the Title of the Cross, the Four Aspects of the Trinity, the Four Celestial Bodies or the four sentences containing 'A and o' are joined by the twice four letters of *GOTT* [God] and *WORT* [Word], which are often placed in opposition to each other.¹⁵⁵ In a

¹⁵¹ Other figures appear occasionally: small images of the dead and risen Christ in 26:W104r and W105r respectively may allude to the *Burying* of the paragraphs as part of their *Crucifixion*. Christ occasionally appears enthroned on a rainbow as in judgment scenes (17:U118v, U120v), in a later tract He is even shown with sword and lily (43:V258v). It is naturally possible that Lautensack also produced more sophisticated figural compositions, which were too complicated for the later copyists and hence omitted or simplified.

¹⁵² Cf. p. 49, e.g. 45:E17r.

¹⁵³ "Jch bin der Erst / vnd ich bin der letzt / vnd ausser mir ist kein Gott" [I am the first, and I am the last, and beside me there is no God]. It can be divided at the virgules, and sometimes only the last third is quoted. This sentence can also appear with (or instead of) the fourth Manifestation of the Trinity, cf. p. 260. In 45:E25v (Fig. 94) Exod. 3:14, the revelation of God's name in the Burnish Bush, is quoted. This passage may fulfill a similar function, but it is subdivided so awkwardly that it may be an addition by a copyist.

¹⁵⁴ E.g. 24:V33v (last third only) or 44:R131v (Fig. 93, with the three comets, at the sides of a diagram). Some references to neighboring chapters suggest that Lautensack planned to expand this quotation into a longer diagram: 45:E29v, for instance, quotes Isa. 44:6 on the chest of the crucified Christ and has around the circles covering His loins references to Isa. 41–44, and on His stomach a reference to Isa. 45.

¹⁵⁵ On 26:W88v they surround, for instance, the *Two Images* of the Trinity in their respective halos. *GOTT* occasionally appears without *WORT*, and then not rarely together with the Tetragrammaton. Since it sometimes has its traditional vocalization (יהוה), a feature beyond Lautensack's knowledge of Hebrew, either the vowels or the entire letters (which never appear in the autographs, not even when the Tetragrammaton is introduced as one of the names of God, cf. p. 216) are probably additions, but they appear in all copies

similar way, Hans Weiditz made a diagram surrounded by the four letters of *CRVX*.¹⁵⁶ Like the *Aspects of the Trinity*, the letters of *GOTT* are sometimes permuted, by twice moving the first letter to the end of the word (*GOTT OTTG TTGO*), and the letters of all three forms could be numbered as 1–12 (Figs. 9, 86).¹⁵⁷

In order to fit with a four-part system, the alphabets are in some later tracts no longer divided into 2×11 but rather into 4×6 elements.¹⁵⁸ These groups can be placed on strips dividing a page¹⁵⁹ or onto the margins of larger diagrams,¹⁶⁰ and sometimes they are interwoven to form complex patterns (Fig. 87).¹⁶¹ In one case the painter extended his system of

of the tracts (e.g. 25:W76r). In other examples *GOTT* and *WORT* are placed in the margins of a four-part diagram (e.g. 35: diagram after t64).

¹⁵⁶ Muller, "Les premières apparitions du tétragramme," 330, from 1529.

¹⁵⁷ E.g. 25:S66v (Fig. 86), cf. p. 154. A similar method of permutation was used by Giordano Bruno (Giordano Bruno, *Jordani Bruni Nolani Opera Latine conscripta*, vol. 1, 3, ed. F. Tocco and H. Vitelli (Florence: Monnier, 1879), 352–60). 26:W107v has *GOTT* flanked by *TGOT* and *TTGO*, probably in a reversal of the procedure – whereas in B79v the sequence *TGOT* is paralleled with a transposed version of the Ascending Quarters of Revelation that likewise places the last element first (cf. p. 239). Altogether, five out of twelve possible permutations of this word occur in Lautensack's tracts, in contrast to the systematic permutations employed by Cabbalists, e.g. Reuchlin, *De Arte Cabalistica*, 67r (The divisions of the Tetragrammaton by Petrus Alphonsi and later by Joachim de Fiore do not involve transposition of letters, Beatrice Hirsch-Reich, "Joachim von Fiore und das Judentum," in *Joachim of Fiore in Christian Thought: Essays on the Influence of the Calabrian Prophet*, vol. 2, ed. Delno C. West (New York: Franklin, 1975), 475–76).

¹⁵⁸ Whereas in earlier schemes the 12th and 24th letters of the Greek alphabet are set apart to achieve groups of 11 letters (cf. p. 146), here all 24 letters are counted to allow for a structure of 6+6+6+6. Conversely, the 22 Hebrew letters are now grouped as 6+(5+void)+6+(5+void). Integrating the Latin alphabet in this 24-part system was more difficult, and probably for this reason it appears in this context less frequently than otherwise. One solution was to use the 27-letter alphabet and omit either the last three letters [*est*] [*con*] [*tur*] (e.g. 26:W102v–3r) or the central letters *NOP* (e.g. 42:B190v, Fig. 87 – here *NOP* and some additional letters appear in the center). Elsewhere he added [*et*] at the start and *z'* at the end to the first 2×11 Latin letters (26:B79v–80r; in manuscript W the second half of this diagram is on 88r, the first half is lost), cf. beneath, n. 161. The alphabets in Fig. 70 may represent similar arrangements misunderstood by a copyist.

¹⁵⁹ 26:B74v–75r/76v–77r/79v–80r (in W this system is mutilated and disturbed: W84v–85r/81v+86r/deest+88r).

¹⁶⁰ E.g. 22a:Km120 (Fig. 72).

¹⁶¹ On 26:W102v–3r, a diagram shows the 4×6 paragraphs of the Quarters of Revelation (cf. pp. 238–39). The Greek alphabet, here as 8×3 rather than as 4×6 letters, is in the left margin, the 6+5+6+5 Hebrew and the Latin letters appear in horizontal bars. Bizarrely, the Latin alphabet is shown twice, in the large circles as 6+5+6+5, and in the small circles as 6+6+6+6, with two additional letters (*z* and [*et*]) at the end. Even more complex is 45:E27r (Fig. 90), which has in the center four squares, each in a frame. Here the 4×6 Greek letters appear in the left parts of the frames, the 6+5+6+5 Hebrew letters in the top parts. The Latin alphabet (here in 36 parts, cf. p. 151) starts at the bottom parts of the frames of the first three squares and then moves downward along the right parts of the frames and finally to the bottom parts of the frame of the last square.

Hebrew, Greek and Latin letters to four alphabets, counting Antiqua and Fraktur as two separate entities (Fig. 88). This may parallel the development of German calligraphic manuals ('Schreibmeisterbücher'), which increasingly distinguished between 'Latin' (Antiqua or Italica) and 'German' (Fraktur) writing styles.¹⁶²

Occasionally,¹⁶³ Lautensack combined the lists of 77 Ancestors and Books with lists of the 77 Cherubim on the curtain in the temple¹⁶⁴ and the 77 peoples on earth, to have four groups of 77.¹⁶⁵ However, unlike the Ancestors and Books, these additional elements are never named individually – occasionally all 77 Cherubim are depicted as identical winged putto heads, whereas each of the 77 peoples is merely called "völcker" (in plural) – Lautensack never explains who they are supposed to be.¹⁶⁶

The most important and confusing innovation in Lautensack's last tracts is the extension of the already familiar system of 'Crosses of the Three Ages,' which were linked to 3×5 Biblical Books.¹⁶⁷ Some new

¹⁶² E.g. 34:U153r (Fig. 88) – here each alphabet has 22 letters. Whereas in the early 16th century Antiqua and Fraktur were virtually interchangeable as typefaces, later manuals associate them with different languages, e.g. Fugger, *Ein nützlich vnd wolgegründt Formular*, promises in its title German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew letters, and some writing styles are labeled as German (e.g. 80), others as Latin (e.g. 96), see Kress, "From elementary school," 320. Jörg Wickram used Antiqua and Fraktur alphabets in his *Losbuch* to distinguish oracles for men and for women (Georg Wickram, *Werke*, vol. 4, ed. Johannes Bolte (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1903), 5, earliest surviving edition from 1560, VD 16 W 2,405). Elias Hutterus, 7 א ב ג ד | Α Λ Φ Α Β Η Τ Ω | *Alphabetum* | *Ein A B C Büchlein* / | *Darauß man die vier Haupt-Sprachen / als | Ebraisch / | Griechisch / | Lateinisch / | Deutsch &c. Leicht buchstabieren vnd lesen lernen* | kan (Nürnberg: Dieterich, 1597, VD 16 H 6,431), A4v–5r, gives four Alphabets, for Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German.

¹⁶³ Some alternative solutions also exist: 17:U140r–43v merely adds a Cherub's head to each Ancestor and each Book. The probably inauthentic 7:U50r refers to 7×11 Ancestors, Books, Letters and Peoples, 7:U54r has Cherubim instead of Peoples, 9:T132r 77 letters, Ancestors, Books and Spirits of Christ (Fig. 97, left and right margins).

¹⁶⁴ According to 11:g43 77 Cherubim were embroidered in the ten carpets, whereas Exod. 26:1 gives no numbers. Neither images of these curtains in Bibles nor Lautensack's drawings after them (1a:D854, 1b:L37v) show 77 putto heads.

¹⁶⁵ Several medieval authors counted 72 peoples, according to the 72 descendants of Noah (e.g. Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Adnotationes Elucidatoriae* in Pentateucho (*Patrologia Latina*, 175:49A); occasionally they are paralleled with the 72 Books of the Bible (Rabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione* (*Patrologia Latina*, 107:365C)).

¹⁶⁶ 45:E17v–25r refers next to each Ancestor to a Cherub, and next to each Book to "völcker." 42:B182v–86r devote a page-dominating grid to each of the four lists: the Cherubim are visualized as putti, the Books as candlesticks and the Peoples as stars (B183, which should have depicted the Ancestors, is missing, and its simplified copy in R85v only gives the Ancestors' names, no images). 45:E13v–14r shows the four lists in parallel columns. Here and in some other examples each of the 4×77 fields is also marked with the number 4. E28v (Fig. 82) merely refers to groups of seven Cherubim, Ancestors, Books and Peoples, cf. p. 138.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. pp. 162–65.

elements already appeared in the 1540s, but the scheme only gained prominence later, especially in tract 45. As with the Celestial Bodies and the *Aspects* of the Trinity, the originally tripartite system is here extended into a four-part division. In this case Lautensack kept the 3×5 Books as groups 2–4 and added as a first group not five Books but five chapters, Gen. 1–5 (Fig. 89). Accordingly, the (now four) ‘Crosses’ no longer refer to Three Ages of Old Testament, New Testament and Whole World or to Time, Times and Half Time¹⁶⁸ but rather to Four Ages of Nature (“Natur”), Law (“Gesetz”), Grace (“Gnade”) and Sanctification (“Heiligung”) – a system that may be inspired by the traditional scheme of periods ante legem, sub lege and sub gratia.¹⁶⁹ In the 1540s Lautensack had contrasted two quotations from Deuteronomy with two from Acts (Fig. 77),¹⁷⁰ and later he chose in an analogous way one or two paragraphs from the last elements of each group of five Books (as in other Quadripartite schemes, either a paragraph from the sixth chapter or a sixth paragraph), which would conclude and therefore summarize them (Fig. 90).¹⁷¹ Whereas most of these passages have little significance of their own, the first section from Deuteronomy is the *Š’mā’ Yisra’el*, one of the key texts of this Book, and it is joined with another crucial passage, the promise of the arrival of a prophet like Moses.¹⁷² Sometimes these paragraphs are confused with other four-part schemes.¹⁷³

These references to the 4×5 Books can further be linked to four groups of three images that reveal the triune God (here called Manifestations of the Trinity), or to references to such depictions (Fig. 91). Whilst the first Manifestation, the Three Doves sent out by Noah (Gen. 8:8–12), was probably Lautensack's own invention, the second and third, the Three Angels visiting Abraham, and Christ between Moses and Elijah at the Transfiguration, are already used in the *Biblia pauperum* as biblical images

¹⁶⁸ Cf. p. 156.

¹⁶⁹ Occasionally, this system is combined with the familiar Three Ages; in 37:U21r, for instance, the Age of Nature is added before the Old Testament.

¹⁷⁰ These are, as in the later schemes, Deut. 6§2 and 18§6 as well as Acts 6§1 and 6§2, e.g. 24:V34r (Fig. 77).

¹⁷¹ Cf. p. 240 n. 68.

¹⁷² Approximately at the same time, this sentence appeared together with other prophecies of the coming of Christ on the verso of the title-pages of several Low-German Bibles (e.g. *Biblia: Dat ys: | De gantze Hilli|ge Schrifft. Vordütschet dorch. | D. Marti. Luth.* (Magdeborch: Walther, 1545, VD 16 B 2,843).

¹⁷³ 45:E12v (Fig. 91) has, for instance, instead of the last Concluding Paragraph Exod. 6§1, similar to a quadripartite scheme that can be paralleled with the Quarters of Revelation, cf. p. 240 n. 68.

of the Trinity.¹⁷⁴ Occasionally, Lautensack tried to attribute a Manifestation to each of the 3×5 or 4×5 Books.¹⁷⁵

Table 11. The ‘Crosses of the Four Ages’.

Age	Nature	Law	Grace	Sanctification
Elements	Gen. 1	Gen.	Matt.	John
	Gen. 2	Exod.	Mark	1 John
	Gen. 3	Lev.	Luke	2 John
	Gen. 4	Num.	John	3 John
	Gen. 5	Deut.	Acts	Rev.
Concluding	Gen. 5	Deut. 6§2	Acts 6§1	Rev. 2§1 ¹⁷⁶
Paragraphs	Gen. 6	Deut. 18§6	Acts 6§2	
Manifestation	Three Doves sent out by Noah (Gen. 8:8–12)	Three Angels encountering Abraham (Gen. 18:2)	Christ between Moses and Elijah at the Transfiguration (Matt. 17:3, Mark 9:4, Luke 9:30)	Christ on the Cross between the <i>Two Images</i> ¹⁷⁷
Limb	right hand	left hand	left foot	right foot

These lists of Books, Concluding Paragraphs and Manifestations dominate most diagrams of the Erfurt manuscript, and Lautensack never ceased to devise new ways of arranging them: the groups of Books can appear between the arms of a large cross (each group in Quincunx form with the last Book in the center, Fig. 89),¹⁷⁸ in quatrefoils surrounding a crucifix (with the Manifestations intermixed with Christ’s limbs in narrow

¹⁷⁴ E.g. Karl-August Wirth, ed., *Die Biblia Pauperum im Codex Palatinus Latinus 871 der Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana sowie ihre bebilderten Zusätze* (Zurich: Belser, 1982), 8v). Lautensack sometimes added Moses, Jesus and Elijah to lists of Patriarchs and Apostles in order to reach the number 27, cf. p. 208 n. 206.

¹⁷⁵ 35:B151v (a strange mixture of the 3×5 and the 4×5 systems); 43:V256v. Both arrangements lack consistency.

¹⁷⁶ Rev. 2§1 is the sixth paragraph of Revelation. Here are some variations possible: 25:B76r has the entire Rev. and Rev. 8 as the Concluding ‘paragraphs,’ 45:E27r has Rev. 22§4 (Fig. 90), E12v Exod. 6§1 (Fig. 91), which comes from a different four-part series (cf. p. 240 n. 68).

¹⁷⁷ Sometimes, the previously mentioned text from Isa. 44:6 is quoted instead (e.g. 45:E13v–14r, bottom right), 37:U19v refers to the entire Revelation; it is not clear if the Book appears in place of a Concluding Paragraph or a Manifestation. In other cases, the Trinity is placed here, e.g. 45:E27r (Fig. 90).

¹⁷⁸ 45:E8r (Fig. 89). The quincunx arrangement may derive from circular diagrams with smaller circles in the spandrels, such as 34:U154v (Fig. 80).

columns at the sides, Fig. 92),¹⁷⁹ in small rectangles in corners (with the Manifestations surrounding the central image of Christ's Body, Fig. 91),¹⁸⁰ cursorily mentioned at the top of a grid (the Manifestations, together with the Persons of the Trinity, are at the bottom¹⁸¹) or in a list, contrasting the first four Books with the Concluding Paragraphs.¹⁸² These diagrams belong to Lautensack's most intricate works, and in some of them the painter combines the 4×5 Books with numerous other four-part schemes. Some are familiar, such as the Four Chapters of the Pauline letters, the 2×4 Beatitudes or quotations from Hebrews, whereas others are excerpts of schemes in earlier tracts, normally taken from their last sections. To their number belong Nathanael's confession of Christ's Divinity from John 1¹⁸³ and the four terms "völcker," "Juden," "heyden" and "Christen," which are the Spirits of some additional letters in the 27-part alphabet, and which had been added to the 46 paragraphs of the first half of Rev. in some early tracts.¹⁸⁴ A further parallel to four groups of 36 Psalms each was entirely new.¹⁸⁵ Most frequently, however, these quadripartite diagrams were combined with four times the Four Celestial Bodies, whose sequence is changed every time through mirroring and permutation.¹⁸⁶

Whereas quadripartite schemes are most important for Lautensack's later diagrams, he also showed interest in six-part divisions, sometimes extended to 36 (6×6) or 24 (4×6) elements. The latter contain little new material: Lautensack simply re-used the 12+12 Patriarchs and Apostles,¹⁸⁷ whose names are now often inscribed on the six wings of the Symbols

¹⁷⁹ 45:E29v leaves out the Manifestations but adds references to the Concluding Paragraphs in the structure above Christ's loins.

¹⁸⁰ 45:E12v (Fig. 91).

¹⁸¹ 45:E13v–14r.

¹⁸² E.g. 45:E32v.

¹⁸³ John 1:49–51. In some earlier diagrams this text is given a prominent rôle as part of the 13th and last paragraph of John 1, a chapter that is sometimes structured as 6+6+1 (e.g. 26:W98r–v, here this paragraph is divided into three parts, with an emphasis on the words of Nathanael's confession). In 35:t56–57 such a constellation is interpreted as a sign of the Trinity (three groups of four paragraphs) bringing forth Christ's human nature (§13). It is often connected with the last Manifestation of the Trinity, e.g. 45:E13v–14r, in 43:V258r its parts are accordingly linked with the first four Johannine Books.

¹⁸⁴ They correspond to the first four of the five letters added to the 22-part alphabet, cf. p. 152, in 1d:A49v (Fig. 41) they are shown at the end of the first half of Rev. with the letters and Spirits above them in alphabetical diagrams. In 45:E12v (Fig. 91) they appear four times with the first four of each group of the 4×5 Books.

¹⁸⁵ E.g. 45:E27r (Fig. 90). This adds up to 144 Psalms, for the remaining six see p. 262.

¹⁸⁶ 45:E12v (Fig. 91), for instance, shows them with each 4×4 first of the 4×5 Books. They are first in their natural order, then mirrored, then with sun and moon exchanged, and then again mirrored.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. p. 207, in 45:E12r they form a large circular diagram.

of the Evangelists, which earlier marked the Quarters of Revelation (e.g. Fig. 91).¹⁸⁸

Other six-part series were created through mirroring tripartite schemes, such as the Three Celestial Bodies or Christ between the *Two Images* (Fig. 93, in this case Christ appears in two guises, once in human form and once as Lamb).¹⁸⁹ New are references to the 4th, 8th and 12th paragraphs of each half of the *Six Chapters*,¹⁹⁰ to the weekdays Monday to Saturday and to 6×1,000 years – a number related to the six days of Creation and to the six references to the span of 1,000 years in Rev. 20.¹⁹¹ The seventh day would then bring completion and Judgment.¹⁹² These time-periods are furthermore paralleled with the first 144 (= 6×24) Psalms (for every day as many Psalms as hours) and additionally one of the six last Psalms (Fig. 93).¹⁹³

Still more unusual is another six-part scheme, a magic square of 6×6 cells. It is taken from Michael Stifel's 1532 *Rechen Büchlin vom EndChrist*, a tract Lautensack had quoted earlier.¹⁹⁴ Frequently¹⁹⁵ Lautensack placed four of these squares together, often similar to the earlier cross-in-rectangle diagrams showing four times the 77 Ancestors and Books

¹⁸⁸ Cf. p. 239, e.g. 45:E12v (Fig. 91, unfinished). This link had already been suggested in Alcuin's Commentary on Rev., *Patrologia Latina* 100:1118D (cf. Meyer and Suntrup, *Lexikon der Zahlenbedeutungen*, 683), but no artistic representations have been found.

¹⁸⁹ E.g. 44:R131v (Fig. 93).

¹⁹⁰ I.e. Rev. 1§4, 2§3, 3§2, 12§4, 13§2, 14§2, e.g. 44:R131v (Fig. 93). In 45:E33v–34r they are paired with last paragraphs of each of the *Six Chapters*.

¹⁹¹ 35:t51. These thousand years refer to the Messianic kingdom, a concept that was prominent amongst some of the radical Reformers, but Lautensack was probably only interested in the number.

¹⁹² It is hard to make sense of these calculations. Firstly, Lautensack began counting the week-days with Monday, so that the Sabbath would be the sixth day of Creation, and secondly, he elsewhere referred to the common date of 5199 B.C. for the Creation (10a:N35r, cf. Schedel, [*Nuremberg Chronicle*], 95v), and so the end, which the painter expected to herald, would still have been several centuries away.

¹⁹³ These six Psalms (Ps. 145–50) can be quoted with their incipits. Occasionally the manuscripts refer here to verse numbers (e.g. 45:E30v). For liturgical reasons the Psalms had already been divided into stable verses before Lautensack's time, but their numbers were normally not indicated in Bibles.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. pp. 54–55. Stifel, *Rechen Büchlin*, h5r. This square is not identical with any of the more famous magic squares developed by Agrippa and Cardano and is likewise not mentioned in literature on this topic (Agrippa, *De occulta Philosophia*, 430–33; Vladimir Karpenko, "Magic Squares in European Mysticism," *Hamdard* 34/2 (1991): 39–48; id., "Two thousand years of numerical magic squares," *Endeavor*, new ser., 18/4 (1994): 147–53). It is furthermore not identical with the larger square in Michael Stifel, *Arithmetica integra* (Norimbergae: Petreius, 1544, VD 16 S 9,006), 25–30 (Agrippa, *De occulta Philosophia*, 432).

¹⁹⁵ 42:Bu81v contains one square only. The accompanying text refers to six chapters in Revelation – but the familiar *Six Chapters* have 30, not 36 paragraphs.

(Fig. 63).¹⁹⁶ Of these four squares, one normally contains, in addition to the numbers of the magic square, 36 letters with their Spirits – an alphabet Lautensack had not used beforehand.¹⁹⁷ A second square has 36 times the word “Gott” [God] instead of the Spirits, another displays 12 suns, moons and stars¹⁹⁸ and the last 36 busts of Christ.¹⁹⁹

The numbers in each row and column add up to 111 (as frequently indicated in the margins),²⁰⁰ and therefore the sum of all rows or columns is 666. Traditionally, this is of course the Number of the diabolic Beast (Rev. 13:18), and accordingly the Lutheran Stifel read it in his gematric method as “Primus Papatus” [First Papacy].²⁰¹ However, for unknown reasons this number had for Lautensack divine connotations and occasionally appeared in his texts²⁰² if rarely in diagrams. Sometimes he added the sums of all rows and columns of one square (1,332, 12×111)²⁰³ or of all four (5,328). The latter is used in a further scheme that consists of four numbers (Figs. 72, 91): 1,260 (number of days in Rev. 11:3 and 12:6),²⁰⁴ 5,328 (v.s.), 12 (stars of the Apocalyptic Woman) and 6,600 (sum of the other three).²⁰⁵

Although these 36-part schemes only appear in few of Lautensack's late works, they (and the number 666) gained prominence in the tracts by Pseudo-Weigel that were inspired by the speculations of the Nuremberg painter.²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁶ Cf. p. 141. Whereas in those earlier diagrams the central cross is directly adjacent to the four fields, here it is normally somewhat detached from them, but in some cases the four squares are next to each other, without any cross-beams (e.g. 45:E26v). The order of these four squares changes, normally those with images are diagonally opposite each other, e.g. 27a:Q2v–3r (Fig. 63, this diagram is inserted into tract 12 but is in all likelihood later).

¹⁹⁷ Cf. p. 151. In the magic squares, the letters are placed with the corresponding numbers.

¹⁹⁸ Normally, fields with the numbers 1–12 have suns, those with 13–24 stars, and those with 25–36 moons.

¹⁹⁹ The field marked with “30” has instead the image of a Christ Child.

²⁰⁰ Occasionally this number appears outside this context, in 45:E18r–25r it is repeated for each of the (22+2) parts of Rev., adding up to 2664, half of the sum of all magic squares.

²⁰¹ Stifel, *Rechen Büchlin*, h4v. 17:U14v mentions this interpretation.

²⁰² 27b:B102v links it, for instance, to the divine *Person*, i.e. *Jhesus*.

²⁰³ E.g. 42:B182r, top margin.

²⁰⁴ Like 666, this number is discussed in Michael Stifel's tract *Vom End der Welt*, which forms an appendix to Stifel, *Rechen Büchlin*, both appear in N3r.

²⁰⁵ E.g. 2a:Km121 (Fig. 81). There they appear, as often, together with the Title of the Cross. In 45:E30v these numbers are again paralleled with another group of four paragraphs from Revelation – the 8th paragraphs of each half of the *Six Chapters* and the last two paragraphs of the Book (in the order Rev. 22§4, Rev. 2§4, Rev. 13§2, Rev. 22§5).

²⁰⁶ E.g. 2a:U285, a text on Lautensack's 36 Spirits and the Magic Square, and many tracts in the 1619 edition, so 30a:20. 3:B223r combines Lautensack's magical square with

In his latest tracts Lautensack introduced a surprising new treatment of Christ's body, which is now shown marked with stars or divided into small sections.²⁰⁷ These diagrams reflect a concept we encountered earlier: Lautensack's identification of Scripture with the perfect image of Christ or even with Christ's body.²⁰⁸ From his polemical comparison of Luther's proposal to remove several Books from the Biblical canon with ripping out Christ's limbs²⁰⁹ it was a relatively small step to diagrams that include individual body-parts of Christ in diagrams as representatives of Biblical Books. This concept is not too far removed from many uses of body-parts and especially fingers in disciplines such as the *Ars memorativa*,²¹⁰ computation²¹¹ or music;²¹² and some roughly contemporary authors linked the parts of Christ's Body to virtues,²¹³ stations of His life²¹⁴ or the cabbalistic Sephiroth.²¹⁵ However, none of these schemes is in any way close enough to Lautensack's diagrams to provide a plausible model. Furthermore, most of them come from scholarly treatises that would hardly have been familiar to a craftsman like him.

Like the Hebrew, Greek and Latin letters, these limbs allowed Lautensack to order and structure Biblical quotations or other elements, and therefore they appear in several different arrangements. Arguably the most obvious parallel existed between Christ's 4×5 fingers and toes and the 4×5 Books. Accordingly, in some diagrams the first four Books of each

others, taken from the *Archidoxis magica* by Paracelsus (Paracelsus, *Archidoxorum X. Bücher*, K4r–L4r).

²⁰⁷ Lautensack already described such schemes in the 1540s (e.g. 26:W97r–v), but they were only visualized later, cf. p. 266 n. 225.

²⁰⁸ Cf. p. 59 n. 83.

²⁰⁹ Cf. p. 127.

²¹⁰ Examples in Brückner, "Hand und Heil," and Wolfgang Brückner, "Bildkatechese und Seelentraining: Geistliche Hände in der religiösen Unterweisungspraxis seit dem Spätmittelalter," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* 1978: 35–70. Occasionally diagrams of other body-parts were also used, but they are likewise not relevant for Lautensack (Helga Hajdu, *Das mnemotechnische Schrifttum des Mittelalters* (Vienna: Leo, 1936), 99). Hands also appeared in chiromantic schemes but they differ from Lautensack's diagrams because they include lines on the palms (e.g. Schramm 16, plates 72–77 nos. 589–609; Chojacka, *Bayerische Bild-Enzyklopädie*, fig. 48, 43r).

²¹¹ Schramm 22, plate 47 nos. 313–20.

²¹² Schramm 20, plate 148 no. 1,226; Carol Berger, "The Hand and the Art of Memory," *Musica Disciplina* 35 (1981): 87–120.

²¹³ E.g. the 15th-century *Book of the Holy Trinity*, Obrist, *Débuts de l'Imagerie Alchimique*, 145–46 n. 141, cf. p. 141 n. 126.

²¹⁴ E.g. a print by Heinrich Vogtherr, Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 156–58 fig. V8.

²¹⁵ Christoffel Mandel, *Das Jesus Christus sey das | ewig Göttlich wort | das von got | dem vater geborn / vnd der weg / die warheyt / vnd | das leben* (Nürnberg: Güldenmundt, 1536, VD 16 M 540), B2v.

group are linked with a finger or a toe, the 4×3 joints of which are numbered 1–12 (Fig. 91). Occasionally the shorter thumbs and big toes represent the last of the Books (Fig. 92).²¹⁶ Some diagrams add the arms and legs to these groups, while the three stars that are often placed on each limb correspond to the three figures of each of the Manifestations of the Trinity.²¹⁷ In the most spectacular composition (Fig. 91), the images of each Manifestation surround the corresponding limb. In order to facilitate these juxtapositions Christ, only dressed with a loincloth (like a Man of Sorrows, but without any signs of suffering), is extending His arms and legs in saltire.²¹⁸ His fingers and toes are cut off by the surrounding circle, and they are placed in grids at the corners of the page. Furthermore, representations of the three comets appear on Christ's torso.²¹⁹

Some diagrams divide each limb into three parts and add a tripartite torso, resulting in 15 elements, which can be arranged in a 5×3 square (Fig. 93) or a long column (Fig. 90). Normally, this scheme is repeated once, and the resulting 30 elements are combined with the 29-part Latin alphabet and its Spirits but not further permuted (Fig. 93).²²⁰ If fewer parts are needed, the head and torso alone are used, divided again into three (Fig. 94)²²¹ or into four²²² parts.

²¹⁶ The 4×4 long fingers and toes only appear in 45:E12v, in E10v (Fig. 92) the thumbs and big toes are added in the central rosette.

²¹⁷ This connection is explicitly mentioned in 45:E27r (Fig. 90); in λ a:Bm75v, however, references to the Concluding Paragraphs of the 4×5 Books are placed next to the starry limbs of the crucified Christ. In 37:U19v, unusually still a tripartite scheme, they appear twice, once with the first and once with the last group of the 3×5 Books (they are called the limbs of Jesus and of Christ respectively). The most common order of the limbs is: right arm / left arm / right leg / left leg.

²¹⁸ 45:E12v. This position could have been inspired by the Vitruvian Man, which would have been accessible for Lautensack in the German edition *Vitruvius | Teutsch* (Nürnberg: Petreius, 1548, VD 16 V 1,765), 101v (Dr. Paul Taylor kindly drew my attention to this edition). A smaller image of Christ in this posture in a circle is on 43:V247v, there Christ's hands and feet protrude beyond the circle.

²¹⁹ Cf. 248 n. 102. In the Erfurt manuscript one comet is above His navel and two flank the body but are connected with lines to His breasts, in the Meffert edition (e.g. λ a:Bm110r) all three are placed at the hem of the loincloth.

²²⁰ 44:R131v (Fig. 93) has them in rectangles, which together form a 3×10 grid. The left half has the first 15 letters (permuted in order 1, 6, 11 etc., as in the *Six Chapters Crucified*), the right half the remaining 14 letters and a void; 45:E8r (Fig. 89) places them in two columns with the letters in their natural order, they accompany complex arrangements of Gen. 1 and John 1. In other cases the two halves appear on different pages, e.g. 43:V250v/53r, together with the paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* in *Crucified* order.

²²¹ It is cut into three sections (head, chest and stomach) and appears e.g. together with the comparatively old-fashioned 'Crosses of the Three Ages' (45:E25v, Fig. 94).

²²² The four parts would be head, two breasts and navel, e.g. 45:E14v, combined with the Quarters of Rev. On 45:E25v (Fig. 94) breasts and navel are labeled with the Persons of the Trinity.

Other diagrams include Christ's wounds – a topic that had gained much prominence in late medieval devotion, which focused heavily on His earthly life and Passion.²²³ Indeed, some compositions showing only the pierced hands and feet may have been inspired by traditional imagery.²²⁴ A text from the 1540s links the *Crucifixion* of the 15 paragraphs of Rev. 1–3 to Christ's 2×5 fingers and the five wounds He displayed after His resurrection, and the 15 paragraphs of Rev. 12–14 to the 2×5 toes and the five external wounds inflicted on Christ by the Jews.²²⁵ The same concept is probably visualized in a later tract that shows two images of Christ as Man of Sorrows with outstretched arms: one labels the fingers and the five wounds with the first 15 letters of the 29-part alphabet, the other the toes and again the five wounds with the remaining 14 letters (Fig. 95).²²⁶ Some of the spurious texts attributed to Valentin Weigel elaborate on such anatomical systems, one speaks of 144 parts of Christ's body.²²⁷

²²³ München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 402, a 15th-century manuscript, discusses whether Christ suffered 4,466 or 5,240 wounds (99v).

²²⁴ Cf. Jean Michel Massing, "Gert van Lon's Madonna in the Rosary," *Hamilton Kerr Institute Bulletin* 1 (1988): 72, e.g. 37:W70v. The copy in $\lambda\alpha$:Km121 (Fig. 81) shows hands and feet but without wounds.

²²⁵ 26:W97r–v. Although this text refers to Christ's wounds, they are not displayed here.

²²⁶ 48:B128v–29r. The preceding and following pages are decorated as book-covers, cf. p. 253 n. 139.

²²⁷ $\omega\omega$:a104. It is even unclear if this sum includes the 30 small elements of hands and feet and the 30 larger joints mentioned nearby; this tract contains further speculation on this topic.

CHAPTER SIX

THE RECEPTION OF LAUTENSACK'S WORKS

Despite Paul Lautensack's attempts to spread his revelations he remained isolated during much of his Nuremberg period. Patrons like the Gundelfingerin soon walked away bewildered, and the association with Oswald Ruland probably lasted only a few years. No document suggests that the painter ever succeeded in attracting long-term followers.¹

I. *Peter Dell's Relief*

A contemporary echo of his speculative tracts existed, however, in an enigmatic small-scale wood relief from 1548 (Fig. 96).² Its central section shows Christ above the Mercy Seat, nailed to a vine and flanked by Mary, John the Evangelist, Moses as well as scenes of Communion and Baptism. This circular composition is very close to drawings made by Lautensack in 1535 (Fig. 60).³ These drawings fill the spandrels with personifications of Sin, Death, Devil and Hell, which are here replaced by narrative scenes related to these subject-matters.⁴ Lengthy inscriptions (most of them in Latin) were carved into the complex frame. Some, but not all of them, contain texts that Lautensack used regularly.⁵

Nothing is known about the patron or the purpose of this luxury object. Its sculptor, Peter Dell the Elder, a pupil of Tilman Riemenschneider and

¹ The only document that could hint at potential followers is the warning of the Nuremberg city council that Lautensack and his companions should desist from an unspecified action. We do not know who belonged to this group, and if it had anything to do with his religious views.

² Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, inv. J. 518, destroyed in World War II. For this relief see Kress, "Relief by Peter Dell."

³ 5a:A2r (Fig. 60), 5b:K1r. The slightly later 10a:N60r (Fig. 61) has some additional elements.

⁴ Adam and Eve after the Fall, the Dance of Death, the Fall of the Rebel Angels and, absurdly replacing punishment with redemption, the Harrowing of Hell.

⁵ Four quotations surround the central image like a cross: 1 John 1:1–2, Heb. 1:2–3, James 1:17 and Rev. 1:7–8. All except the third come from texts frequently used by Lautensack. Further quotations refer to the Lamb depicted above the center (Rev. 5:12) as well as to the Stars and Candlesticks (Rev. 1:12/1:20). The scenes in the spandrels are explained with texts that play no role in Lautensack's tracts (Rom. 6:23, 1 Cor. 15:55/57, Job 18:21, Zech. 9:11). Lastly, the Spirits of the letters (in German) appear at the sides of the frame.

Hans Leinberger, had produced complex reliefs explaining Reformation doctrine when he was working at the Freiberg court of Henry the Pious in the late 1520s.⁶ However, those reliefs reflect mainstream Lutheran concepts, and by the time Dell worked on the Lautensack relief he had long moved to Catholic Würzburg and abandoned this genre in favor of tomb sculpture. Nothing suggests that he had any contacts with Lautensack or personally harbored unorthodox views. This relief resembles compositions that Lautensack had designed more than a decade earlier,⁷ but differs from them in several aspects – the alterations show some familiarity with Lautensack's concepts⁸ but also some misunderstandings.⁹ Most likely Dell worked together with a person (the patron or someone in his circle) who owned some drawings by Lautensack and had, possibly from earlier contacts with the painter, a good but still limited knowledge of his theology. Since Dell's patron was both wealthy enough to commission such a refined work and educated enough to understand the Latin quotations, he may have been a senior ecclesiastic. Therefore, he was probably Lautensack's most prominent disciple, and it is very unfortunate that it has not been possible to identify this person.

II. *The Manuscript Tradition*

Apart from the relief described above, the reception of Lautensack began only towards the end of the 16th century, in a country and a social group that was far removed from the world of a Franconian craftsman. As a man without academic credentials who claimed to bring the truth to mankind but was reviled and silenced by his contemporaries, Lautensack attracted the interest of scholarly men who were frustrated by the narrow dogmatism of the late 16th century universities and therefore looked out for alternative, 'outsider' traditions – ranging from Alchemy to Paracelsian science, the theological ideas attributed to Valentin Weigel or the wisdom of the supposed secret society of the Rosicrucians. Whilst Lautensack's

⁶ Several of his reliefs treated the concept of Law and Grace (cf. pp. 225–26), one compared the Christian life with a journey on a ship (described in Ewald M. Vetter, "Das allegorische Relief Peter Dells d. Ä. im Germanischen Nationalmuseum," in *Festschrift für Heinz Ladendorf*, ed. Peter Bloch and Gisela Zick (Cologne: Böhlau, 1970), 76–88).

⁷ Nothing similar appears in his later tracts. It is naturally possible that Lautensack continued with such designs, and that they were ignored by the later copyists.

⁸ E.g. the seven candlesticks, stars and angel heads surrounding the central circle.

⁹ The Tablets of the Law held by Moses show parts of a Hebrew alphabet that includes the *caph finale*, a graphic variant that has no place in Lautensack's alphabets (cf. p. 144 n. 139).

biography recommended him to these circles, his single-minded obsession with the Biblical text, his stubborn claim to bring the sole truth, and his ignorance of the mystical tradition stood in stark contrast to the playful, learned approach to ancient wisdom many of these individuals cultivated. It is therefore not surprising that a number of tracts merely mention Lautensack or "Paulus Braun" (as he was sometimes called by them)¹⁰ in passing as a wise man who had been thwarted by the scholarly establishment of his day. Typical is the lamentation of the Paracelsist, alchemist and physician Oswald Kroll († 1608), who claimed that after Paracelsus "Paul Braun," Valentin Weigel and Petrus Wintzius¹¹ were enlightened by the Holy Spirit but prevented by the envious world from having their works printed, something that would hopefully happen one day.¹² A tract with the title *Leo rvgiens*, composed by the controversial astrologer Paul Nagel probably in 1619,¹³ identifies various angels of the Apocalypse with the following figures: Luther, Sebastian Franck, Lautensack, "Paul Braun" (here regarded as a distinct person), Petrus Wintzius and Valentin Weigel.¹⁴ Whereas the diagrams in this manuscript have nothing to do with Lautensack, some phrases and especially the reference to "drei Sonnen mit

¹⁰ "Paulus Brunus" is identified with Lautensack in von Franckenberg's second letter, cf. p. 287 n. 115.

¹¹ For him see Oswaldus Crollius, *De signaturis internis rerum: Die lateinische Editio princeps* (1609) und die deutsche Erstübersetzung (1623), ed. Wilhelm Kühlmann and Joachim Telle (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996), 6–8.

¹² Oswaldus Crollius, *D. O. M. A. | Osualdi Crollii Veterani Hassi | Basilica Chymica | continens. | Philosophiam propriâ laborum experientiâ | confirmatam descriptionem et usum Reme[diorum Chymicorum Selectissimorum é | Lumine Gratiae et Naturae | desumptorum* (Francofurti: Tambach, [ca. 1611], VD 17 12:648156B), 69; in German translation in id., *D. O. M. A. | Osualdi Crollii Weterani Hassi | Chymisch Kleynod* (other title: *Hermetischer | Probier Stein*, Francofurti: Schonwetter, 1647, VD 17 3:302147G), 71.

¹³ Paul Nagel, "Leo Rvgiens | Oder | Lewen Gebrüll: | Das ander Büchlein | der Apocalyp-tischen Trigo-[Metriæ]" (manuscript München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 4,416-9). I am grateful to Dr. Carlos Gilly for informing me about Nagel's authorship. This text is preserved in a collection of 37 manuscript volumes containing religious speculative texts, which also include works by Lautensack and Abraham Meffert (Cgm 4,416-18, manuscript Mm cf. pp. 365–68). The awkward phrase "biß auff diese Zeit 1619" [unto this time, 1619] suggests that the original text said "biß auff diese Zeit," and that the copyist added the year from the date of his exemplar. According to the colophon, however, the tract was completed in February 1620 (233r).

¹⁴ In Nagel, "Leo rvgiens," 208r–v, Luther, Franck, "Braun," Lautensack, Wintzius and Weigel are seen as embodiments of the Angel with the Eternal Gospel (Rev. 14:16), on ibid., 213v–14r (labeled erroneously as 114r) three angels are identified with three groups of writers, apparently in a chronological sequence. The first stands for Luther, the second for Franck, Lautensack and Weigel, and the third for "Braun," "Petrus Winkius" (probably identical with Wintzius) and many others, including Johann Arndt, cf. Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit*, 1:26 and 27 n. 69.

Jhren Circulis vnd Regenbogen" [three suns with their halos and rainbows], which had appeared many times since 1530, suggests some familiarity with his work.¹⁵ In another tract, Nagel called Lautensack and Valentin Weigel the two true witnesses (cf. Rev. 11:3), whose revelations had been announced by celestial prodigies.¹⁶ An anonymous tract on the Holy Trinity refers the reader to Paracelsus and Lautensack; its author knew about some aspects of Lautensack's doctrine, such as the importance of Rev., the *Two Images* and the *Aspects* of the Trinity.¹⁷

To some dissident groups, however, Lautensack was more than a mere name. One of them consisted of physicians and scientists, most of whom came from or lived in Lower Silesia. In 1596 Johann Huser of Glogau (ca. 1545–1600),¹⁸ who published an edition of Paracelsus's works, informed Franz Kretschmeir,¹⁹ a mining official (Bergmeister) in Goldkronach near Bayreuth, that he had received several manuscripts of Lautensack's tracts,

¹⁵ Nagel, "Leo rvgiens," 87r–88r. Whereas Lautensack associated suns and moons only with the visions of Revelation, here groups of three suns are paralleled to the Old Testament (Moses, Elijah, vision of Daniel 10), New Testament (Christ, Moses and Elijah in the Transfiguration) and Revelation (Vision of Rev. 1 and the two prophets in Rev. 10). However, the tripartite sequence has some similarities with Lautensack's division of time into Old Testament, New Testament and Whole World (cf. p. 156). The parallel between the twelve Patriarchs, Apostles and Stars in Mary's Crown in the same context reflects concepts of the Pseudo-Weigelian tracts (cf. p. 281). Another tract by Nagel, the *Astronomia apocalyptica*, includes Lautensack and Braun in a similar list of dissenters (København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 91 4°, 49r). In this text Nagel attributes some of his own concepts to Lautensack. His predictions for the year 1620 are linked to the claim that for Lautensack Christ had revealed Himself in 1536 (ibid.). This may refer to a brief notice at the end of one of Lautensack's tracts (12:W49r), but it is certainly not a concept prominent in his thought. On 109r Lautensack is furthermore linked with speculations on the dimensions of the heavenly Jerusalem. I am very grateful to Dr. Gilly for drawing my attention to this manuscript, and to Dr. Erik Petersen, Kongelige Bibliotek, for sending me scans of the relevant pages. In his note-book (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Allerheiligen 3, 410–11) Nagel copied a short text on Lautensack's 36-part alphabet and its Spirits (Armin Schlechter and Gerhard Stamm, *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe*, vol. 13, *Die kleinen Provenienzen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 194).

¹⁶ Paul Nagel, "Vniversale Ivdicium" (Cgm 4,416–28), second foliation, iv–2r, cf. p. 243 n. 79. Like the "Leo Rvgiens" also this tract regards 1536 as the year of Christ's final revelation.

¹⁷ "Von Wahrer erkandtnus der heiligen Trinitet" (Prague, Strahov Library, Ms. DF IV 59, 226v–29v). This manuscript contains also the Pseudo-Weigelian tract *ααα*. I am very grateful to Dr. Carlos Gilly for informing me about this text, and to Mr. Jan Pařez, Strahov Library, for sending me scans of the relevant pages.

¹⁸ For him see Joachim Telle, "Johann Huser in seinen Briefen: Zum schlesischen Paracelsismus im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Parerga Paracelsica*, ed. Joachim Telle (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991), 159–77.

¹⁹ Also called "Kretschmer." He worked first as physician, then as alchemist and finally in mining, cf. Telle, "Johann Huser," 212–13; Wilhelm Kühlmann, "Paracelsismus und Häresie: Zwei Briefe der Söhne Valentin Weigels aus dem Jahre 1596," *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 18 (1991): 24–25.

but apparently had not yet fully understood them.²⁰ About a year later, Zacharias Wechinger of Sagan²¹ asked the same Kretschmeir to supply him with two Lautensack manuscripts in the possession of Johannes Hörner, apparently he intended to publish them.²² This edition never took place, and Lautensack's ideas left no trace in the printed works of these scholars.²³ Barely legible marginal notes in a copy of one of Lautensack's tracts²⁴ furthermore record transactions with the learned mathematician Bartholomaeus Scultetus of Görlitz (15 May 1591), who was likewise influenced by Paracelsus and collaborated with Huser,²⁵ an unidentified Paul Grasecam who had some connection to Nuremberg (15 May 1582), and probably also the Paracelsist and author Bartholomaeus Carrichter.²⁶ Another notice mentions a Martin Moser in Goldberg.²⁷

²⁰ StA Bamberg, Rep. C2, no. 1,442, letter 80, 19 March 1596, edited in Telle, "Johann Huser," 193–95, here on 194: "Deß Lauteursacks bücher hab ich vnder deß ettliche bekummen, kan aber noch mich nit gantzlich drein richten" [In the meantime I have received some of Lautensack's books, but I cannot yet fully find my way into them].

²¹ For him see Telle, "Johann Huser," 170.

²² StA Bamberg, Rep. C2, no. 1,442, letter 110, p. 3, 14 February 1597, mentioned in Telle, "Johann Huser," 177, and Oswaldus Crollius, *Alchemomedizinische Briefe, 1585 bis 1597*, ed. Wilhelm Kühlmann and Joachim Telle (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998), 185.

²³ The only important author amongst them was Johann Huser, whose edition of Paracelsus's works has no references to Lautensack in the introduction (Paracelsus, *Erster Theil | Der Bücher vnd Schrifften des | ... | Philippi Theo|Phrasti Bombast von Ho|henheim | Paracelsi | genannt | ... | Durch | Iohannem Hvservm Brisgoivm* (Basel: Waldkirch, 1589, VD 16 P 365), A3r–B3r). Hörner published later a cabbalistic treatise that is, however, influenced by the concepts of Michael Stifel rather than Lautensack (Johannes Hörnerus, *Problema | Summum, Mathematicum & Cabalisticum. | Das ist: | Ein hohe | versiglete | Ma|thematiscche Figur / an alle Gelehrten vnnnd Kunst|liebende Europæ* (Nürnberg: Fuhrmann, 1619, VD 17 23:288849L)). Wechinger's only publications are contributions to theses on the catarrh (defended under Georg Seiler in Frankfurt / Oder in 1585, VD 16 ZV 14,319) and to a panegyric on medicine (VD 17 23:259854Y), and no works of Kretschmeir are recorded.

²⁴ They are in 13b:U18r. Since manuscript U was only written in 1611 and these notes refer to dates in the late 16th century they are probably copied from the exemplar, cf. p. 344.

²⁵ Ernst-Heinz Lemper, "Görlitz und der Paracelsismus," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* 18 (1970): 347, 352–54 and 359 n. 62. Scultetus was a prolific writer, and some of his works are very rare today and could not be consulted for this study. The others contain no references to Lautensack's thought.

²⁶ For Carrichter (1507–73) see Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines | Gelehrten-Lexikon*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1750/51), 1:1,702; Joachim Telle, "Bartholomäus Carrichter: Zu Leben und Werk eines deutschen Fachschriftstellers des 16. Jahrhunderts. Mit einem Werkverzeichnis von Julian Paulus," in *Paracelsus und seine internationale Rezeption in der frühen Neuzeit: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paracelsismus*, ed. Heinz Schott and Ilana Zinguer (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 58–95.

²⁷ The meaning of this notice is problematic, see p. 344 n. 109. A Martin Moser in Goldberg was the recipient of a letter from the Görlitz cobbler and mystic Jacob Böhme (Jakob Böhme, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 7, ed. K. W. Schiebeler (Leipzig: Barth, 1847), 532–35), and he may have been identical with a schoolmaster from Goldberg († 1636, according to

Possibly they refer to loans of manuscripts and so indicate the history of some of the texts copied here.

It is tempting to associate most surviving later copies of Lautensack's tracts with this or a similar small circle of scholars in Silesia,²⁸ and indeed, most of them are written on paper produced either in Lower Silesia or nearby.²⁹ The majority of them contain the same group of tracts in the same order; these tracts form a 'core,' to which additional material, sometimes longer than the 'core,' can be added.³⁰ Wholly different is only manuscript E, which contains highly complicated diagrams from Lautensack's last years and hardly any text. Some of these manuscripts are closely linked to each other, and they are witnesses of a culture of lending, copying and annotating handwritten tracts, an anachronism for a time when

Klaus Goßmann and Henning Schröer, *Auf den Spuren des Comenius: Texte zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 64 n. 5) who was in contact with Jan Amos Comenius (Jan Amos Comenius, *Jana Amosa Komenského Korrespondence*, ed. Adolf Patera (Prague: Česká Akademie, 1892), 14, 17; id., "Continuatio Admonitionis Fraternalis de Temperando Charitate Zelo. Cnm [sic] Fidelis Dehortatione a Pantherina Indole a Larvis, Joh. Comenii ad S. Maresium," in *Archiv pro badání o životě a spisech J. A. Komenského*, ed. Ján Kvačala, vol. 3 (Zabřezí: Tisk Družstvo, 1913), 8–9, §§ 41, 40), for Comenius see also p. 281 n. 131. It was probably a different Martin Moser from Goldberg who in 1626 matriculated in Jena University (Georg Mentz, *Die Matrikel der Universität Jena*, vol. 1, 1548 bis 1652 (Jena: Fischer, 1944), 213) and in 1630 took part in medical disputations (VD 17 547:689838K; 39:154650H; 39:154483Q). Although a physician would be the most likely correspondent of Meffert, this Martin may have been too young, if the notice was made soon after the production of the manuscript in 1611. He may or may not be identical with a late Martin Moser, surgeon in Goldberg, referred to in Georg Anton Volkmann, *Silesia Subterranea, | oder | Schlesien, | Mit seinen | Unterirdischen Schätzen / Seltsamheiten / wel|che dieses Land mit andern gemein / oder zuvoraus hat* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1720), 283.

²⁸ Cf. pp. 316–54.

²⁹ Since paper was traded between cities, watermarks do not allow determining with certainty where a manuscript was produced. However, it is remarkable how many copies of Lautensack's tracts were written on paper from Lower Silesia: manuscripts UV, possibly also manuscript E, and parts of manuscripts T and W. Other parts of T and W, as well as manuscripts B and S, are written on paper from the neighboring regions Eastern Saxony and Bohemia. From elsewhere came the paper of the short manuscript Q, a copy after B (paper from Danzig), and of manuscript H, missing since World War II. It was written on paper from Bavaria, but it is possible that this was an autograph by Lautensack.

³⁰ This 'core' consists of tract 12 followed by the short tracts 15, 24 and 25, and finally by tract 26. It was included in manuscripts B, S, T, V and W. Whereas manuscript S has only short notices at the end of tract 26, manuscript B adds here several substantial texts that are together longer than the 'core' section. Manuscript T adds much material at the beginning and some at the end; in its present state the heavily damaged manuscript W has much additional material before tract 25. These sections are, however, written on a different paper (albeit by the same scribe) and may have been inserted here in place of the missing tract 24 at a later restoration. Manuscript UV, the by far largest collection of tracts by Lautensack, also contains most parts of the 'core,' but not in their usual order. The surviving description suggests that manuscript H, which may or may not have been an autograph by Lautensack, had an arrangement similar to manuscript S (cf. above, n. 29).

printing had long become common. Only a few observations on the relationship between some of the remaining manuscripts can be included here. One scribe, for example, copied the 'core' into two manuscripts, and one of them was subsequently heavily annotated, with some remarks being probably as late as the 18th century.³¹ This very manuscript was in turn the exemplar for two others— one is a very cursory copy of its second half, whereas the other carefully reproduces a small selection of diagrams in a large folio.³²

Already a superficial study reveals a number of unusual incidents in the production process of these manuscripts. The first scribe of manuscript W, for instance, made more and more mistakes and is after a few pages replaced by a considerably more regular hand; we can guess that the copying was begun by an amateur who quickly lost patience and decided to hire a professional clerk.³³ In parts of manuscript B, two scribes apparently took turns,³⁴ and some (primarily ornamental) sections of manuscript E had been left empty by the principal scribe and were eventually supplied by no less than three different hands.³⁵ It is obvious that none of the copyists was a skilled draughtsman,³⁶ and the irregular collation of most manuscripts betrays a complicated genesis or ignorance in compiling quires or both.³⁷

Most of these manuscripts are collections that contain a number of distinct tracts, primarily works by Lautensack that do not survive in autograph but are obviously authentic³⁸ and texts by other dissidents.³⁹

³¹ He probably produced first manuscript S and afterwards manuscript B, which arranges some diagrams in a slightly more convenient way; it is this manuscript that contains the numerous annotations.

³² Two details show that manuscript B was the model for manuscripts R and probably also Q: Q6v shows the copy of a diagram scribbled onto the corresponding page of manuscript B (B43v, cf. p. 317) and the scribe of R glued a copy of two sketchy diagrams (16:R91r, 47:R93v) onto B64r.

³³ The change of hands takes place in the middle of a sentence on W6r.

³⁴ Cf. p. 322. Also the minister Valentin Weigel (cf. p. 279) and his deacon jointly copied some texts, Weigel, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 8:XII.

³⁵ This is the case with manuscript E.

³⁶ Very rarely, somewhat skilled outsiders were called in, so for the drawings in the last quire of manuscript R – its main scribe was probably the worst draughtsman of all Lautensack copyists.

³⁷ Manuscript T, for instance, contains virtually every type of quire, from single leaves up to gatherings of 13 double leaves, and once a binio is inserted into a quire of 8 double leaves.

³⁸ Marks of authenticity are Lautensack's convoluted syntax and quotations from Bible editions produced in the 1520s cf. pp. 120–25.

³⁹ Manuscript T contains a version of Valentin Weigel's *Informatorium* (ε, Weigel, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 11:1–131), quotations from Irenaeus of Lyon (ζ:T64r–v) and an anonymous

Some copyists added title-pages and other elements in order to assimilate Lautensack's tracts to contemporary printed books⁴⁰ or drafted short introductions to several aspects of Lautensack's theology.⁴¹

Occasionally, a scribe would not merely copy Lautensack's works but embarked on designing some new diagrams. Manuscript T contains two very large diagrams on a foldout. Both depict a cross with texts in the spandrels and further texts beneath (Fig. 97). Whereas virtually all of its elements are familiar from Lautensack's authentic works,⁴² their arrangement is in parts unusual.⁴³ This diagram could simply be an atypical work of Lautensack, an authentic composition that was reworked heavily by the copyist (maybe because the model was partially damaged and illegible), or a later pastiche. The situation is clearer with three drawings in manuscript Q. They contain some motifs by Lautensack but also elements that the painter never used and probably did not even know, like the Hebrew spelling of "Jesus" (Fig. 98) or Latin anatomical terms.⁴⁴ Finally, another text discusses Lautensack's 6×6 magic square together with a series of magic squares devised by Paracelsus and linked to the planets.⁴⁵

text on Daniel's Prophecies and the Fifth Monarchy (λ). Manuscript U has a summary of Jacopo Brocardo's Commentary on the Song of Solomon (εε, Brocardus, *In Canticum Canticorum*, C7r–C8r), and manuscript Q a Pseudo-Weigelian text on the Revelation, which has nothing to do with Lautensack (u).

⁴⁰ E.g. a detailed index of manuscript B (β) or title-pages for manuscripts UV (σ) and W (ν).

⁴¹ Most frequently copied was a short anonymous tract on Lautensack's 36-part alphabet and his magic squares (ω), which appears in several large collections of his tracts (e.g. B225v–26v, U290v/285v). In the Halle manuscript it is closely linked with a tract by Pseudo-Weigel (cf. pp. 280–83) that has nothing to do with Lautensack (*Azot et Ignis*, Horst Pfefferl, "Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels" (Ph. D. diss., Philipps-Universität Marburg, 1991), *Teil III*, 23–26, later printed in Weigel, *Himmlich Manna, Azoth et Ignis*, 37–42), and in the same context it also appears in some manuscripts that otherwise do not contain any tracts by Lautensack (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Allerheiligen 3, 401–2, a note-book of Paul Nagel (cf. p. 269 n. 13), compiled in Saxony about 1615, see Schlechter, *Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek*, 13:194; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. qu. 1,525, 5v (incomplete)).

⁴² Only a quotation from Exod. 26 on θ:T132v does not appear elsewhere in Lautensack's tracts – however, the painter had shown some interest in the neighboring chapters (cf. p. 131 n. 75), so he may have used it in a lost tract. Whereas the quotations follow at least in part the paragraph structure of the early editions Lautensack normally quoted, their wording is influenced by later versions.

⁴³ The layout of crosses with texts in the spandrels is reminiscent of some of Lautensack's late drawings showing the 4×5 Books of the Bible (e.g. Fig. 89), but the material displayed comes from his earlier tripartite systems, which was adopted with some difficulty. θ:T132v quotes 1 John – not according to its 27 paragraphs (cf. p. 131) but divided into its five chapters which are squeezed into four columns.

⁴⁴ θθ:Q1r (Fig. 98), 17r–v, cf. p. 278 n. 65.

⁴⁵ ε:B223v–224r, cf. Paracelsus, *Archidoxorum X. Bücher*, K4r–L4v, the pages with seals reprinted in Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, 677–80.

III. *Abraham Meffert*

One Silesian follower of Paracelsus did not content himself with collecting and copying Lautensack's works: Abraham Meffert (also called Machfredus, Maphrædus or Mavortus). He was probably born around 1560, and in 1590 he lived in Trotzendorf (East of Görlitz), possessed some hermetic texts and stood in contact with mystically interested Silesian compatriots.⁴⁶ Several of his tracts about Lautensack carry the date 1587 (v.i.). Surprisingly, the sole identifiable student with this name, a citizen of Liegnitz, matriculated in the University of Frankfurt / Oder only in 1591; it is not clear if this entry refers to a different (otherwise not documented) person, or if Abraham had begun his studies later than most of his contemporaries or resumed them after a long break. By 1598 Meffert was civic physician in Liegnitz in Lower Silesia, an office he kept to his death in 1617.⁴⁷ In his only known published work, a treatise on the plague, he places himself in the tradition of Paracelsus and also refers to the writings of Johannes Trithemius.⁴⁸ Whilst belonging to a Lutheran parish he nevertheless dedicated his book to the Abbot of Leubus, the Catholic stronghold in Lower Silesia.⁴⁹ Like many contemporary scholars he probably had little time for denominational controversies.

⁴⁶ Leigh T. I. Penman, "Ein Liebhaber des Mysterii, und ein großer Verwandter desselben. Toward the Life of Balthasar Walther: Kabbalist, Alchemist and Wandering Paracelsian Physician," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 94 (2010): 79 n. 47, mentions that a manuscript compiled by Balthasar Walter, now Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. math. 4° 9, refers to the copying of a text from Meffert's library in December 1590. I am very grateful to Dr. Penman for informing me about his research.

⁴⁷ Abraham Meffert is virtually unknown to modern scholars (Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit*, 1:243 n. 43, mentions him in the context of Lautensack's tracts; Adalbert Hermann Kraffert, *Chronik von Liegnitz*, vol. 2, 2, *Vom Tode Friedrichs II. bis zum Aussterben des Piastenhauses, 1547–1675* (Liegnitz: Krumbhaar, 1871), 132, and Michael Sachs, *Historisches Ärztelexikon für Schlesien: Biographisch-bibliographisches Lexikon schlesischer Ärzte und Wundärzte (Chirurgen)*, vol. 4, L–O (Frankfurt am Main: Sachs, 2006), 176, refer to his civic appointment). Therefore, I plan a separate article on his life and work.

⁴⁸ Abrahamus Machfredus, *Tractatus | De Pestilitatibus | Sambt gründlichem bericht vnd Erklerung | Von den Gifftigen | Pestilischen ausgüssen der letzten Plag[s]chalen des zorns Gottes / derselbten vnterschiedenen | arthen vnd eigenschafften / ... Mit großem Fleiß gestellt Durch | Abrahamum Machfredum, M. U. D. | Damals | Jhr F. G. der Fürstl. Lign. Brig. Wittib zum Hain Leib|Medicum / Auch der Stad Lignitz / vnd Fürstlichen Ge|stifts Leubus Physicum ordinarium* (Lignitz: Schneider, 1618, VD 17 deest), A3v and C2r (published posthumously). An earlier treatise on the same subject is preserved as a manuscript (AP Legnica, Akta miasta Legnicy, Sygn. II / 1,188, 21–59).

⁴⁹ In this dedication Meffert, who was by then close to death, prays for God's protection over the abbot and his monks (A4v) but does not ask them to pray for the repose of his soul, as a Catholic author probably would have done.

Three texts about Lautensack's tracts, of very disparate length, bear Meffert's name.⁵⁰ It is furthermore known that he finished a commentary on Lautensack in 1614,⁵¹ and that one of his works on Lautensack was later revised by Paul Kaym.⁵² These two texts may or may not be identical with one of the three surviving tracts.

Meffert's most important contribution to the study of Lautensack is a tract ($\lambda\lambda\mathbf{a/b}$), of which no less than seven manuscript copies are known, more than of any one of the authentic works by Lautensack (however, in contrast to the Lautensack manuscripts described earlier in this chapter, most copies of Meffert's text contain very few, if any, annotations so that they were probably not studied very much).⁵³ According to its elaborate Baroque title, this text contains Lautensack's "Apocalypsis Ihesu Christi," which was merely "in eine Ordnung gebracht vnd erklehret" [ordered and explained] by Meffert. Indeed, most of this lengthy work (comprising ca. 100–150 folia) faithfully repeats Lautensack's ideas in a clearer and more systematic way. The text is structured through headings into a brief biography of the painter,⁵⁴ a short preface, an introduction explaining some of Lautensack's most important ideas, and then about 20 short chapters, most of them explaining one diagram.⁵⁵ This structure differs from

⁵⁰ Besides his main work *Apocalypsis* that is here discussed in greater detail, there is a short and basic introduction to some aspects of Lautensack's thought (tract \mathbf{o}), apparently part of an undated letter to a respected but not very learned man (suggested by the uncharacteristically plain language and the deferential "der herr" on W74r). Whilst the concluding part of a second text (tract \mathbf{oo}), called in the manuscripts Meffert's *Sententia* on Lautensack, is similar (e.g. $\mathbf{oo:Rn69v-70r}$), its main part uses Lautensackian concepts freely, similar to the Pseudo-Weigelian tracts (cf. pp. 280–81 n. 83). This differs so strongly from all other known works by Meffert that his authorship of this section can be doubted – on the other hand, this text is also hardly a work of Pseudo-Weigel, since it employs many learned Latinisms and lacks the anti-academic polemic of the latter. At the end of this first section the date 1587 appears ($\mathbf{oo:Rn69r}$), the same date as in one copy of his *Apocalypsis*. No traces of Meffert's manuscripts can be found in the inventories of public collections in Liegnitz (Ernst Pfudel, *Mittheilungen über die Bibliotheca Rudolphina der Königl. Ritter-Akademie zu Liegnitz*, vol. 2 (Liegnitz: Krumbhaar, 1877), 115–22; Ferdinand Bahlow, "Die Kirchenbibliothek von St. Peter und Paul in Liegnitz," *Mitteilungen des Geschichts- und Altertums-Vereins für die Stadt und das Fürstentum Liegnitz* 2 (1906/08): 139–75).

⁵¹ In early 1614 August Fürst von Anhalt, the brother of a late patient of Meffert, (cf. p. 289), remarked upon a commentary on Lautensack that had recently written by the physician (StA Oranienbaum, Köthen A 17a, 25r (no. 52), 18/28 January 1614. I am grateful to Dr. Carlos Gilly for sending me a transcription of this passage).

⁵² Cf. p. 286 n. 114.

⁵³ Of these seven copies, three contain a shortened version with partially revised wording ($\lambda\lambda\mathbf{b:Lm}$, \mathbf{Mm} , and the lost \mathbf{Cm}).

⁵⁴ This biography is sometimes placed at the beginning and sometimes at the end of Meffert's text, for this reason it is counted here as separate tract \mathbf{xx} .

⁵⁵ Unfortunately, no manuscript contains all diagrams, and frequently chapter headings were omitted by copyists, therefore the structure cannot be defined with precision.

that of most of Lautensack's tracts that typically present images and explanatory texts in a loose sequence. However, one of his tracts (23) is divided into 15 chapters, each of them dealing with one diagram, as in Meffert's text. Since its introduction is very similar to Meffert's, the physician must have been aware of it (or of a similar, now lost, text) and used it as a model. Today, tract 23 only survives without its diagrams, and hence it is not clear whether it was the source for Meffert's introduction and overall structure only, or also for some or all of his diagrams.⁵⁶

In his "ordered and explained" version Meffert replaced the painter's imprecise and rambling vernacular sentences with a text that is much easier to read and contains – in moderation – the pretentious Latin phrases characteristic of vernacular scholarly writing in this period.⁵⁷ Furthermore, he imitated the layout of Baroque books: the illustrated copies of his version⁵⁸ begin with an elaborately framed title-page (Fig. 99), and the diagrams are not placed within the chapters explaining them but rather in groups of two or three, like plates with engravings. We can assume that virtually all of these diagrams go back to Lautensack. Most are familiar from his surviving tracts, albeit some are here rendered in a slightly different (normally more complex) version.⁵⁹ Unless they are the lost illustrations of tract 23 (v.s.) or a similar text, Meffert must have taken them from a range of different tracts.⁶⁰ However, he would not have needed a large library of works by Lautensack – a couple of the collections of Lautensack's tracts made in the late 16th century would have been sufficient.⁶¹ All diagrams are taken from Lautensack's later works, and therefore they are all complex arrangements going over not more than 2 pages.

Only a few facets of this lengthy work go back to Meffert. What is new is an interest in the Creation, and especially in Adam,⁶² whom Lautensack

⁵⁶ The rambling style of tract 23 makes it difficult to identify the diagrams explained in the individual chapters.

⁵⁷ *λa*:Bm83v speaks, for instance, of the "Archididascalo Johanni in der Apocalyptischen Academiam."

⁵⁸ Four manuscripts were illustrated (Bm, Km, Wm and the lost Cm), in one only the first drawing was executed (Lm), and two were already planned without drawings (Mm, Vm).

⁵⁹ Only one diagram (*λa*:Bm91v–92r, dated to 1547) is not found in other surviving tracts, but there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. An example for small differences is Bm109r, which is slightly more complex than 45:E26v. Some trivial introductory diagrams were probably designed by Meffert himself (alphabets in Bm26v and Bm36r, or drawings of the signs in the sky in Bm74v).

⁶⁰ They are part of tracts 13, 17, 21, 37, 43, 44 and 45.

⁶¹ All authentic Lautensackian diagrams used in Meffert's text have parallels in manuscripts UV and E.

⁶² E.g. the adjective "Adamisch" on Bm51v.

virtually ignored. An appeal not only to Christians and Jews but also to Turks to accept the divine revelation has some parallels in heterodox Protestantism of the period.⁶³ As a Paracelsist physician Meffert furthermore inserted allusions to natural philosophy and alchemical comparisons as used by Paracelsus and his disciples.⁶⁴ This is most evident in the only complex diagram that probably does not go back to the Nuremberg painter: it combines familiar Lautensackian features such as the celestial bodies, Patriarchs and Apostles with philosophical terms classifying types of motion (Fig. 100),⁶⁵ and the chapter accompanying it furthermore discusses planets, climata and the Hebrew spelling of *Jesus*.⁶⁶ The last sections of Meffert's tract are markedly different:⁶⁷ they contain references to patristic authors,⁶⁸ to theological speculations that were alien to Lautensack⁶⁹ and, once again, to natural philosophy.⁷⁰ One of the copies of this manuscript bore on its title-page the year 1587, the same as one of Meffert's shorter commentaries on Lautensack (cf. p. 276 n. 50),⁷¹ whereas the others are all undated. It is not clear how reliable this date is. If Meffert finished the "Apocalypsis" in its present state so early in his life he may have continued to develop the new ideas presented in its last chapters, and in this case the commentary on Lautensack he sent to Prince August of Anhalt in 1614 might have had a very different character.

⁶³ Cf. p. 284 n. 104. Several of Weigel's works focus on Genesis, see Weigel, *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 11.

⁶⁴ E.g. Bm89v: "Solche abbildung der Trinitet vnd dreyheit befindet sich auch in allen äußerlichen irdischen geschöpfen ... als in Sale, Sulphure et mercurio" [such an image of the Trinity and threeness is also found in external earthly creatures, as in Salt, Sulphur and Mercury]. A similar alchemical comparison was added by the copyist into a Lautensack manuscript, α:B104v.

⁶⁵ E.g. λλa:Bm97v (Fig. 100). This diagram is part of the already described group of diagrams combined with an authentic tract of Lautensack (99:Q17r, cf. p. 274); it is not clear if Meffert took it from there or from a similar source (probably regarding it as Lautensack's own composition) or if it was copied from Meffert's tract into this manuscript. The three terms are "Motus sympathicus," "Motus antipathicus," "Motus harmonicus." They are apparently not very common but they were later used by Leibniz (Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Philosophische Schriften*, 6 vols. (Darmstadt: Reichl, and Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1930–99), 1:484, ll. 29–30 for "Motus harmonicus;" *ibid.*, 2:240, §33bis, l. 27, for the other two terms).

⁶⁶ Bm95v–103r.

⁶⁷ They are missing in version λλb.

⁶⁸ Bm159v, for instance, refers to Origen, Eusebius, Antonius Eremita and Basil the Great.

⁶⁹ Bm164v interprets the letters of the Hebrew ברא (he created) as a prophecy of the Trinity; Bm183r–v speaks of spiritual anointing and the priesthood of Aaron and Melchizedek.

⁷⁰ Bm159v–60r mentions *Microcosmos* and *Macrocosmos*.

⁷¹ Manuscript Bm, see Hans Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg*, vol. 3 (Bamberg: Buchner, 1912), 84. Today this line is illegible.

IV. *Pseudo-Weigel*

Very different in character from Meffert's extensive explanations are the Lautensack-inspired texts linked to Valentin Weigel. At the end of the 16th century well over 100 tracts circulated as works of a Valentin Weigel (1533–88), who had been Lutheran minister in Zschopau (Erzgebirge, Eastern Saxony) from 1567 until his death,⁷² and many of them were printed posthumously between 1609 and 1619.⁷³ In this Corpus one finds conventional edifying tracts next to bizarre theological or philosophical speculation, and even alchemical recipes.⁷⁴ These texts earned Weigel a reputation as arch-heretic and, since Lautensack was mentioned in some of them, he became known to the scholarly world of the 17th century as Weigel's main source of inspiration or even his teacher.⁷⁵ Since the 19th century, the large majority of these texts have been discarded as inauthentic,⁷⁶ and the tracts regarded today as works of Valentin Weigel⁷⁷ are neither openly heterodox⁷⁸ nor inspired by

⁷² *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 41:473–74; Georg Baring, "Valentin Weigel und die 'Deutsche Theologie,'" *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 55 (1964): 7; Siegfried Wollgast, *Philosophie in Deutschland zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung, 1550–1650* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1988), 508, 511. Although Weigel was several times investigated for heresy (and subsequently cleared), he was apparently a well-respected minister.

⁷³ Pfefferl, "Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels," *Teil II, B, II–V*, has a list of printed editions.

⁷⁴ They are studied in detail in Pfefferl, "Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels." Unfortunately, only excerpts of this PhD thesis were published, and the bulk of the text is inaccessible. I am most grateful to Dr. Pfefferl for sending me the sections related to Lautensack. For this book only printed editions of Pseudo-Weigel could be studied systematically.

⁷⁵ Cf. p. 1 n. 2.

⁷⁶ The first modern attempt at a catalogue is Ludolf Pertz, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der mystischen und ascetischen Literatur," *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* 27 (1857): 32–94, followed by Julius Otto Opel, *Valentin Weigel: Ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Culturgeschichte Deutschlands im 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1864), 54–66, 88–120; August Israel, *M. Valentin Weigels Leben und Schriften* (Zschopau: Raschke, 1888), 38–157, and Winfried Zeller, *Die Schriften Valentin Weigels: Eine literarkritische Untersuchung* (Berlin: Ebering, 1940), passim.

⁷⁷ An edition of the tracts now regarded as authentic was begun in 1962 (called *Sämtliche Schriften*, several editors), it was abandoned after a few volumes and in its place came from 1996 onward the *Sämtliche Schriften, Neue Edition*, edited by Horst Pfefferl.

⁷⁸ Horst Pfefferl, the editor of Weigel's collected works, regards him as loyal Lutheran who merely criticized the development of the 'Orthodoxie' after the Reformer's death as formalistic and devoid of true piety (Horst Pfefferl, "Das neue Bild Valentin Weigels – Ketzer oder Kirchenmann? Aspekte einer erforderlichen Neubestimmung seiner kirchen- und theologiegeschichtlichen Position," *Herbergen der Christenheit: Jahrbuch für deutsche Kirchengeschichte* 18 (1993/94): 67–79). However, the Marxist philosopher Siegfried Wollgast called Weigel a Pantheist (Wollgast, *Philosophie in Deutschland*, e.g. 535).

Lautensack.⁷⁹ However, Lautensackian ideas were not unknown in Weigel's circle: the Danish scholar Johannes Alburgius (1543–1619) referred to some of them in a letter to the minister,⁸⁰ and Weigel's long-term deacon (i.e. curate) and eventual successor Benedikt Biedermann († 1621)⁸¹ is regarded as the author of a large number of Pseudo-Weigelian tracts, including all those with material from Lautensack. Whilst some of them contain only very brief passages that are related to a Lautensackian concept and may not even mention his name,⁸² in others several pages are dedicated to his ideas.⁸³ In contrast to Meffert's work, these tracts do

⁷⁹ A passage in the *Kirchen- und Hauspostille* lamenting that many offensive books on the Bible had been published whilst the printing of the works of Paracelsus and Lautensack was hindered, has long been regarded as an interpolation by the publisher (Valentin Weigel, *Kirchen | Oder Hauspostill | Vber die Sontags vnd fürnembsten Fest | Evangelien durchs gantze Jahr* (Newenstatt: Knuber, 1617, VD 17 23:631309U), 3rd pagination, 96, modern edition Weigel, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 12/1:XLVII–XLVIII, 12/2:582, ll. 23–25, text S82, dated to 1578–79, 1:XLII); see Opel, *Valentin Weigel*, 118.

⁸⁰ Weigel, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 8:107 (from Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. VCQ 52, 63v), the reply on 110–27. For Alburgius's biography see *Grosses vollständiges | Universal | Lexicon | Aller Wissenschaften und Künste, | Welche bißhero durch menschlichen Verstand und Witz | erfunden und verbessert worden*, 68 vols. (Halle: Zedler, 1731–54), 11,046 (the reference to Henning Witte, *Diarium | Biographicum, | In Quo | Scriptores Seculi Post Natum | Christum XVII. Præcipui ... | concisè descripti* (Gedani: Rhetius, 1688, VD 17 1:045999T), is apparently erroneous); Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*, 21,907; Holger Ehrencron-Müller, *Forfatterlexikon omfattende Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814*, 13 vols. (Copenhagen: Aschehoug, 1924), 1:12, and *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 16 vols. (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1979–84), 16:233 (Lauritz Nielsen).

⁸¹ For him see Fritz Lieb, *Valentin Weigels Kommentar zur Schöpfungsgeschichte und das Schrifttum seines Schülers Benedikt Biedermann* (Zurich: EVZ-Verlag, 1962): 62–70 describes his life, 151–52 contains a catalogue of tracts. Biedermann was less fortunate than Weigel, and in 1599 he was deposed because Weigelian manuscripts reworked by him had been found in his rectory.

⁸² Valentin Weigel, *Vom Alten vnd Newen | Jerusalem | Das ist / | Das aller Gleubi|ge beydes im Alten vnd Newen | Testament mit jhren Füßen stehen müssen | in den thoren Jerusalems* (n.p., 1619, VD 17 1:072997Z), Bir, has a diagram paralleling the Tribes and the Apostles. Although it could be directly taken from Revelation, a marginal comment in the printed edition identifies Lautensack as source (Pfefferl, “Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels,” *Teil III*, B, 382, S127, and Lieb, *Weigels Kommentar*, 152, date this text to 1583). Valentin Weigel, *Moise | Taberna|culum cum | Suis Tribus Par|tibz Zum | Γῶνθι σεαυτὸν | Führende / | Auß Rechten Apostolischen Fundament | tractirt vnnnd erkelret [sic]* (Newstatt: Knuber, 1618, VD 17 3:004380T), C1r, C2r–v, links the 2×11 Chapters of Revelation to *Spirit* and *Word* and furthermore mentions the Persons and Aspects of the Trinity and the four colors of the rainbow (Lieb, *Weigels Kommentar*, 152, dates it to 1583/84; Winfried Zeller, “Der frühe Weigelianismus,” in id., *Theologie und Frömmigkeit: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Bernd Jaspert (Marburg: Elwert, 1971), 1:57–58, and Pfefferl, “Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels,” *Teil III*, B, 382, S92, date it to ca. 1584).

⁸³ Valentin Weigel, *Studium Universale, | Das ist | Alles das jenige / | so von Anfang der Welt biß an das | Ende je gelebet / geschrieben / gelesen / oder gel|lernet vnd noch geschrieben oder gestudiert werden | möchte* (Newenstadt: Knuber, 1618, VD 17 3:004377Q), especially Div–D4v, G2v–H4r; discussed in Lieb, *Weigels Kommentar*, 58 (dates it to the late 1580s);

not reproduce any diagrams by Lautensack – they only contain some tables (often with lists of contrasting terms) and occasional simple diagrams of words surrounding a cross.⁸⁴ However, they mention many elements that are familiar from Lautensack's tracts: most commonly four-part arrangements such as the letters of *GOTT* and *WORT* respectively, the Symbols of the Evangelists or the colors of the rainbow, but also series of twelve like the Patriarchs and Apostles, and the Persons and *Aspects* of the Trinity. Most of these elements could derive from any of Lautensack's tracts, but the frequent references to the 36 letters and their Spirits (without enumerating them) and to the number 666, which is regarded as the sum of everything,⁸⁵ show that Pseudo-Weigel must have been aware of some of the painter's late works.⁸⁶ Many references to Lautensack remain superficial, and some schemes differ from the originals, by mistake or by conscious change.⁸⁷ We have seen that Lautensack frequently contrasted his divine inspiration with the worldly wisdom taught by scholars.⁸⁸ Pseudo-Weigel's tracts have a similar polemical tone – sometimes the author calls all academic theology futile in comparison to Lautensack's approach or claims that Lautensack's method teaches perfect self-understanding, and hence allows the student to acquire any desirable

Zeller, "Der frühe Weigelianismus," 54–55 (dates it to ca. 1580, mentions that some manuscripts call it *Astrologia theologizata* and refers to Lautensack's influence); Pfefferl, "Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels," *Teil III, B*, 381, S12 (dates it to 1580); Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit*, 1:246–57, 2:58–60; Valentin Weigel, *Theologia | Weigeli. | Das ist. | Öffentliche Glaubens Bekändniß deß Weyland | Ehrwürdigen / durch die dritte Mentalische | oder Intellectualische PfingstSchule | Erleuchteten Mannes / | M. Valentini Weigeli* (Newstatt: Knuber, 1618, VD 17 3:004373K), 10v–18v, 40v–49r (from 1584, discussed in Lieb, *Weigels Kommentare*, 152; Zeller, "Der frühe Weigelianismus," 69–70, and Pfefferl, "Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels," *Teil III, B*, 382, S120). Valentin Weigel, *Dritter Theil | Deß | Gnothi Seavton | Oder | Cognosce Teipsum | genandt. | Das Newe | Erkenne dich selbst* (Newstadt: Knuber, 1618, VD 17 3:004370M), 6v, 8r, 25r–v (Lieb, *Weigels Kommentar*, 56–58 and 152, dates it to 1587/88; Zeller, "Der frühe Weigelianismus," 56–57, and Pfefferl, "Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels," *Teil III, B*, 382, S28, date it to ca. 1587). For the tract contained on 39r–45v of this book, which is called the second half the third part of *Gnothi Seavton*, see p. 282 n. 94.

⁸⁴ E.g. Weigel, *Theologia Weigeli*, 10v.

⁸⁵ E.g. Weigel, *Studium Universale*, D3v, D4v.

⁸⁶ Cf. p. 263.

⁸⁷ Weigel, *Studium Universale*, D3r, contrasts 36 numbers, 36 spirits and 36 words (the latter identical with Lautensack's Spirits of the letters) – G4v has even 36 of Spirits, Words, Persons and Human Natures as well as 36 Cherubim, possibly in analogy to Lautensack's 77 Cherubim, Ancestors, Books, Peoples and letters; and G3v contrasts the abbreviations of the tripartite series "V. S. H. G." ("Vater. Sohn. Heiliger Geist") and "G. P. W." ("Geist. Person. Wort").

⁸⁸ Cf. pp. 50–51 n. 53.

knowledge with ease.⁸⁹ Alongside Lautensack, Paracelsus is sometimes invoked as a sage who was ignored by the academic establishment.⁹⁰

Amongst the numerous printed editions of tracts by Pseudo-Weigel from the early 17th century stands a volume that claims to contain Lautensack's Revelation of Jesus Christ with explanations by Valentin Weigel.⁹¹ This title promises more than the book holds – it contains in fact two random tracts by Lautensack (11 and 45) and a selection of works by Pseudo-Weigel. Some of them are not related to Lautensack at all⁹² and others refer only superficially to his doctrine, like the works by Pseudo-Weigel introduced earlier.⁹³ However, three texts in this collection were written to familiarize the reader with Lautensack's thought (although they are not specifically linked to the two Lautensackian tracts they were printed with here). The first of them is a relatively short introduction.⁹⁴ It begins with ambitious quotations from Cicero and the Pimander on the acquisition of knowledge⁹⁵ and, after briefly going through some of Lautensack's key concepts, it focuses on 2×15 parts of Christ's body and finally gives a diagram of 36 letters and their Spirits. The two other tracts⁹⁶ likewise explain some of Lautensack's terminology (hardly going further than other works by Pseudo-Weigel) but primarily instruct the reader how to create two complex diagrams: a cross-in-square scheme with the 4×7×11 Ancestors and Books (such as Fig. 15)⁹⁷ and an (unclear) structure

⁸⁹ E.g. Weigel, *Studium Universale*, title and H3v (against academic theologians); Weigel, *Theologia Weigelii*, 42r.

⁹⁰ E.g. Weigel, *Theologia Weigelii*, 16v. Another author praised here is Petrus Lorientus (also Lorientus or Lorientus); probably a lawyer with an interest in the Apocalypse who died in 1573 (Weigel, *Dritter Theil*, 8r), for him see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 19:200. Lorientus is also mentioned by Meffert in 00:Rn68v.

⁹¹ For his edition cf. p. 290.

⁹² They are *Von dem Fall* (ϕϕ:a13–15); *Von der Offenbahrung Jesu Christi* (γγγ:a166–69 – its passionate conclusion is occasionally misattributed to the Nuremberg painter, so in Gottfried Arnold, *Unpartheyische | Kirchen- und Ketzer-|Historie, | Vom Anfang des neuen Testaments | Biß auf das Jahr Christi 1688*, parts 3 and 4 (Franckfurt am Mayn: Fritsch, 1729), part III, 7b) and *Von der Huren* (δδδ:a170–73).

⁹³ *De Arcano* (ααα:a133–49) and *Wehe denen* (βββ:a151–66). The latter contains some diagrams that are unrelated to Lautensack's compositions.

⁹⁴ υυ:α3–12. This is a stand-alone text, but it was also printed as second half of the so-called third part of the *Gnothi Seauton*, cf. p. 281 n. 83.

⁹⁵ Cic. Off. I, 6 (18); *Pimander*, section 10 (*Mercvrii Tris|megisti Pymander, de | Potestate et Sapientia Dei*, ed. Marsilio Ficino (Basileae: Isingrinnius, 1532, VD 16 H 2,462), 71, ll. 4–5).

⁹⁶ These are *Super Divam Apocalypsin* (χχ:a17–57) and *Tractatus vom Opere Mirabili* (ψψ:a59–100). The relationship between these texts is not clear. They describe very similar material, yet with different words, and none can plausibly be called the precursor of the other.

⁹⁷ This diagram, called by Pseudo-Weigel the “Opus mirabile,” is described in χχ:a45–48 and ψψ:a64–70 and depicted after a70 (in some copies erroneously after a96).

showing the *Crucified* chapters.⁹⁸ Whereas their concepts are reminiscent of Lautensack's tracts from 1538 (especially tracts 10–12), they include some elements that the painter only introduced later,⁹⁹ and I have been unable to find exact parallels. The author probably knew Lautensack's principles so well that he could have created new diagrams, but he more probably copied them from sources that are now lost. Another text in the same collection devotes much space to the *Crucifixion* of texts and the limbs of Christ. It contains some relatively plain diagrams, which are independent of Lautensack's constructions (Fig. 101), and the discussion of the limbs goes beyond anything the painter had ever suggested.¹⁰⁰

Although Pseudo-Weigel's explanations of Lautensack's concepts are less systematic and harder to comprehend than those by Abraham Meffert and Paul Kaym (v.i.), by virtue of being printed and bound together with the only two authentic tracts by Lautensack published in the 17th century, they dominated his reception in the following decades. They place him in a mystical tradition going back to the Hermetic Corpus, parallel his fate with that of Paracelsus and link his ideas with concepts of knowledge and understanding from the circle of Weigel. Furthermore, since this edition contains very few diagrams (and many are merely illustrations to clarify the text, not means of discovering hidden truths), the profoundly visual nature of Lautensack's concepts was neglected; he is primarily seen as a theological author. For unknown reasons the title-page calls him painter and organist, an apparently mistaken identification that lived on into the 20th century.¹⁰¹

V. Paul Kaym and Abraham von Franckenberg

Besides the followers of Paracelsus and Weigel, some disciples of Jacob Böhme (1575–1624), arguably the most radical of the German Baroque mystics, displayed interest in the ideas of the Nuremberg painter.

⁹⁸ $\chi\chi$:a48–52 describes a diagram showing the paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* placed onto three crosses surrounded by two half-rainbows, which is somehow connected with a diagram of the same paragraphs in a *Crucified* and *Buried* state; $\psi\psi$:a73–93 merely explains different ways of *Crucifying* chapters. Tract $\chi\chi$ calls this procedure the “Grosse werck” [great work], whereas in $\psi\psi$ it is still part of the “Opus mirabile,” and “Opus magnum” denotes the interpretation of several diagrams, a94–100.

⁹⁹ So the dissection of *GOTT* and *WORT* into their individual letters ($\chi\chi$:a53).

¹⁰⁰ Like several other texts (cf. p. 281 n. 83) it is called *Gnothi Seauton* ($\omega\omega$:a101–32, according to a reference on a131 possibly from 1587). Here, a103–5 deal with Christ's limbs, a105–13 with the *Crucifixion*; the following pages are more similar to the tracts described earlier (cf. p. 280–81 n. 83) and contain only vague references to elements of Lautensack's thought.

¹⁰¹ Probably, the painter Lautensack was confused with his son Paul, who was organist of St Sebald in Nuremberg, cf. p. 12.

The first of these was Paul Kaym (also called Kaim or Keym), like Abraham Meffert a respected citizen of Liegnitz.¹⁰² He was born in 1571 or 1572, worked as an imperial tax-collector and probably died in 1633 or 1634.¹⁰³ It is difficult to compile a Corpus of his writings, since many of them were published posthumously and anonymously. A number of the printed tracts usually attributed to him contain some, albeit scarce, elements that are probably inspired by Lautensack.¹⁰⁴ Of much greater

¹⁰² Kaym's social position was underlined at the baptism of his son Paul in 1599, when the mayor and the headmaster of the school were among the godparents (AP Legnica, Kościół Św. Piotra i Pawła, Sygn. 4, p. 164. I am most grateful to Mgr Edyta Łaborewicz, Archiwum państwowe we Wrocławiu, Oddział w Legnicy, for informing me about date and page-number). The coat of arms in an engraved portrait of his is usually attributed to a Kaym family of Nuremberg (e.g. Johannes B. Rietstap, *Armorial Général*, vol. 1 (Gouda: van Goor, 1884), 1,069) – it is not clear if Paul's family originated there, if he usurped arms of his namesakes, or if the engraver gave him a coat of arms that was not his (for the portrait see Hans Wolfgang Singer, *Allgemeiner Bildniskatalog*, vol. 6, *Hernith-Kazinczy* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1932), 2,891 nos. 47,672–76, a copy in the possession of the Franckesche Stiftungen, Bött. B 2,425 is available digitized).

¹⁰³ Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*, 3:22a, gives 1633 as year of Kaym's death, the engraved portrait (cf. above, n. 102) contains the date 1634 without any explanation; a copy of it in the manuscript of Kaym's tracts interprets this as year of his death (pp:Kkiv).

¹⁰⁴ A tract by a "P. K." that claims that also Jews and Mohammedans could be saved uses Lautensack's familiar triad of "Geist Person Wort" yet interprets it in a very different way ([Paul Kaym], *Bekänntnis | Eines vnpartheyischen Christen | Wegen des einigen seeligmachenden | Glaubens | | Vnter allen Religionen und | Völkern auff Erden ... : sampt ... | Religions-Spiegel | | aus heiliger Schrift treulich bewiesen durch | | P. K.* (n.p., 1646, VD 17 39:118079M), 52–55, § 47, cf. Albrecht Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus in der lutherischen Kirche des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Bonn: Marcus, 1884), 304). An excursus on the Trinity in an edifying tract speaks of *Gott* and *Wort* ([Paul Kaym], *Helleleuchtender | Hertzens-Spiegel | | Worinnen vermittelst einer dreyfachen | Vorstellung kürztlich / klärllich / gründlich / also | daß es auch der unwissenste Mensch sehen | fassen und mercken kan | | I. Das Erkänntnis | II. Die Übung [sic] | | III. Das Geheimniß der wahren | Gottseligkeit* (Frankfurt: Bielcken, 1680, VD 17 39:147422C), 17–18; cf. Christianus Schuemann, *I. N. J. C. | Breve / Judicium | Theologicum, | de libello Germanico | Helleleuchtender Her|tzens-Spiegel* (Jenæ: Literis Wertherianis, 1681, VD 17 1:057436R), 4th leaf, v, § 23; for the attribution to Kaym see Reinhard Breymayer, "Die Bibliothek Gottfried Arnolds (1666–1714), des Verfassers der 'Unpartheyischen Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie,'" *Linguistica Biblica* 39 (1976): 111; Christoph Geissmar, *Das Auge Gottes: Bilder zu Jacob Böhme* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 48). An engraving from the same book has the triad "Gott Wort Geist," which may be a variant of Lautensack's system (Geissmar, *Auge Gottes*, 216 fig. 98). The *Oculus aeternitatis* refers to Christ as a *Person* consisting of *Geist* and *Wort*, and to crucifying the world on three Crosses (Abraham von Franckenberg, *Oculus aeternitatis | Das ist | Geistliche | Erkänntnis GOTTES | | Oder | Schriftmäßige Erklärung viel und grosser | Gottseligen Geheimnisse* (Amsterdam: Betkuis, 1677, VD 17 3:607099C), 147. Abraham von Franckenberg is given as author on the title-page, but in Abraham von Franckenberg, *Theologische | Send-Schreiben | Von dem rechten | Kirchen-gehen | | An Magr: G. S. einen Hoff-Prediger* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1687), vjij(, v, the *Oculus aeternitatis* is attributed to Kaym; Sibylle Rusterholz, "Abraham von Franckenbergs Verhältnis zu Jacob Böhme: Versuch einer Neubestimmung aufgrund kritischer Sichtung der Textgrundlagen," in *Kulturgeschichte Schlesiens in der Frühen Neuzeit*,

interest are three long tracts that are only preserved in a single manuscript.¹⁰⁵ Whereas the first of them, dealing primarily with eschatological topics, has little to do with Lautensack,¹⁰⁶ the second, dated to 1624, is a very detailed introduction to the thoughts of the painter (whose name is always abbreviated as "P. L."). The very assertive preface calls not only on Christians to follow the revelations granted by God to Lautensack after 1530 but likewise on Jews, Mohammedans and Pagans. Kaym claimed that Lautensack's tracts had been ignored by many, because they largely consisted of incomprehensible images, which also scandalized those who mistakenly believed that the Bible banned all images.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, Kaym would explain his concepts in a clear, unillustrated text. Accordingly, the lengthy text of Kaym's tract (Kk141r–249r), structured into numerous short chapters, contains a systematic introduction to many of Lautensack's ideas. As in Meffert's edition, hardly any new concepts are added,¹⁰⁸ but

ed. Klaus Garber (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2005), 1:218, tentatively gives it to von Franckenberg's disciple Georg Lorenz Seidenbecher). For the illustrations later inserted into this text see p. 288 n. 120. No Lautensackian material was identified in the short tract *Bekänntnis | Von | Der Christen Glauben | Anno 1585 zu Constantinopel | in Latein gethan | Durch Einen / welcher als ein große Ketzer | beklagt worden*, which was printed as appendix to the *Bekänntnis | Eines vnpartheyischen Christen* (v.s.). Two tracts sent by Kaym to Jacob Böhme are probably lost (cf. beneath, n. 106), and the cobbler's replies mention no material reminiscent of the Nuremberg painter (they are counted as Böhme's 8th and 11th epistles, Böhme, *Sämmtliche Werke*, 7:329–47, 348–61, the first also in id., *Jacob Böhme: Die Urschriften*, vol. 1, ed. Werner Buddecke (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstadt: Frommann, 1963), 301–17). Another manuscript tract by Kaym was apparently lost in the Second World War (Gustav Koffmane, *Die religiösen Bewegungen in der evangelischen Kirche Schlesiens während des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau: Koffmane, 1880), 52; Pierre Béhar, *Silesia Tragica: Epanouissement et fin de l'école dramatique silésienne dans l'œuvre tragique de Daniel Casper de Lohenstein (1635–1683)*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 439 n. 61), and several other tracts, listed in Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*, 4:1,095b, could not be identified at all.

¹⁰⁵ This is manuscript Kk, now in Copenhagen, first linked with Lautensack in *Cimelia Rhodostauritica: Die Rosenkreuzer im Spiegel der zwischen 1610 und 1660 entstandenen Handschriften und Drucke*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, 1995, ed. Carlos Gilly (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 1995), 9. Like many copies of the Meffert edition it imitates a printed book, with a title-page and many references and key-words indicated in the margin, all in a very clear hand. Since it contains a portrait of the author (cf. p. 284 n. 103) it is hardly an autograph, and since it is written on paper from Straßburg, a major commercial center, it could have been produced almost anywhere in Northern Europe. It shows no traces of use.

¹⁰⁶ pp:Kk3r–140v. Carlos Gilly, "Zur Geschichte und Überlieferung der Handschriften Jacob Böhmes," in *Jacob Böhmes Weg in die Welt: Zur Geschichte der Handschriftensammlung, Übersetzungen und Editionen von Abraham Willemsz van Beyerland*, ed. Theodor Harmsen (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 2007), 410 n. 1, proposed that it may be a reworking of the tract sent by Kaym to Böhme, cf. above, n. 104. In a scheme of the Four Ages (named differently from Lautensack's system), the Manifestations of the Trinity appear (Kk64v, 65v, 68r, 69v).

¹⁰⁷ pp:Kk144r–145v.

¹⁰⁸ Most additions can be found in chapter 8 of the third part of this tract (pp:Kk201v–2v), which introduces some terminology from natural philosophy.

the language is plainer and less presumptuous. As promised, there are no large images. Most of the (rare) diagrams are extremely plain and merely explain elements of the texts. Others are taken from Lautensack's tracts but purged of any pictorial features beyond stars or candlesticks, human figures have been replaced by descriptions (Fig. 102).¹⁰⁹ Most of these diagrams are probably taken from Lautensack's tracts 12 and 26, which belong to the 'core' of tracts copied frequently in the late 16th century (they are found in manuscripts BSTVW); Kaym probably had access to these or similar texts. Other elements go back to Pseudo-Weigel, and Kaym presumably copied them from the recently printed 1619 edition.¹¹⁰ He realized that some elements that had been self-explanatory to Lautensack's contemporaries would no longer be understood by a 17th-century audience: especially the peculiar alphabets with their supplementary letters¹¹¹ and the system of referring to Biblical passages. Since the more recent Bible editions were not subdivided into paragraphs in the same way as those used by Lautensack, Kaym compiled an appendix with long tables of Revelation, Genesis and John's Gospel, in which he quoted the then current biblical text, yet structured according to Lautensack's paragraphs.¹¹² Contrary to the promise in the preface, the pages at the end of this second tract contain some images with short explanations. Virtually all of them derive from a small section of Meffert's edition, and therefore Kaym may have only had access to a partial copy of the text of his compatriot, who had died several years earlier.¹¹³ The third tract in this manuscript (Kk250r–289v) shows how Lautensack's concepts could be applied to writing a chapter-by-chapter commentary on Revelation.

Another work on Lautensack by Kaym, a 1630 reworking of a commentary by Abraham Meffert, was mentioned¹¹⁴ by one of the most important

¹⁰⁹ E.g. pp:Kk206r, which is somewhat similar to the unfinished 17:U119r, but without the small images of Christ.

¹¹⁰ pp:Kk165v is similar to the diagram after ψψ:a70 or a96 (cf. p. 282 n. 97). Furthermore, the very simple diagrams on Kk169v–70r resemble those on ωω:a129. Some boastful claims about the knowledge hidden in Revelation (e.g. pp:Kk201v–4r) could likewise be inspired by Pseudo-Weigel.

¹¹¹ cf. p. 150 n. 163.

¹¹² pp:Kk207r–34v.

¹¹³ pp:Kk238r–46v. With exception of Kk245r, which is vaguely similar to λλa:Km131r, if more complex, the images could have come from a section like Km41–56. Furthermore, a diagram like Km23 was introduced into the main section of the tract (Kk177v).

¹¹⁴ Abraham von Franckenberg annotated a lost copy of the 1619 edition with the following reference: "In P. L. Opus Commentati MS Abraham Meffert Med. D. Paulus Keym Lignic. opus magnum 1630 bei S. Aug. Fuhrmann in Brieg zu finden." (Will-Erich Peuckert, *Die Rosenkreutzer: Zur Geschichte einer Reformation* (Jena: Diederichs, 1928), 300). Owner of this manuscript was probably Augustin Fuhrmann who had become court preacher in

authors linked with Jacob Böhme, Abraham von Franckenberg (1593–1624), a Silesian nobleman who was eventually driven into exile in the Netherlands. In his correspondence he recommended Lautensack's work at least twice: once he hailed it as the only clear explanation of Revelation, but soon afterwards he became more skeptical and listed it as one of several helpful, albeit not sufficient, commentaries.¹¹⁵ These letters show that von Franckenberg knew both the 1619 edition and some manuscript tracts. Whereas it is unclear if his extensive library of mystical texts contained manuscripts by Lautensack, his liberally annotated copy of the 1619 edition survived into the 20th century.¹¹⁶ Only some of von Franckenberg's numerous printed tracts were accessible for this study, and none of them showed any influence of the Nuremberg painter. However, most printed editions of his works ignore the numerous key-words and diagrams that can be found in the margins of several of his manuscript tracts, and it is therefore possible that some Lautensack-inspired compositions fell victim to the printer.¹¹⁷ Sometimes, von Franckenberg is regarded as designer of engravings that decorate several editions of his, Böhme's and Paul Kaym's works from the late 17th century onward.¹¹⁸ One of them

Brieg (Silesia) in 1647 and was at times suspected of Weigelianism (*Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon*, 9:2,292). No Lautensackian concepts were found in those of his works that could be examined.

¹¹⁵ The first letter, to the Swedish Rosicrucian Th. A. Bureus, is dated 27 October 1642 (*Det Swenska Biblioteket*, ed. Carl Christoffer Gjörrwell, vol. 4 (Stockholm: n.p., 1760), 64–66, dating it to 28 October; Abraham von Franckenberg, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Joachim Telle (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstadt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1995), 152–53). The second letter, from November 1642, was sent to the Protestant dissenter Johann Permeier (Theodor Wotschke, "Der polnischen Brüder Briefwechsel mit den märkischen Enthusiasten," *Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Polen* 22 (1931): 57 no. 20; von Franckenberg, *Briefwechsel*, 156).

¹¹⁶ For von Franckenberg's long-dispersed library see John Bruckner, "Die 'Bibliotheca Eusebiana' Abraham von Franckenbergs: zur Rekonstruktion einer Gelehrtenbibliothek," *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 13 (1986): 66–70, and János Bruckner, *Abraham von Franckenberg: A bibliographical catalogue with a short-list of his library* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988). His copy of the 1619 edition (which also contained the reference to the manuscript commentary by Meffert and Kaym, cf. p. 286 n. 114) was examined by Peuckert in Breslau University Library (Peuckert, *Rosenkreutzer*, 299) but destroyed in World War II (information kindly supplied by Jadwiga Tyl, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, 12 May 2005).

¹¹⁷ Peuckert, *Rosenkreutzer*, 299. A facsimile of a manuscript copy of a text by von Franckenberg with numerous marginal illustrations is Heinrich Schneider, ed., *Abraham von Franckenbergs Raphael oder Artzt-Engel* (Cod. Guelferbytan. Blancob. No. 160) (n.p., 1924).

¹¹⁸ On these diagrams see Carlos Gilly, "Abraham von Franckenberg und die Rosenkreuzer: Zur Datierung der Tabula Universalis Theosophica Mystica et Cabalistica von 1623," in *Rosenkreuz als europäisches Phänomen im 17. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 2002), 217–18.

shows the vision of Rev. 1 surrounded by four crosses, each with different persons standing beneath it (a detail Lautensack never depicted); next to Rosicrucian mottos Lautensack's Four Ages are mentioned.¹¹⁹ Another diagram places in the corners "Gott" and the Persons of the Trinity with a variant of Lautensack's Four Ages, as well as with references to the Symbols of the Evangelists (each with six wings) and variants of Lautensack's four sentences containing the phrase 'A and o' (Fig. 103).¹²⁰

VI. The Rosicrucian Movement and the 1619 Edition

The last group of seventeenth-century dissidents who came in contact with Lautensack's works were scholars who heralded the imminent arrival of the enlightened Rosicrucian brotherhood. Whereas most early writers in this tradition probably had little knowledge of or interest in Lautensack,¹²¹ Johann Valentin Andreae's *Mythologia Christiana* placed the painter alongside Weigel, Guillaume Postel and Sebastian Franck, and

¹¹⁹ According to Gilly, "Abraham von Franckenberg," 217–18, from 1623, reproduced 212–13 figs. 1–2.

¹²⁰ This was engraved in 1654 and first used in 1663 (Geissmar, *Auge Gottes*, 27 and 175 fig. 17, a copy after it, from von Franckenberg, *Oculus aeternitatis*, is *ibid.*, fig. 18, and Rusterholz, "Abraham von Franckenbergs Verhältnis," 238 fig. 1.

¹²¹ Carlos Gilly suggested that Tobias Hess had access to manuscripts by Lautensack (Johann Valentin Andreae, 1586–1986: *Die Manifeste der Rosenkreuzer-Bruderschaft*, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, 1986 (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 1986), 29), but the comments on his work in Joost R. Ritman, "Die Geburt der Rosenkreuzer-bruderschaft in Tübingen," in *Rosenkreuz als europäisches Phänomen im 17. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 2002), 61, highlight no elements reminiscent of the Nuremberg painter. Adam Haslmayr (ca. 1560 – ca. 1630), whom Gilly linked with the first Rosicrucian tracts, apparently did not possess any of Lautensack's works (a catalogue of his library is [Joachim Morsius], *Nuncius Olympicus | Von etzlichen geheimen Büchern vnd Schriften / so | ein fürnehmer gottesgelerter vnd hocheleuchter berühmter Theosophus vnd Medicus, in | Theosophiâ, Cabalâ, Magiâ, Chemiâ, Medi-cinâ vnd Philologiâ ... zusammen gebracht* (Philadelphiae: n.p., 1626, VD 17 14:664178U)); in Carlos Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr: Der erste Verkünder der Manifeste der Rosenkreuzer* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 1994) nothing points to Lautensack's influence, either. A purported Rosicrucian reading list, published by an opponent of the movement, contains only works by Weigel but nothing from Lautensack (Valentin Griefmann, *πρόδρομος εὐμενῆς καὶ ἀποτρεπτικός | Exhibens | Enneadum Quaestionum | Generalivm | De | Hæresibus ex orco redivivis: | Das ist: | Getrewer Eckhart | Welcher in den ersten Neun gemeinen Fragen / | der Wiedertäuferischen / Stenckfeldischen / Weigelianischen / vnd Calvino-Photinianischen / RosenCreutzerischen Ketzereyen | ... zu meyden verwarnet* (Gera: Mamitzsch, 1623, VD 17 12:11498H), 116–23). However, a later Rosicrucian tract recommends studying the 1619 edition together with works by Thomas à Kempis, Paracelsus and Weigel (*Colloquium Rhodostauroticum*, 1621, VD 17 23:294773Q, 108, reproduced in *Cimelia Rhodostaurotica*, 165 no. 301, cf. Peuckert, *Rosenkreutzer*, 29; Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit*, 111).

called him a learned author whose works would solve all the woes of mankind – if only one could comprehend them.¹²²

One prominent adherent of this movement, Prince August of Anhalt (1575–1653), was deeply interested in alchemy and the study of mystical texts written by the likes of Paracelsus and Weigel¹²³ and collected manuscripts containing tracts by Lautensack. He owned several by 1611, and in 1613 he asked friends to help him find more. In the following year he expressed his frustration about a commentary sent by Meffert.¹²⁴ No catalogue of August's library at Köthen is preserved, but manuscript UV, the most extensive collection of Lautensack's tracts, is dated to 1611 (UIIr) and was in Köthen Palace Library, probably by the 19th century.¹²⁵ Therefore, it probably came from August's collection and might have been commissioned by him. In order to facilitate the dissemination of texts relevant for the Rosicrucian movement, August in several instances subsidized the Frankfurt-based printer Lucas (Laux) Jennis the Younger,¹²⁶ whose

¹²² [Johann Valentin Andreae], *Mythologiae | Christianae | sive | Virtutum & uitiorum | vitæ humanæ | imaginum. | Libri Tres* (Argentorati: Zetznerus, 1619, VD 17 12:105642E), Manipulus III, no. 23 (137–38): "Iis, aiunt, datum, res nostras omnes medicare ... Est tamen aliquid quod felicitatem nostrum impediat, quoniam non illi nos, non nos illos intelligimus," see Martin Brecht, "Johann Valentin Andreae: Weg und Programm eines Reformers zwischen Reformation und Moderne," in *Theologen und Theologie an der Universität Tübingen* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1977), 300. Wolf-Dieter Otte, "Ein Einwand gegen Johann Valentin Andreäs Verfasserschaft der Confessio Fraternitatis R. C.," in *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge* 3 (1978): 110 n. 27, doubts that Andreae had actually studied Lautensack.

¹²³ On him Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr*, 89.

¹²⁴ All these statements come from letters to the Augsburg-based physician Carl Widemann (1555–1637): StA Oranienbaum, Köthen A 17a, 108r (no. 3), 17/27 June 1611: "Lautensackii sachen seind theils verhanden" [Lautensack's things are partially available here]; 69v (no. 31), 9 January 1613; 25r (no. 52), 18/28 January 1614: "Meffredus hat noch etwas in Lautensack kommentirt ist noch schlecht wergk" [Meffert has done some more commenting on Lautensack, it is still bad [or primitive] work]. I am very grateful to Dr. Gilly for providing me with transcriptions of these letters. For other aspects of this correspondence see Günther Hoppe, "Zwischen Augsburg und Anhalt: Der rosenkreuzerische Briefwechsel des Augsburger Stadtarztes Carl Widemann mit dem Plötzkauer Fürsten August von Anhalt," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Anhaltische Landeskunde* 6 (1997): 26–56. Prince August's sister Maria Anna of Anhalt (1561–1605) and her sister-in-law Anna of Württemberg (according to the title of Machfredus, *Tractatus de Pestilitatibus*, a patient of Meffert) had been godmothers at the baptism of Meffert's second daughter in 1604 (AP Legnica, Kościół Św. Piotra i Pawła, Sygn. 4, pp. 403–4).

¹²⁵ Dr. Marita von Cieminski, head of special collections, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Halle, kindly identified the shelf marks as coming from Köthen and probably dating to the 19th century.

¹²⁶ Carlos Gilly, "Theophrastia Sancta: Der Paracelsismus im Streit mit den offiziellen Kirchen," in *Analecta Paracelsiana: Studien zum Nachleben Theophrast von Hohenheims im deutschen Kulturgebiet der frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994), 457; cf. Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr*, 124.

considerable output was dominated by alchemical, mystical and Rosicrucian texts.¹²⁷ Therefore he could also have been the driving force behind the already mentioned edition of 1619, which combined two tracts by Lautensack (the letter to the Gundelfingerin from 1538, tract 11, and the 1545 *Tractatus*, tract 35) with several texts by Pseudo-Weigel (tracts 11–33) and a short preface written for this edition (tract 34). Whereas many of the printed works by religious dissenters quoted in this chapter are extremely rare today, more than 30 copies of this edition of Lautensack and Pseudo-Weigel can be found in modern library catalogues. This is especially remarkable because the poor quality of printing and the obscure content hardly made this work attractive for collectors. This means that the surviving copies are in all likelihood only a small fraction of the original print-run, which must therefore have been considerable.¹²⁸ Indeed, it was this edition that made Lautensack known beyond the small circles of speculative theologians exchanging manuscripts, and, as already stated, it shaped the image of Lautensack for centuries: not a craftsman-painter with idiosyncratic theological ideas expressed in diagrams but an author who stood in a tradition of mystical and unorthodox voices and was therefore rejected as a heretic.

Whereas Lautensack was treated as a harmless, if annoying, fool in his lifetime,¹²⁹ the printed version of his tracts was regarded by some authorities as dangerous heresy. Several times copies were confiscated, and in one case investigators were specifically instructed to look for it in houses of suspects.¹³⁰ More often than before, the painter now appears in lists of

¹²⁷ See his sales catalogue Lucas Jennis, *Catalogvs | omnium li|brorum, qui ab an|no M. DC. XVI. maximæ partis | Sumptibus Lucæ Jennis, Bibliopolæ Mæno-|Francofurtensis sunt editi ... Verzeichnüß aller Bücher / so Lucas Iennis, | BuchHändler zu Franckfurt am Mäyn / seit Anno 1616. Meh-|rernteils selbst verlegt ...* ([Frankfurt: Jennis], 1622, VD 17 12:622954X). With up to 43 titles Jennis was one of the most prolific sellers at the Frankfurt book fair (see the lists in Gustav Schwetschke, *Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis: Meß-Jahrbücher des Deutschen Buchhandels vom Erscheinen des ersten Meß-Kataloges im Jahre 1564 bis zur Gründung des ersten Buchhändler-Vereins im Jahre 1765* (Halle: Schwetschke, 1850), 65–86).

¹²⁸ Cf. pp. 388–91.

¹²⁹ Cf. pp. 31–33.

¹³⁰ These tracts were confiscated in a raid in Marburg against Philipp Homagius and Georg Zimmermann (see Karl Wilh. Herm. Hochhuth, “Mittheilungen aus der protestantischen Secten-Geschichte in der hessischen Kirche, I. Im Zeitalter der Reformation, 4. Die Weigelianer und Rosenkreuzer,” *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* 32 (1862): 89–120; Bruce T. Moran, “Paracelsus, Religion and Dissent: The case of Philip Homagius and Georg Zimmermann,” *Ambix* 43 (1996): 65–79); in a related search the investigators were instructed to look out for works by Lautensack, Weigel, Paracelsus, Sebastian Franck and some other authors (Moran, “Paracelsus, Religion and Dissent,” 74); lastly, another suspect

dissenters.¹³¹ One of the few more detailed comments on this publication came from the philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, who could not resist calling some of Lautensack's concepts "nugae" [trifles].¹³²

Over 100 years after the emergence of the Rosicrucian movement, a very heterogeneous series of plates was published that claimed to reproduce secret Rosicrucian diagrams of the 16th and 17th centuries.¹³³ Many of these images can also be found in manuscripts produced in the 18th and early 19th centuries.¹³⁴ The material presented in these volumes can

was questioned if he had recently bought any Rosicrucian books at the Frankfurt autumn fair (Hochhut, "Mittheilungen aus der protestantischen Secten-Geschichte," 108 n. 29). In 1622 the Lautensack edition as well as works by Schwenckfeld, Weigel and the collection *Philosophia mystica* (most probably *Philosophia Mystica*, | *Darinn begriffen* | *Eilff vnterschiedene Theo|logico-Philosophische / doch teutsche tra|ctätlein / zum theil auß Theophrasti Paracelsi, zum | theil auch M. Valentini Weigeli, gewesenenen Pfarherrn zu | Tscopaw / bißhero verborgenen manuscriptis* (Newstadt: Jennis, 1618, VD 17 3:604297L), a collection of short texts by Paracelsus and Weigel) were confiscated from the book-dealer Eberhard Wild in Tübingen (Dietrich Donat, "Eberhard Wild, ein Drucker mystisch-spiritualistischer Werke zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Slavische Barockliteratur*, vol. 1, ed. Dmitrij Tschizewskij (Munich: Fink, 1970), 100–5).

¹³¹ The scholar and educationalist Jan Comenius praised Lautensack alongside Tauler, the *Deutsche Theologie*, Schwenckfeld, Sebastian Franck, a "Vegetus" and Böhme (Jan Amos Comenius, *Dílo Jana Amose Komenského*, vol. 23 (Johannis Comenii Opera Omnia, vol. 23), *Clamores Eliae*, ed. Julie Nováková (Prague: Academia, 1992), 60), see also Antonín Škarka, "Tajemství Komenského spisu *Clamores Eliae*," in *Universita Karlova J.A. Komenskému* (Prague: Universita Karlova, 1970), 83; Carlos Gilly, "Comenius und die Rosenkreuzer," in *Aufklärung und Esoterik*, ed. Monika Neugebauer-Wölk (Hamburg: Meiner, 1999), 105. I am very grateful to Martina Miskufova for translating this passage from Czech. Renatus Sincerus, *Theo-Philosophia | Theoretico-Practica*, | *Oder | Der wahre Grund | Göttlicher und Natürlicher | Erkenntniß / | Dadurch beyde Tincturen / | Die Himlische und Jrrdische / | können erhalten werden* (Breflau: Fellgiebel, 1711), 278, defends Paracelsus, Weigel, Lautensack and Böhme from accusations of heresy.

¹³² Leibniz, *Philosophische Schriften*, 4:2,665, 2,681–85 no. 451; see Eduard Bodemann, *Die Leibniz-Handschriften der Königlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Hannover* (Hannover: Hahn, 1895), 10; Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Textes inédits d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Provinciale d'Hanovre*, vol. 1, ed. Gaston Grua (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948), 74–75 no. 2; Dietrich Mahnke, "Die Rationalisierung der Mystik bei Leibniz und Kant," *Blätter für deutsche Philosophie* 13 (1939/40): 4 n. 9; Rita Widmair, "Leibniz' verborgene Botschaft in den *Novissima Sinica*," in *Das Neueste über China: G. W. Leibnizens Novissima Sinica von 1697* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), 32 n. 12. Leibniz studied the 1619 edition and some other mystical tracts while waiting for the arrival of a friend, probably because they were the only books available in the moment.

¹³³ *Geheime Figuren der Rosenkreuzer, aus dem 16ten und 17ten Jahrhundert*, 3 vols. (Altona: Eckhardt, 1785–88). Vol. 1 is from 1785, vol. 2 from 1788, vol. 3 is undated. As this edition does not number the plates, here the images within each volume are counted and identified by the beginning of the heading (or rather, by what seems to be the most conspicuous word in large print).

¹³⁴ According to Carlos Gilly (*Magia, Alchimia, Scienza dal '400 al '700: L'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto*, vol. 2 (Florence: Centro Di, 2002), 237–53 nos. 93–95), the surviving manuscripts can be divided into two principal groups (called by Gilly versions A and C). The digitized holdings of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel have examples for

take the form of a simple diagram, a rebus or a complex baroque allegory, and it introduces topics reaching from theosophy to alchemy; many of its compositions are probably taken from Baroque book illustrations.¹³⁵ Slightly less than half of the plates contain Lautensackian elements (e.g. Fig. 104). Whereas the dichotomy *Gott/Wort*¹³⁶ and the four-part system *Geist/Person/Wort/Mensch*¹³⁷ are quite rare, the traditional Persons of the Trinity are in several instances contrasted with a variation of the *Aspects*.¹³⁸ It is not clear if the reference to the suns “mit ihren Regenbogen und vier Farben” is related to Lautensack’s ideas – no image resembling his designs is given, and the four main colors, albeit used quite frequently, never appear in Lautensack’s order.¹³⁹ Some graphical devices were probably inspired by Pseudo-Weigel’s commentary in the 1619 edition.¹⁴⁰ One plate quotes a shortened version of one of the tracts in the 1619 edition that have

both redactions: Cod. Guelf. 456 Novi Fol. Max. (version A), Cod. Guelf. 454 Novi Fol. and Cod. Guelf. 455 Novi Fol. (both version C) – another example of version C, Los Angeles, Philosophical Research Society Library, Coll. Hall, MS 45, is fully reproduced in *D. O. M. A. Codex Rosae Crucis: A rare and curious manuscript of Rosicrucian interest, now published for the first time in its original form*, ed. Manly Hall (Los Angeles: Philosophers Press, 1938). Since Dr. Theodor Harmsen of the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica (Amsterdam) is preparing an edition of these diagrams they are treated briefly here.

¹³⁵ *Geheime Figuren*, vol. 3, image 4 (*Baum*) is, for instance, similar to the frontispiece of Valentin Weigel, *Studium | Universale, | Das ist / | Alles dasjenige / so von An|fang der Welt biß an das Ende je gele|bet / geschrieben / gelesen / oder gelernt und | noch geschrieben oder gestudiert werden möchte* (n.p., 1695, VD 17 deest).

¹³⁶ *Geheime Figuren*, vol. 1, image 1 (*Elohim*); vol. 2, image 2 (*Aus Gott und der Natur*).

¹³⁷ *Geheime Figuren*, vol. 1, image 4 (*Figura Cabalistica*). Vol. 1, image 3 (*Von der Wunder=Zahl Vier*) has only the abbreviations *G P W M*. Vol. 2, image 11 (*De Septenariis Mysteriis*) has at the left-hand side a circle with the letter *G P W G* – which could either be a variation of this arrangement, or an extended version of the combination described beneath, n. 138. Here and in the *Figura Cabalistica* (v.s.), these names or letters are placed into the four sectors of a circle, as in comments on Lautensack by Pseudo-Weigel, e.g. ωω:a125.

¹³⁸ E.g. *Geheime Figuren*, vol. 2, image 8 (*Das eröffnete Buch*), has *Gott Person Wort*, the page linked with it in the first group of manuscripts, vol. 2, image 7 (*Das versiegelte Buch*), only gives the first letters *G P W*. These abbreviations also appear in vol. 1, image 6 (*Das Geheimnuß*) together with *V S H G* (*Vater, Sohn, Heiliger Geist*). Several of the small diagrams of vol. 3, image 9 (*Theologisch Licht*), play with different combinations of the *Aspects* linked to similar words and to the Persons of the Trinity.

¹³⁹ *Geheime Figuren*, vol. 2, image 10 (*Figura Cabalistica von der Wunderzahl 1. 2. 3. 4*). Here the earthly and the heavenly sun are contrasted, a concept alien to Lautensack. The four colors appear, for instance, in vol. 1, image 4 (cf. above, n. 137), but always in the order red, yellow, green, blue, not yellow, blue, red, green (cf. p. 117).

¹⁴⁰ These are the circle divided into four parts, often marked in different colors (e.g. *Geheime Figuren*, vol. 1, image 4, cf. above, n. 137, similar to ωω:a124) and the Greek cross with words written in small circles at the center and the ends. Whereas Lautensack’s crosses normally have double lines for the beams and are surrounded by a circle (e.g. 11:table after g38, v, or, in Pseudo-Weigel’s comments, e.g. ψψ:a92), vol. 1, image 6 of the *Figuren* (cf. above, n. 138) shows a cross without a circle, and vol. 1, image 4 (v.s.) small crosses with single lines.

nothing to do with Lautensack,¹⁴¹ whereas another reprints a design attributed to von Franckenberg, which includes Lautensackian motifs.¹⁴²

VII. *Georg Christoph Brendel*

The last instance of Lautensack's reception discussed here is also based on the 1619 edition – although its location and medium differ strongly from the examples described hitherto and are much closer to Lautensack's home and profession.

In 1706, the rebuilding of the Lutheran parish church of Thurnau was completed under the minister Georg Christoph Brendel (1668–1722), a diligent pastor with strong Pietist leanings.¹⁴³ Its ceiling paintings show amongst other motifs¹⁴⁴ on the chancel arch St Lawrence, the patron saint of the church, on the gridiron, who is comforted by an angel holding a scroll with the text “Im Anfang war das Wort” [In the beginning was the Word]. Above, a large star is visible. The quotation is continued in the center of the right-hand side with “Und das Wort war bei Gott” [And the word was with God] next to the Vision of Rev. 1 and, opposite, “Und das Wort war Gott” [And the Word was God] with the Apocalyptic Woman from Rev. 12 (Fig. 105). The poor quality of these paintings suggests that they were executed by an amateur – probably the notary Johann Adam Raab from Erlangen, who was for a few years an ardent Pietist, and who was responsible for some of the other paintings in this

¹⁴¹ *Geheime Figuren*, vol. 2, image 5. The text comes from tract γγγ, a flaming appeal to the conversion of hearts. It is shortened and in parts rearranged. The image above is taken from a the preceding tract in the 1619 edition, ααα: leaf after α164 (the image of the crucified Christ is replaced by rays of light), that below from γγγ:α169.

¹⁴² *Geheime Figuren*, vol. 3, image 4 (*Figürliche Bildung*), cf. p. 288 n. 120. The numbering of the Ages in the spandrels suggests that it is taken from the copy of the diagram in the *Oculus aeternitatis* and not the original version.

¹⁴³ The most important study on Brendel and his church is Matthias Simon, “Georg Christoph Brendel und die Kirche in Thurnau,” *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte* 25 (1956): 1–39, for the building history 8–9; see also Uta von Pezold, *Die Herrschaft Thurnau im 18. Jahrhundert* (Kulmbach: Freunde der Plassenburg, 1968), 142–44, 152; id., *Thurnau: Ein kleiner Führer durch die Geschichte* (Thurnau: Häußinger, 1987), 30, and Horst Weigelt, *Geschichte des Pietismus in Bayern* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 150–60. Thurnau is situated West of Bayreuth and South of Kulmbach, it was the residence of the counts of Giech.

¹⁴⁴ The large paintings in the ceiling show scenes of the Life of Christ and the Tetragrammaton with the Evangelists, in the corners above the galleries are some small emblematic images, and more of them were originally placed at the parapet of the galleries (Gottfried Baumgärtner, *Geschichte der Pfarrei und Kirchengemeinde Thurnau* (Thurnau: Waldhier, 1914), 41).

church.¹⁴⁵ In his explanation of the church's interior, published in 1709, Brendel links the star next to St Lawrence with the morning star, which is identical to the incarnate Word of God.¹⁴⁶ He then describes the two images at the sides that show the "beyden Haupt-Bilder" [both principal images] of Revelation,¹⁴⁷ and mentions that once a very famous painter and organist from Nuremberg had believed that he was able to explain all of Scripture through them.¹⁴⁸ However, since his works were difficult to understand,¹⁴⁹ Brendel gives a moralizing interpretation seeing, for instance, in the Seven Candlesticks the seven disordered spirits of Man, while Christ in His love is walking among them to bring the seven divine spirits (Stars).¹⁵⁰ Since the compositions on the ceiling have nothing to do with Lautensack's drawings,¹⁵¹ they can hardly be based on an illustrated manuscript tract, and Brendel's reference to Lautensack as an organist also points to the 1619 edition as the source of his ideas.

It is very difficult to comment on the theology of Brendel who was in all probability responsible for the program of paintings in his church. Many of his publications are very rare¹⁵² and others were issued under pseudonyms, so their attribution is doubtful. Whereas Brendel was widely respected as a diligent minister of Thurnau he was attacked by other theologians for his indifferentism and the belief that any religious ideas going beyond veneration of the Godhead and mutual love were mere human inventions.¹⁵³ Indeed, some texts attributed to him call all

¹⁴⁵ Simon, "Georg Christoph Brendel," 13–16. According to *ibid.*, 17, the larger paintings are by the local master Gabriel Schreyer, the emblematic images by Raab.

¹⁴⁶ Georg Christoph Brendel, *Der Neue Tempel | ohne Götzen | in der Neuen Kirche / | ... Erklärung | Derer in bemeldter neuen Kirche befindlichen gemählter und Sinnbilder* (Thurnau: Negelein, 1709), 22. The interpretations of the three 'Lautensackian' images are summarized in Simon, "Georg Christoph Brendel," 17. Another publication (August Ammon, *Die Bilder der Thurnauer Kirche reden zu uns* (Thurnau, 1953)) could not be traced.

¹⁴⁷ This term is probably inspired by Lautensack's *Two Images* of Revelation, see p. 133 n. 90.

¹⁴⁸ Brendel, *Der Neue Tempel*, 25: "Aus welchen beyden Bildern ehemals ein berühmter Mahler und Organist zu Nürnberg die gantze H. Schrifft zu erklären vermeinet" [once a famous painter and organist in Nuremberg believed that he could explain the entire holy writ from these two images].

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.* "Wie aber dessen Schrifften sehr tieff, / obscur und dunckel sind" [since his writings are very deep, obscured and dark].

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 25–27.

¹⁵¹ The image of Rev. 12 includes the dragon drawing stars from heaven, a common feature in illustrated Bibles but not used by Lautensack; furthermore, this element plays an important role in Brendel's interpretation (*ibid.*, 29).

¹⁵² Some, most importantly his hymnal from 1704 which was contemporary to the paintings, only survived in one copy in the library of the counts of Giech, and were lost after its dispersal.

¹⁵³ This point is made most strongly in Simon, "Georg Christoph Brendel," 33.

organized religion irrelevant,¹⁵⁴ yet nothing suggests any connections with the thoughts of Lautensack, who probably would have been petrified if he had known that he would be placed in such a context. Likewise, the theological works of Johann Adam Raab, who possibly executed the Lautensackian paintings, show no connections with his concepts.¹⁵⁵

To a certain extent the history of Lautensack's reception is one of the most astonishing episodes of his story. Not only did the name of the unlearned craftsman from Nuremberg become common amongst religious dissidents in much of Protestant Germany; his autodidactic theories were placed into the context of a learned tradition of mystical thought, and his obsession with the text of a few Bible editions inspired people who otherwise tried to playfully combine unorthodox Protestantism with alchemy and speculative natural philosophy.

¹⁵⁴ E.g. a text published under the auspicious name Gratianus Pantophilus (α & ω . | *Festgestellte* | *Warheits-Gründe* / | *Die einige wahre allgemeine seeligmachende* | *Religion* | *betreffend* (Ninive: n.p., n.d.)). However, the author stresses that there was no harm in continuing to practice one's accustomed religion, as long as one was tolerant of others, e.g. p. 16: "Sapiens est unius, nullius & omnis religionis." Naturally, this position allowed Brendel to work for a church in whose doctrine he apparently no longer believed. This concept of religious tolerance is already present in the emblematic paintings for Thurnau (Brendel, *Der Neue Tempel*, 37). Conversely, religious ministry becomes a merely political office to uphold good order and therefore totally depends of the secular rulers ([Georg Christoph Brendel], *Gründlicher* | *Beweiß* | *so wohl nach der H. Schrift als* | *gesunden Vernunft* / | *Daß eine weltliche Obrigkeit* | *in der so genannten Christenheit Fug* | *und Macht habe* / *die von Jhr selbst beruffen-* [sic] *und verordnete Pfarrer ... abzusetzen* (n.p., n.d.)).

¹⁵⁵ E.g. Johann Adam Raab, *Der* | *wahre und gewisse* | *Weg* | *durch die* | *Enge + Pforte* | *Zu* | *Jesu Christo* (Neapolis: n.p., n.d.); id., *Sonnen-klare* | *Mittags-Helle* / | *Auf* | *Die unter den wolcken noch* | *verborgene wenigstens gantz dü-ster und finster hervorbli-kende* | *Morgenröthe* (n.p., 1703); id., *Kurtze* | *Erörterung* / | *Ob* | *der Pietisten-Gift* | *schäd- oder nützlich seye?* (n.p., 1704). Lautensack is also not mentioned in Paul Schaudig, *Der Pietismus und Separatismus im Aischgrund* (Schwäbisch Hall: Aupperle, 1925), which studies some of Raab's associates.

CONCLUSION

At the end of this study – and for me after the end of nearly a decade of work on Paul Lautensack – the Nuremberg visionary's life and work still resist classification.

We have seen that he spent most of his life as a respected and wealthy – if conventional and old-fashioned – painter in a small cathedral city. Neither his friendship with the early reformer Johannes Schwanhauser nor his participation in a civic revolt against the Prince Bishop in 1525 was atypical for an urban craftsman of his time. His life in Nuremberg, however, did not share this conformity. His attempts to distribute his 'picture books' and donate works of art to the town made the authorities react in anger and threaten him with punishment. However, he was apparently never investigated for heresy, and at the end of his life he was given the funeral of an honorable citizen and parishioner. As far as we can trace his dissident activity, it was strictly linked to his profession as a painter – Lautensack seems to have spread his theological ideas not by preaching but by producing paintings and booklets. We know that he at least tried to sell the latter, and most of his recorded paintings were done on commission. For several patrons he made more than one piece, and with some of them he even stayed for a while. Therefore, his theological ideas were at a first glance attractive for some respectable burghers – although they all came eventually to reject them as absurd and incomprehensible. Lautensack's reply to the Gundelfingerin, a unique document of the relationship between a painter and his patron in the Northern Renaissance, shows how he combined his profession with claims to prophetic authority.

Equally contradictory was his theology. Thanks to the printing press, the theological ideas of Luther and other reformers could spread more quickly and widely than it had been the case with earlier dissident theologians, and conflicts between Scripture and Tradition, or Grace and Good Works, were discussed by many literate people in Germany. The reformers questioned a system of faith and religious practice that had been regarded as given for generations and encouraged everyone to study the Bible as the only real authority. As a result, several craftsmen felt encouraged to publish short tracts. In contrast to Lautensack, virtually all of these texts are theologically conventional, merely regurgitating arguments proposed by prominent theologians; their purpose was not to develop a new

theology but rather to support or counter attempts to spread the Reformation. Furthermore, this somewhat 'anarchic' phase of the Reformation, in which many individual faithful felt both the call and the opportunity to contribute to theological debates, all but ended in the mid-1520s, when Reformation theology became the established doctrine in many towns and dissidents were persecuted with increasing ferocity. By the time Lautensack began writing his tracts in the 1530s, the battle over the Reformation was long over in Nuremberg and most parts of Southern Germany, and the activity of the last prominent lay authors of this period, Melchior Hoffman and Clemens Ziegler, was coming to an end.

Whereas many other craftsman-authors argued using Scripture as their sole authority, Lautensack believed that he had been personally called by God. He described his books as an opening and unfolding of previously hidden aspects of divine revelation. He shared this claim of direct inspiration with some of the most radical movements of the Reformation, but in contrast to them he never tried to put his revelations in place of the word of the Bible, and we know of no attempt to dissociate himself from the very conservative Lutheran settlement in Nuremberg or to found his own congregation. Although he noticed with regret that Luther felt unable to accept the full truth, he still respected the Wittenberg reformer as his forerunner, and in this he strongly differed from Anti-Lutheran polemicists like Müntzer. As if a calling from God was not enough, the painter also emphasized several times that Luther and other leading Reformers had encouraged him to spread his theology, and that he was therefore acting with their authority. Lautensack's most unusual credential was, however, his profession. In his prologue to Revelation, Luther had criticized this Book for its vague images, so different from the clear apostolic teaching presented in other parts of the New Testament. Since this text was included in most New Testaments used by Lautensack, it was one of the very few theological statements he had read, and it is quite possible that he developed from Luther's dismissive remark his understanding of both the Book of Revelation and his own calling: that he as a painter would be more qualified to interpret the visions described in this text than any theologian.

Since Lautensack's only real interest was in his method of reading the Bible, he contributed very little to the great debates of the Reformation. Besides his comments on the Biblical canon and on the conversion of the Jews, his statements on the question of images are probably his most interesting texts. Only one other painter – Albrecht Dürer – attempted a defense of images during the Reformation (which was conventional in

comparison), and Lautensack was probably the first artist to develop a theology of the image. His statements on images show that he was well aware of a wide range of arguments that had been exchanged on this topic in the 1520s. However, it becomes obvious that Lautensack referred to this debate primarily in order to defend his concept of the Scripture of an image of God.

Drawings and diagrams were central for Lautensack's theology. They were not ancillary matter to help the reader comprehend and memorize the contents of a text. Rather, their construction forms the only viable method of theological research, and the reader has to meditate over them to gain new insights into God's revelation. The drawings in Lautensack's manuscripts are not illustrations of the text, but vice versa: the text mainly consists of ruminations on the diagrams. As shown in chapters 3–5, these diagrams can be highly complex, but they are built of a relatively small number of elements that occur again and again and that reflect the visual and intellectual world of an urban craftsman in the 16th century.

Lautensack's diagrams aim at making many different objects – such as Biblical passages, names, single letters and small signs – comparable. After experimenting with complex layouts, Lautensack had developed by 1535 the technique of placing these elements into boxes of a grid. In most cases he used rectangular grids, but occasionally one finds more complex circular templates.

Although this approach is arguably unique, and although Lautensack's diagrams belong to the most complex and enigmatic works of art of the Northern Renaissance, most of the elements they were built of would have been familiar to Lautensack's contemporaries, and especially to members of his own social class, the literate urban craftsmen. Parallels for the very structure of the diagrams, while alien to theological treatises, occurred in some calendars or vernacular introductions to arithmetic. Likewise, Lautensack's peculiar alphabets with their additional letters and abbreviations reflected the teaching of vernacular writing masters. Like his fellow citizens Lautensack would have regularly attended the new Protestant services in the Nuremberg parish churches and listened to the preaching of the Lutheran catechism, and he would have been excited about news of strange signs in the sky.

Some references to religious art, both to traditional Catholic compositions like the Mass of St Gregory and to pictorial inventions of the Reformation, betray a painter, who was familiar with religious iconography, and the heraldic compositions were probably informed by the heraldic paintings he had earlier done for the Prince Bishop of Bamberg.

Whilst lay people were encouraged by the Reformers to read the Bible, and most religious tracts by craftsmen contain a considerable number of biblical quotations, Lautensack's way of dealing with Scripture through permutation was probably unique. However, a similar insistence on the structure of the text and the numbers of Books and chapters can be found in introductory texts on the Bible, and the painter's interest in the Ancestors of Christ finds parallels in the genealogical obsession of his age. He was also not the only lay author to be intrigued by the Hebrew and Greek alphabets.

If so many contemporary parallels for most elements in Lautensack's diagrams can be given, what makes them special? One can point to a mix of sophistication and naivety. On the one hand Lautensack succeeded in producing highly complex diagrams that do an excellent job in persuading the beholder how well numerous elements of God's revelation fitted together (although closer analysis often uncovers instances of 'cheating,' a sign that Lautensack's way of thinking was primarily visual, and that he was satisfied if things looked convincing). On the other hand, he mistook a number of accidental factors, like how Luther's printers had divided a chapter into paragraphs, as part of divine truth.

Lautensack's reception adds more puzzling features. At a first glance it seems that the painter who had been ridiculed and isolated in his lifetime because of his 'follies' was finally vindicated when some of his works were printed and when several scholars not only did not reject his tracts as their forbearers had done but instead wrote explanations of them. However, Lautensack, who believed that the only knowledge that mattered was the clear biblical truth that was becoming evident through his method of subdividing, permuting and recombining, would probably have been horrified had he known that he would be placed in a great tradition of pagan and Christian mystics and dissenters, and that some authors seemed to value his tracts primarily for their opaque and paradoxical nature.

Who was this Paul Lautensack? The spiritual ancestor of heretics such as Valentin Weigel? A source of deep wisdom that no-one can fathom? A sad lunatic not worthy of further consideration? It may be best to regard his work – which is both idiosyncratic and based on trivial knowledge – as a sign of what was possible in that confusing and exciting period of history called the Reformation.

APPENDIX

CATALOGUE OF DRAWINGS, MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS

Autograph Drawings

1. *Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 842–73, 1,033–34 (D)*

For the sake of convenience these drawings, identified by *D* and the KdZ inventory number, are discussed together. They form, however, four different groups:

- (a) Secular depictions, incorrectly referred to as the Mortal Sins (D842–45, 1033–34)
- (b) Images of the Four Evangelists with polemical Anti-Catholic imagery (D846–49)
- (c) Images to the Our Father (D850–61)
- (d) Images to the Creed (D862–73)

Bibliography :

Bock, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Die deutschen Meister*, 61–62 and unnumbered plate (brief catalogue entries; reference to Beham as a source; reproductions of D860 and D1,033); Bloch, “Siebenarmige Leuchter” (on p. 86 fig. 55 reproduction of D853; on p. 87 discussion of the shape of the candlestick); von Aufsess, *Altarwerkstatt*, 95 (knows only D842–73; regards the writing as autograph, the images as works of an assistant); *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen: Kunstwerke und Dokumente aus dem Jahrhundert der Reformation*, exh. cat. Berlin, Schloß Charlottenburg, 1967 (Berlin: Hessling, 1967), 123 (brief references to D850–53, D862–65, the first images of the Pater and the Credo series; reproductions of D864–65); Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, 4/1:145–46 (comments on D862–63, 867, 871–73; on figs. 353–56 reproductions of D862–63, 867, 872) and 151–52 (on D850–54); Muller, “Une vision” (places the Creed-images D862–73 into the context of Reformation polemics, reproduces all of them in good quality); Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 78–122, L42–75 (reproductions and short descriptions of all the drawings).

Reproduced here:

Secular depictions: D1,033 (Fig. 27)

‘Evangelists’: D847 (Fig. 28), D849 (Fig. 29)

Pater noster: 1a:D853 (Fig. 30), D855 (Fig. 35), D857 (Fig. 32), D859 (Fig. 36), D861 (Fig. 37)

Credo: 1a:D862 (Fig. 43), D864 (Fig. 45), D866 (Fig. 46), D869 (Fig. 50), D870 (Fig. 48), D872 (Fig. 47)

Provenance:

The backs of all drawings display the stamp of the Nagler Collection, cf. manuscript K (pp. 307–8).¹

State:

Most sheets of (b), (c) and (d) have rust stains, (b) as well as D844 have been folded along the vertical axis.² D850, the first leaf of the Our Father, shows heavy punctuation and therefore was once traced to another sheet. Accordingly, it may come from another version of this series.³ Several pages have small holes, perhaps caused by worms, and show some smaller repairs and retouches.

Later entries:

On the back of all leaves stamps of Nagler and the Kupferstichkabinett as well as the KdZ-number; on D1,034 an attribution to Erhard Schoen.

Dimensions:

Measurements of all sheets are in Bock, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Die deutschen Meister*, 61–62.

The average dimensions are:

- (a) 237 × 169 mm
- (b) 279 × 168 mm
- (c) 252 × 169 mm
- (d) 244 × 166 mm

The actual sizes oscillate about 5 mm around these averages; nevertheless the discrepancies between the averages are significant enough to assume that each series was made independently.

Paper:

Two different watermarks:

(a) and (c) have as watermark an orb, which bears some similarity to designs like Briquet, no. 3,006 (apart from the letter) or Briquet, no. 3,029, both North-German examples from the second half of the 16th century (Briquet 1:208). However, in D the cross stands on a single line on the orb rather than on a double line, and the trefoil ends of the cross are separated from the beams. The support of the cross is closer to Briquet, no. 5,250 and similar designs which are, however, from Italy (Briquet 1:310).

¹ The detailed inventories from 1834 kept with the acquisition records (Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv, I. HA Rep. 9 D 2) list no drawings by Paul Lautensack. However, Fasz. 22, p. 4, refers to 38 pen drawings by Hans Sebald Lautensack. Probably, this large number covers both the few works by Hans that are today in the Kupferstichkabinett and the drawings by Paul described here.

² In most cases these folds are not exactly in the center, suggesting that the leaves were later cut on one side. However, nothing seems to be cut off from the compositions.

³ The watermarks provide further evidence for this. In the series b–d, Lautensack normally used one sheet of paper for two of these drawings, so that in each pair one would have a watermark and one not. Of the first two drawings to the Pater noster, however, neither has a watermark, and hence they do not come from the same sheet.

(b) and (d) have a Bull's Head watermark that comes closest to Gerhard Piccard, *Die Ochsenkopf-Wasserzeichen*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966), no. XVI 326/327, for which Piccard gives North-German examples from 1528–31.

Ink:

- (a) Light brown ink, wash used sparingly.
- (b) Grey ink with grey and brown wash, greyish incarnadine, circles done with a compass, in black.
- (c) as (b), but stronger incarnadines.
- (d) as (c), but parts of the text written in red.

Contents:

Owing to their relation to the manuscripts, D850–73 (c and d) are here numbered as tract 1a. As the other drawings are without text they are not counted amongst the tracts. The secular drawings (a) are briefly introduced on p. 168, they will be studied in detail in a separate article, the images of the Evangelists (b) are discussed on pp. 168–73.

Autograph Manuscripts

2. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4° Cod. 91 (A)

Bibliography:

Wolf Gehr, *Handschriftenkataloge der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, vol. 6, *Die Handschriften 4° Cod. 1–150* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 156–57 (brief catalogue entry); Jean Michel Massing, “Bibliotheca Dissidentium,” *Print Quarterly* 20 (2003): 76 (short reference); Kress, “From elementary school,” 322 plate 21.1 and 325 plate 21.4 (reproductions of A2v and A20r); id., “Relief by Peter Dell,” 191 fig. 4 (reproduction of A3r).

Reproduced here:

5a:A2r (Fig. 60), A2v (Fig. 16), A4v (Fig. 6), A5v–6r (Fig. 10), A7r (Fig. 26), A7v (Fig. 20), A15r (Fig. 64), A15v (Fig. 68), A16v (Fig. 69), 4c:A19r (Fig. 66), 1d:A38r (Fig. 53), A43v (Fig. 39), A44r (Fig. 40), A49v (Fig. 41), A50v (Fig. 44), A57v (Fig. 50)

Provenance:

This manuscript belonged to the library of the Jesuit College of St Salvator in Augsburg, founded in 1582. It is absent from its first catalogue, which was compiled in the late 1580s with many additions through the 1630s.⁴ It was in the library by the early 18th century, because the College's name is written on 1r in the same hand as in a number of books from the library of the humanist Konrad Peutinger, which the Jesuits acquired from his heirs in 1718.⁵ Nothing suggests, however, that

⁴ Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Cat. 15.

⁵ I am grateful to Dr. Helmut Zäh of the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg for the identification of this hand; for the acquisition of Peutinger's Library see Erich König, *Peutinger-Studien* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1914), 153. Dr. Zäh did not want to rule out

this manuscript had formed part of Peutinger's collection.⁶ Despite its heretical nature, this manuscript does not feature in the College's 1800 catalogue of forbidden books, which had been stored separately.⁷ It was probably transferred to today's *Staats- und Stadtbibliothek* after the suppression of the college in 1807.⁸

Date:

1535 (A1r, A19v)

Dimensions:

cover: 22.0 × 16.0 cm

pages: ca. 20.8 × 15.2 cm

written space: On many pages drawn margins frame a space of ca. 15.0–15.4 × 10.0–10.2 cm; in pages without frames the written space can be larger; in A3r, for instance, it covers virtually the entire page.

State:

Overall good, A1r is dirty and may have been without the protection of a cover for some time. The pages were secondarily trimmed, but virtually no text was lost.

Binding:

Most likely not original, v.i. Brown leather; two bands decorated with roller dies frame empty central fields. Without further examination of the ornaments it can only be dated to the 16th century. In the 18th century the spine was painted white in order to fit with the Baroque pigskin covers of most of the books in this library; from this time dates also the writing "Offe(n)-|bahr-|ung | J. C. | MS". Beneath it on the spine are a label with the modern shelf mark and a fragment of an older one (possibly "F X 20", v.i.).

Later entries:

On the inside cover is written with a 20th-century hand the modern shelf mark, beneath in a Capitalis "F | I | 44"; the last two lines are crossed out and replaced by "10 | 20", in a different, cursive hand. These shelf marks are built as those in the

the possibility that the book had been in the library beforehand and was only marked in the 18th century.

⁶ It is not mentioned in Hans-Jörg Künast and Helmut Zäh, *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers: Edition der historischen Kataloge und Rekonstruktion der Bestände*, vol. 1, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers. Der nicht-juristische Bibliotheksteil* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003), and it could not be identified in the catalogues of the Peutinger collection now kept in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4,021b (from the 1520s, with only limited additions), Clm 4,021c (1523, with additions until 1545), Clm 4,021d (inventory made room by room and therefore difficult to search). Additionally, Dr. Zäh kindly informed me that most of Peutinger's books are easy to identify because of his habit of annotating them.

⁷ A catalogue of them, dated to 1800, is Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Cat. 26.

⁸ Franz Eugen von Seida, *Historisch-Statistische Beschreibung aller Kirchen-, Schul-, Erziehungs- und Wohlthätigkeitsanstalten in Augsburg von ihrem Ursprunge bis auf die neuesten Zeiten* (Augsburg: Stage, 1813), 264; Hans-Joachim Hecker, "Die Augsburger Jesuiten und das Kolleg St. Salvator von 1773 bis 1807," in *Die Jesuiten und ihre Schule St. Salvator in Augsburg, 1582, exh. cat.* Augsburg, Domkreuzgang, 1982 (Munich: Lipp, 1982), 79. The school survived the dissolution of the Jesuit order for several decades, being placed under supervision of the bishop.

catalogue of forbidden books (v.s.) and therefore probably come from the Jesuit library. On 1r handwritten notice identifying manuscript as property of the Augsburg Jesuit College (v.s.). On A2r (Fig. 6o) and A61v (bis) a 19th-century stamp.⁹

Collation:

(I-1)^{I*} + (†)¹⁶ + I¹⁸‡ + 4 × II³⁴ + (II-1)³⁷§ + 6 × II⁶¹ + (IV-2)^{67**}.

- * The first half of this flyleaf is glued to the cover.
- † This gathering is irregular. Most likely A1/16 and A2/15 form a binio, inserted into it are I⁴ + I⁶ + IV¹⁴. A similar solution appears in K (cf. 308–9).
- ‡ From here onward until A61 the leaves of each gathering are counted at the bottom right of the rectos.
- § The leaf following A36 is missing, the stub is glued to A37. Since Lautensack wrote on it, this operation must have taken place during the production of the manuscript. The same happened before K35. Perhaps, Lautensack had already written tract 1d beginning on A38r and K36r respectively, and wanted tract 3b to precede it without a gap.
- ** This gathering was added later, the missing last two leaves are glued to the back cover.

Paper:

Five different types of paper were used in this manuscript; three of them appear in the original parts, two in later additions.

The first section of the manuscript (A1–18) has on several leaves (A1/16, A9/12, A14¹⁰) a high crown watermark most similar to or identical with Gerhard Piccard, *Die Kronen-Wasserzeichen: Findbuch I der Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1961), no. III 7, for which examples are recorded from places between Nuremberg and Stuttgart for 1533–48, therefore in the right location and time for Lautensack. The same watermark appears throughout manuscript L.

The double leaf A17/18 is made of slightly thicker paper. Its watermark is difficult to see; it could be a large, trumpet-like object. The paper of A3/4 and A5/6 is similar. The first leaf has no watermark; the second may have one, but it could not be identified.

The second part of the manuscript with its regular, numbered binios, shows grapes as watermark, similar to Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Frucht* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1983), nos. 662–90; watermarks used between 1520 and the 1560s in South-West Germany and Switzerland (ibid., 23).

The later additions (A1 / A62–67) have two different watermarks: A62 shows the upper half of a cross on a Mount Treble. This was a very common watermark in Swabia, but also in Bavaria and Tyrol, from ca. 1560–1630, and especially in the last decade of the 16th century (Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Dreieberg, Teil 2* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1996), nos. X 2,879–3,059).

⁹ Surprisingly this stamp marks the book as property of the Protestant College of St Anne, which was united with the Jesuit School for a short period in the early 19th century. Dr. Zäh suggested that this stamp was added erroneously. The manuscript does not appear in the 1801 catalogue of the library of that school (Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Cod. Cat. 17), which, however, contains apparently no theological works.

¹⁰ The counterpart on A7 is obscured by the stub glued on the recto.

The paper of A64/67 has a watermark of the arms of Nuremberg, displayed by many paper-mills in and around the town (closest to Briquet, no. 921, a paper used in Nuremberg in 1591, *ibid.*, 1:67).

All additional leaves show at the margins remains of green painting of the edge, missing in the original pages; therefore they were reused here, perhaps together with the cover.

Ink:

Most texts and drawings of this manuscript are executed in brown ink. Normally incarnadine is used for the human figures and faces of celestial bodies. Many marginal notes and especially additional single letters are written in a darker ink and accordingly may have been supplied later.¹¹ Occasionally stars are indicated with gold.¹² Some pages show a different technique and may thus have been written at another time.¹³ A piece of paper containing a new version of the text has been glued on the left margin of A7r (Fig. 26), cf. p. 238 n. 55.

Hands:

Autograph by Lautensack.

This manuscript consists of two parts. Whereas A19–61 are very regular and were probably designed in one campaign, the first part of the manuscript consists of different elements made in different techniques, most likely on different paper, at different times (A3/4, A5/6, A7–12), and secondarily united by A1–2/15–16 and completed with A17/18.

Contents:

A1r–18v: **5a**

A19r–21v: **4c**

A22r–37v: **3b**

A38r–61v: **1d**

¹¹ Headings and large single letters are normally written more slowly and carefully than the main text and therefore often appear darker, despite being written with the same ink as the main text. The following list omits such cases and only indicates texts that are apparently written with a different ink: A2r (Fig. 60, text surrounding the image), A7r (words added to all fields in the left column and on the left margin, v.s.), A8r–12r (texts in the lower and the right margins, drawings at the top left of A9v and A11r, also corrections on A8v/9v – bizarrely, they seem to be written in the normal ink and then redrawn, without any changes, with the darker ink), A12v (the ligature *A* with an *o* beneath at the 12th and 24th sector of the diagram), A13r–14v (marginal remarks in larger writing), A19r (Fig. 66, added are the different *As* within the *os* in the corners and the larger text “Gott ist das wort...”), A22v–37v (letters and texts at the bottom of the versos, marginalia on the rectos), A38r/v–61v (text at the top left and the bottom of all pages, texts at the left and right of the images, texts in the medallions and the right margins of the rectos, texts in the left margins of A45v and A57v, Fig. 50).

¹² E.g. A2v (Fig. 16), A3r, A4r, A15r–v (Fig. 64), A16r.

¹³ On A3r–4v some of the lines in the diagrams are executed in red; on A5r–6v the text is written in black; on 15v–16v both black and brown ink are used for the drawing (this is not the case with 15r but with its counterpart K14r). On A50v–61v the heading on the versos is written in white on a blue background.

3. *Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Hs. 79 C 4 (K)*

Bibliography:

Bloch, "Siebenarmige Leuchter," 85–87, with n. 104 and fig. 55 on p. 86 (on the Menorah in D853 and K39v); von Aufsess, *Altarwerkstatt*, 95 (attributes the drawings to an assistant of Lautensack); Karl-August Wirth, "Engel," in *Reallexikon der deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 5 (Stuttgart: Druckemüller, 1967), 420, 449 fig. 71 (reproduction of K37v), 550 (on angels); John Rowlands, *Drawings by German Artists and Artists from German-Speaking Regions of Europe in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: The Fifteenth Century, and the Sixteenth Century by Artists born before 1530* (London: British Museum, 1993), 197–98 (comparison with L); Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 46–52 no. 4, L17–23 (reproductions of K41v, K43v, K46v, K47v, K48v, K51v, K52v); Kress, "Relief by Peter Dell," 190–92 and 185 fig. 2 (reproduction of K1r). The photographic collection of the Warburg Institute has photographs of K16r, K36r and the versos K41v–57v.

Provenance:

According to a probably 18th-century notice (title-page), the Nuremberg town councilor Hans Muffel had acquired this manuscript from the artist for 20 fl. in 1538. This information cannot be correct – a councilor *Jacob* Muffel died in the council year 1526/27; from 1537/38¹⁴ to his death in 1569/70 another *Jacob* Muffel was in the council. From then till 1600 no Muffel appears in the lists of councilors.¹⁵ Furthermore, the Nuremberg parish registers give no hints about a Hans Muffel living in the town during the 1530s. One Hans Muffel – never a councilor – married, only in 1540, a member of the Nuremberg Holtzschuher family but apparently spent his life as a soldier outside the town; he was captured in 1552 in Lorraine.¹⁶ Potentially this notice should have furnished the manuscript with an interesting provenance, combining the well-known patrician Muffel family with one of the most common Christian names in 16th-century Nuremberg. This would suggest that the manuscript was being offered for sale when this notice was made.

A collector's stamp points to Karl Ferdinand Friedrich von Nagler (1770–1846), for a long time Postmaster General of Prussia. Although he acquired most of his famous collection between 1810 and 1821, when he held no public office,¹⁷ he

¹⁴ For him see Hans-Ulrich Roller, *Der Nürnberger Schembartlauf* (Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 1965), 140.

¹⁵ StA Nürnberg, Rep. 52b, no. 3, 110v–63r.

¹⁶ Johann Gottfried Biedermann, *Geschlechtsregister des Hochadelichen Patriciats zu Nürnberg welches aus denen bewährtesten Urkunden, Kauf-Lehen- und Heyrathsbriefen, gesammelten Grabschriften und eingeholten genauen Nachrichten von innen beschriebenen Gräflich-Freyherrlich- und Edlen Häusern ... verfasst* (Bayreuth: Dietzel, 1748), tab. CCCCLXXX.

¹⁷ Friedrich Stock, "Urkunden zur Einrichtung des Berliner Museums," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 58 (1937), Beiheft: 45; Wilfried Forstmann, "Carl Friedrich Ferdinand (von) Nagler, 1770–1846: Nicht nur Generalpostmeister," in *Deutsche Postgeschichte: Essays und Bilder*, ed. Wolfgang Lotz (Berlin: Nicolai, 1989), 161.

reportedly also collected works of art during his first major appointment, when he liquidated the Prussian administration of Ansbach before the handover of this Marquisate to Bavaria in 1805/06.¹⁸ As Ansbach is close to Nuremberg, where the ancien régime collapsed at approximately the same time, he might have acquired the manuscript already then from Nuremberg ownership, but it equally could have appeared on the Art Market some years later. In 1835, Nagler's collection was acquired by the King of Prussia, and since then it forms the core of the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett.¹⁹

Date:

1535 (title-page, r, K17v)

Dimensions:

cover: 22 × 17 cm

pages: 21 × 15.4 cm

written space: On pages with a drawn frame ca. 15.1 × 10.3 cm, otherwise larger.

State:

Worn, many small repairs, one leaf in the appendix (pp. 5–6) partially missing, at one place misbound (§ in the collation below).

Binding:

Bound in marbled paper, with leather spine and corners.

Later entries:

On the title-page notice referring to Hans Muffel (v.s.), stamp of the Kupferstichkabinett on its verso (again on the first verso and the last page of the appendix); on the first leaf of the appendix stamp of the Nagler Collection, on the first flyleaf a label with the modern shelf mark, beneath which, in smaller figures, the number 77.

Collation:

The manuscript begins with an unfoliated title-page, followed by the foliated K1–59. Then comes an unfoliated double leaf. On the next recto, the beginning of the last quire, a pagination starts with p. 1 and reaches p. 12 just before the half of this gathering. The following recto is not paginated, at the verso the pagination starts again with 1 going until p. 10. A last page, “p. 11,” is unpaginated.

1^{title-page} + (*)¹² + II¹⁶ + †II²⁰‡ + 3 × II³² + (II-1)³⁵§ + 6 × II⁵⁹ + I^{appendix. 2nd leaf} + VI^{[p. 11]. 2nd pagination}.

¹⁸ D. Sotzmann, “W. Schorn, Director des königlichen Kupferstichcabinets in Berlin,” *Deutsches Kunstblatt* 9 (1858): 164. Indeed, some manuscripts from Nagler's collection now in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin originate from Nuremberg (e.g. Germ. fol. 486, 489, 490, 491, see Hermann Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*, vol. 1, *Die Handschriften im Folioformat* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1925), 54).

¹⁹ Unfortunately, it was not possible to identify this manuscript in the inventory from 1834 (cf. p. 302 n. 1).

- * The first gathering is irregular. K1 and K12 form one double leaf, but the leaves in between are organized like $2 \times I^5 + III^1$. MS A is structured similarly (cf. p. 305).
- † From here the leaves are counted as they are from A19r, but in K are also some similar marks beforehand, placed unsystematically and without reference to the actually gatherings. The first appears on K1r, several others between K6r and K11r. Surprisingly they begin with *m*, as if these parts were originally to follow after K59v, the last leaf of the gathering labeled *l*.
- ‡ The double leaf K18/19 is misbound so that K19 comes before K18.
- § A leaf before K35 is missing, similar to the situation before A37.

Paper:

The same papers are used as in the Augsburg manuscript – the paper with the high crown watermark (cf. p. 305) appears on the isolated title-page, on K13/16 and throughout the appendix. Paper with the grape watermark (cf. p. 305) is used for the rest of the manuscript, thus most of its main body. The two double leaves at the beginning (K2/3, K4/5) have no identifiable watermarks, so they could also be made of different paper, as is the case in A.

Ink:

As in A, brown ink is normally used. In A, a number of elements were written in darker ink and therefore probably added by Lautensack later (cf. p. 306 n. 11). In manuscript K some of these elements are likewise written in a different ink,²⁰ but some in a normal ink and hence probably together with the main text,²¹ and others are missing altogether.²² This divergence could mean that Lautensack first wrote manuscript A, then added some material to it, then copied it into manuscript K. For a while he made amendments to both manuscripts, but then he stopped adding new material to K, perhaps having given it away. As regards the use of divergent colors on some of the first pages of the manuscript, K follows A.²³ In addition to the brown wash and incarnadine, the colors of Lautensack's rainbow (cf. p. 117) are used in the appendix: yellow (closer to a pale light brown),

²⁰ E.g. large words in K6r (similar A7r), K7r–11r (similar A8r–12r, but there is only one added head of Christ on K8v and none on K10r); marginalia on K11v–13r (similar to A13r–14v), K20v–35v (here the marginalia on the rectos are added in paler ink than normally used, not in black ink).

²¹ K6r (similar to A7r), the words in the last row of the diagram.

²² K1r (similar to A2r), the left margin of K6r (similar to A7r), K13v (similar to A12v), K17r (similar to A19r), K36r/v–59v (similar to A38r/v–61v, texts flanking the drawings, notices at the top left of all pages).

²³ In K2r–3v (similar to A3r–4v) red is used for some lines. K4r–5v (similar to A5r–6v) are written in black ink. As in A, some texts of the Creed-series appear in white on a blue background. Here, the same device is additionally used for the large words on the margins of a part of the diagram with quotations of 1 John (K8v–11r). On K6v some texts are written in an early humanist Capitalis, not the usual cursive. K2–5 and K32v have a more pinkish incarnadine than other pages.

blue, red and green.²⁴ As a fifth color a purple appears as commonly in Christ's tunic but also in some of the diagrams.²⁵

Hands:

Autograph by Lautensack.

A and K can be called 'sister manuscripts' since they have approximately the same size and the same content. We know that Lautensack produced at least in one instance multiple copies of a manuscript at the same time,²⁶ and this could have been the case here, too. It is also possible that one of the manuscripts was the copy of the other. Codicological analysis offers some hints, but the results remain inconclusive.

The watermarks suggest that Lautensack may have first used the paper with the grapes watermark for the second parts of A and K and then continued with the first part of K, when he ran out of it and switched to the high crown paper, which is here only used for few leaves and the appendix of K but for most of the first part of A. On the other hand, the irregular structure of gatherings in A allows us to assume that three different blocks of text (A3/4, A5/6 and A7–14) were originally independent small pamphlets and only secondarily joined together by the binio A1/16 and 2/15. In K, however, only the first two blocks, K2/3 and K4/5, would make sense in isolation, the third only in connection with the leaves wrapped around. Therefore, apart from K2/3 and K4/5, this section was already planned as a unit.

Contents:

Title-page–K16v: **5b**

K17r–19v: **4c**

K20r–35v: **3b**

K36r–59r: **1d**

Appendix, first double leaf: **4a**

Appendix, p. 1 (first pagination) – [p. 11] (second pagination): **1c**

4. *London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, inv. 1923,0712.2 (L)*

Pressmark: 197.b.16

Bibliography:

The Rosenheim Collections: Catalogue of the Library of Printed Books, illuminated and other Manuscripts, Engravings & Libri Amicorum collected by the late Max Rosenheim, Esq., F.S.A. and Maurice Rosenheim, Esq., F.S.A. (sold by order of the Executors). Which will be sold by Auction, by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge ... On Wednesday, the 9th of May, 1923, and the following Day (London: Davy, 1923), 42, lot 363; "Gallery and Museum Acquisitions," *Burlington Magazine* 43 (1923): 150 (brief notice); Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden*

²⁴ On the first leaf the diagram and the left margin use different hues of 'yellow' and green than the top and bottom margins on the other side; thus the latter were probably a secondary edition.

²⁵ E.g. on the recto after p. 12 (first pagination).

²⁶ Cf. p. 26 n. 73 and p. 313.

Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, 37 vols. (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1907–50), 22:463; Schmitt, *Hans Lautensack*, 3 n. 9 (brief notice); von Aufsess, *Altarwerkstatt*, 68 n. 20, 95 (regards the drawings as the work of an assistant); Hofmann, *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse*, 561 n. 46 (brief reference); Rowlands, *Drawings by German artists*, 196–98 (detailed description) and plates 267–68 (reproductions of L2r, L19v, L21v, L40v); Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 35–46 no. 3, L7–16 (reproductions of L19v–21r, L22v, L26v, L29v, L33v, L35v, L45v).

The manuscript is fully digitized and available via British Museum Collections Online.

Reproduced here:

3a:L12r–v (Fig. 8), 2:L19v (Fig. 55), L20r (Fig. 56), L20v (Fig. 58), L21r (Fig. 57), 1b:L29v (Fig. 50), L31v (Fig. 49), L40v (Fig. 33), L42v (Fig. 38), L45r (Fig. 52)

Provenance:

During the late 16th or early 17th century the damaged manuscript was carefully restored by an owner who was interested in its contents (see State). Notices at the front and back show that it belonged at some point in the 17th (?) century to apparently two distinct persons interested in mystical speculations (who probably differ from the owner responsible for the restoration), and in the 18th century to two persons with antiquarian interest who added bibliographical references, inter alia to Zeltner's 1716 study on Lautensack. The writing and the correct quotation of a German title suggest that the book was still in Germany when these notices were written. On Liv is a label of the Collection of Max and Moritz Rosenheim (no. A 3, 33), whose library contained, besides an important collection of *Alba amicorum*, several early German books, chiefly on heraldry and Reformation history. This manuscript would have interested them on both counts. After Max's death it was sold by Sotheby's in 1923 and acquired by Quaritch,²⁷ from whom the British Museum bought it in summer 1923.²⁸

Date:

1535 (L45v – as this is not the title-page, the date could also refer to the date of this particular diagram, as is the case in some drawings in manuscript E, which are dated to different years in the 1550s. Both the similarity of L to manuscripts A and K and differences from manuscript N (with the date 1538) suggest that this manuscript was indeed written in (or at least close to) 1535.

Dimensions:

cover: 21.2 × 16.5 cm

pages: 20.8 × 15.4 cm

written space: L2v–3v/20r–45v: 16.5–16.8 × 10.3–10.5 cm

L4r–19r: 16 × 11.4 cm (versos – rectos without right margins.²⁹)

²⁷ *Rosenheim Collections*, 42 no. 363 (2nd day, thus 10 May 1923). The copy of the catalogue microfilmed by Sotheby's contains a handwritten notice that the manuscript was bought by Quaritch for £31 os. od.

²⁸ Rowlands, *Drawings by German Artists*, 196. It does not appear in the Quaritch catalogues published between May and December 1923 (nos. 377–80).

²⁹ L19v, the first page with coats of arms, has a written area of 15.9 × 10.9 cm, thus between that of the preceding and that of the following pages.

State:

The colored inks, especially the blue, have faded in many places. On 15r some corrections of a diagram in a different ink but probably still in Lautensack's handwriting. The first leaves were badly damaged. Early restorations must have taken place in the late 16th or early 17th century. Firstly, the figures of Judas and Matthias on 1v were silhouetted and pasted on a new leaf, while the discarded accompanying texts³⁰ and the heading on 1r³¹ were copied by an unskilled scribe onto the new leaf. In a second step, sections of the upper half of the page close to the spine were removed and parts of the added texts cut off and written again on the new paper.³² Finally, the page was glued on another sheet of paper, which now covers most of the recto; only the title line is visible through a cut-out. Also the lower outer corner of L2r–v was replaced with a new piece of paper carrying a copy of the original design.³³ Smaller restorations on L3 do not affect the text.

Binding:

The manuscript is kept in a modern red cardboard case, which has at the side the text “Paul Lautensack – Offenbarung Jesu Christi – 1535 (MS.)” and labels with the shelf mark glued onto it. Its binding is modern, with worn blue velvet. Paper fragments with Fraktur-print at the inside of the spine indicate that a rebinding was carried out in a German-speaking country between the 18th and the early 20th century. At some point L1r was glued to the inside cover with sealing wax.

Later entries:

On the inside of the front cover is the text “casus recti casus obliqui | verbum finitis verbum infinitum” in a Baroque hand,³⁴ beneath it the label of the British Museum with the modern pressmark. On 2r a stamp of the British Museum with acquisition date. On the back cover the same quotation as on the front cover but in an elegant hand that might be late 16th century, beneath a Baroque notice “P. Lautensackii autogr. de anno 1545 [*sic*]” – it is not clear if this is a librarian's

³⁰ We can assume that the texts now written on L1r are copies of the damaged original because similar texts appear on A19v, which shows the same figures. A19v has further notes at the top and the left-hand side. Maybe such notes never existed in this manuscript, maybe they had become illegible by the time of the first restoration.

³¹ The heading is like the beginning of the lengthy heading on the similar A19r, but the complex layout of this page, with the (longer) heading in a frame and a diagram beneath, was apparently not copied here (though something could be hidden beneath the paper glued on it later, v.i.).

³² The shape of the *u* in the addition to L1v suggests a date in the 18th rather than the 17th century.

³³ Most of this restoration was done with great care, and the restorer attempted to copy Lautensack's handwriting. Therefore, one is tempted to regard it as relatively recent. Some words on L2r, however, were added in an incongruous Baroque hand, so this restoration must be old, too.

³⁴ These words are grammatical terms, their significance here is not clear.

summary of this manuscript (despite the incorrect date) or a reference to something else. Beneath is an 18th-century reference to the 1619 edition of Lautensack's works and Zeltner, *Lautensack*; beneath that, most likely again in a different hand, an additional reference to Weigel. None of these hands is identical with those involved in the restorations of the text. The small words at the right margin of L2r and the transcriptions of letter-names on L2v–3r were apparently added later, probably not by Lautensack himself.³⁵ Some of the words on L2r were rewritten when the corner of the leaf was restored (v.s.), perhaps by the same person who added a reference to Gen. 49 on L22v.

Collation:

Owing to the restoration works on this manuscript and its tight binding, it is difficult to determine the collation. In several cases it can only be inferred by the sequence of watermarks.

$1^1 + 1^{3*} + 4 \times 11^{19} + 1^{21\dagger} + \ddagger 6 \times 11^{45}$.

* L2–3 was probably designed as an independent small pamphlet, and L1 was added then as a title-page after the pamphlet had been integrated into the manuscript.

† The two leaves L20 and L21 are isolated between quaternios. Since none of them has a watermark, they could either be a double-leaf of watermark-free paper or two single leaves.

‡ From here onward the rectos are counted with letters.

Paper:

All watermarks show a high crown (cf. p. 305).

Ink:

As in the appendix of K, colors are used for both text and drawings. Again, the texts are written in the four colors of Lautensack's rainbow, yellow, blue, red and green,³⁶ or are set in front of a background tinted accordingly.³⁷ In the drawings the same four colors dominate, occasionally combined with brownish (e.g. L1v) and bluish-greyish³⁸ tones. The coloring is normally restricted to clothes, and in most miniatures only some figures are colored, others executed in drawing with wash. L12r and L14v both show a mirrored off-set of a diagram like that on 14r – suggesting that Lautensack had produced a second copy of fol. 14 for a sister manuscript and placed it by mistake onto these two pages before the ink had fully dried.

³⁵ At least, the names of the Hebrew letters on L3r differ from those normally used by Lautensack, cf. p. 142 n. 133.

³⁶ L2r–3r, L4r–19r (alternating with the normal ink), rectos from L22r–43r. For corrections normal ink is used.

³⁷ L19v–21v, versos from L22v–45v, L44r, L45r. Frequently this color became mixed with the text ink, reducing the legibility.

³⁸ They are used for the tunic of God or of Christ, e.g. L2r, L22v. In L19v (Fig. 55) grey replaces yellow.

Hands:

Autograph by Lautensack.

Contents:

L1r–3v: **4b**

L4r–19r: **3a**

L19v–21v: **2**

L22r–45v: **1b**

5. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 3,147 (N)

Bibliography:

Rudolph Weigel's Kunstlager-Catalog: Sechzehnte Abtheilung (Leipzig: Weigel, 1845; published as part of *Rudolph Weigel's Kunstcatalog, 15 –21. Abtheilung* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1850)), 82 no. 14,469 (short entry in sales catalogue); *Das Germanische Nationalmuseum: Organismus und Sammlungen*, 2 vols. (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1856), 1:187 (entry in inventory of the manuscripts), 2:89 (entry in inventory of original drawings); Lieb, *Weigels Kommentar*, 170 n. 180 (gives the date of the manuscript and thinks that it might contain the Gundelfingerin, dated likewise to 1538); Schmitt, *Hans Lautensack*, 3 n. 9 (brief reference); von Aufsess, *Altarwerkstatt*, 13 (regards it as an autograph and sees Southern influence in the “krausen Linien,” reproduction of N6or as p. 14 fig. 3); Hofmann, *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse*, 555–59 (quotation of polemical passages against Luther; Stifel's *Rechen Büchlin* as source of a longer quotation); Lotte Kurras, *Norica: Nürnberger Handschriften der Frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 59 no. 66 (short description); Rowlands, *Drawings by German Artists*, 197 (brief mention); Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 55–62 no. 5, L24–29 (reproductions of N7r, N38r, N52v, N53r, N59v, N6or); Reinitzer, *Gesetz und Evangelium*, 354–57 (regards the drawing on N6or as a copy after Dell and hence dates the manuscript to ca. 1550, reproductions of N58v, N59r–v, N6or, transcription of N58v–61r); Kress, “Relief by Peter Dell,” 189 and 188 fig. 3 (reproduction of N52v).

Reproduced here:

9a:N7r (Fig. 21), **10a**:N32v–33r (Fig. 73), N37v–38r (Fig. 75), N39v–40r (Fig. 76), N46v–47r (Fig. 5), N52v (Fig. 25), N59v (Fig. 15), N6or (Fig. 61)

Provenance:

The cardboard cover (v.i.) might indicate that the manuscript was rebound in the 18th or early 19th century and accordingly owned at that time by someone interested in preserving it. This manuscript is probably identical to one offered for sale by the art dealer Rudolph Weigel in Leipzig in 1850. It must have been bought soon afterwards by the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum* – not only does it appear in its first printed inventories from 1856 (v.s.), its inventory number also indicates that it was amongst the first group of manuscripts catalogued, and already the 1856 inventories contain some manuscripts that had been acquired after this first group. On N1r are a Museum stamp and the collector's mark of Freiherr von Aufseß, the founder of the Museum.

Date:

1538 (N7r – this date stands at the beginning of tract 9a, so it may also refer to the composition of this text. However, the other parts of this manuscript reflect a similar stage of development of Lautensack's thought, and therefore they probably come from approximately the same time).

State:

The overall state of the manuscript is good. Unfortunately, Lautensack frequently erased passages by overpainting them with white and writing thereupon. As the white layer has now faded the two texts are one above the other, and in some cases neither of them is legible any longer (e.g. Fig. 25, left column, next to letter *H*).³⁹ Water damage appears chiefly at the front (upper margin) and the rear part (lower margin, towards the spine) of the manuscript.

Dimensions:

cover: 32.7 × 21.2 cm

pages: 32 × 20.2 cm

written space: pages without drawn margins: 27–27.5 × 15.5–16 cm

drawn margins on pages with diagrams: ca. 26–26.5 × 14–14.5 cm

Binding:

Light brown leather cover with Neo-Gothic ornaments, probably from the Mid-19th century. Two orange labels with the modern shelf mark are glued to the spine. Earlier on, the manuscript had probably been bound in cardboard, its old rear cover is glued to N61.

Later entries:

Both the manuscript number and a further shelf mark, referring to the systematic catalogue of the museum library (Rl. 554^{ar}), are on the inside cover. Nothing appears on the flyleaves of cheap 19th-century paper. In the 19th century two leaves with a short handwritten description of the manuscript were glued to N1 – a common practice in this library.⁴⁰

Collation:

III⁶ + 1⁷ + 1^{8*} + III¹⁴ + II¹⁸ + (?)^{21†} + III²⁷ + V³⁷ + III⁴³ + 1^{44‡} + 2 × IV⁶⁰ + 1^{61§}.

* N7 and N8 seem to be affixed to stubs and therefore were perhaps added later.

† In this part of the manuscript it is hardly possible to establish the collation without damaging the binding. It seems that N16/17 form the middle of a gathering. N19 may be affixed to a stub. It is not clear why this irregular structure occurs in the middle of a continuous text.

³⁹ I am very grateful to Mr. Myke Clifford, Photographer in the Department of History of Art, Cambridge University, for his, unfortunately unsuccessful, attempts to improve the legibility with electronic image processing.

⁴⁰ I am grateful to Dr. Eberhard Slenczka for this information.

‡ N44 is glued to N45.

§ N61 is glued to the original cardboard cover, v.s.

Hands:

Autograph by Lautensack, frequently 46 lines per page.

Paper:

The watermark of all leaves is Piccard, *Kronen-Wasserzeichen*, no. IX 114, which appears for a short period after 1537 in a large area of Germany, from the Palatinate to the Baltic, thus north of Nuremberg. As this paper was apparently subjected to much trade, it is no surprise that it was also used by Lautensack in Nuremberg.

Ink:

In comparison with the earlier manuscripts, the technique is significantly simplified here: both text and images are executed in the same brownish ink, and no wash is used. Two openings (N37v–38r and N59v–60r) are slightly darker – they were probably covered homogeneously with thin wash as a preparation for drawing relatively elaborate diagrams on them.

Marginalia:

There are three different groups of marks and marginalia. Firstly, signs at the left margin on most pages between N15r and N21r draw the reader's attention to passages about Luther (e.g. N15r/17v) and about Lautensack's claim to authority (e.g. N18v). They are executed in an ink that is similar to if not identical with the text ink and therefore may go back to Lautensack. A second scribe marked core passages throughout the manuscript (except quotations) in a very pale, reddish-brownish ink. The letter-forms of the few words he added (N21v/22r) suggest that he lived some decades later than Lautensack, perhaps in the late 16th century. A third commentator wrote tiny, 'scratchy' letters, which he frequently underlined (N9r, N19r, N20v, N23v). A remark, likewise probably from the late 16th century, at the end of the text is mysterious, it may read: "Eschzlg sln bift".

Contents:

N1r–6v: **7a**

N7r–14v: **9a**

N15r–61r: **10a**

Copies of Autograph Tracts

Most of the manuscripts presented in this section contain the same group of tracts by Lautensack – called the 'core' in Chapter 6 of this study (cf. p. 272 n. 30). This allows us to construct a stemma of the manuscripts, which is primarily based on comparisons of tract 12. Not included are manuscript H, which has been lost

since 1945 and hence could not be compared to the others, and manuscript E, which contains different material.

Since samples showed no major differences, all copies probably go back to the same prototype. It was demonstrated elsewhere that the biblical quotations they contain are hybrids of the early versions Lautensack normally used and the definitive form of Luther's translation available to later scholars.⁴¹ Like Lautensack's autographs, the prototype of these manuscripts probably contained long biblical quotations, which were shortened by some copyists and expanded again, but with quotations from more modern Bibles, by other copyists. Given the different borders between old and new texts, B/S/T, V and W go back to three different abbreviated models. The scribe of the model of B, S and T completed the quotations from a modern bible. Amongst them, B and S have virtually the same layout⁴² and also share some of the marginalia, so they are probably both exact copies of a manuscript similar but not identical to T and independent of each other.⁴³ In one case BSTW incorrectly attach the beginning of the interpretation of a diagram to the preceding section, whereas V places the division at the correct place.⁴⁴ This could mean that the error appeared in a source used for BSTW but not for V, or that the mistake was in the archetype and corrected by the scribe of V.⁴⁵

The text in Q is very close to B40v–53r, Q6v even copies texts added to B43v and missing in the other manuscripts. The strange circle-diagram appearing here is most probably not connected with Lautensack, thus it was added from another source and forms no part of the textual tradition of Lautensack's tracts. Therefore, Q was copied either after the very manuscript B or after something very close to it, probably made in the same campaign.⁴⁶ However, Q2v–3r (Fig. 63) contains a diagram very similar to that glued to B43r, but with ample labeling missing in B. This might indeed point to a twin manuscript of B, unless the diagram is taken from a totally different source. Another, shorter, excerpt from 12 appears in T, which also contains the full tract. However, here some of the explanatory texts were replaced by other material (t). Manuscript R does not contain the 'core' but the same texts as the second half of B – additions to B by the scribe of R identify it as its direct model.

⁴¹ Cf. p. 128 n. 61.

⁴² They also share the confusing page-breaks in the long diagram B19r–25v/S19r–25v.

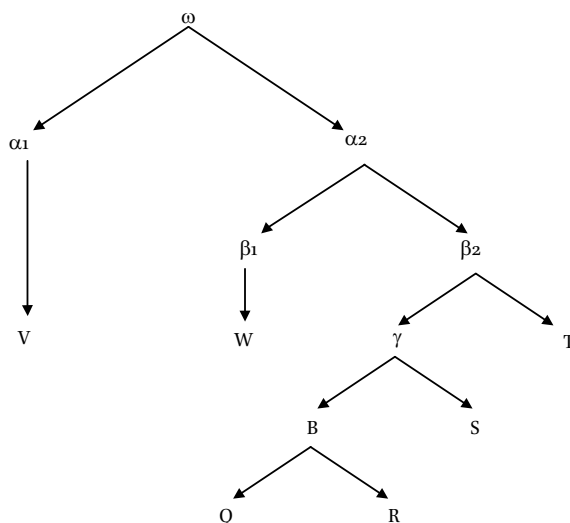
⁴³ Cf. p. 326.

⁴⁴ B40v, S40v, T108r and W33r, in contrast with V180v. Furthermore, B57r and S57r have "Hosea" and "Maleachi" in the wrong order (In W47r this mistake was amended), whereas V201r is here correct.

⁴⁵ As the heading of the text, which refers to the following diagram, is in Latin, it is an addition of the scribe; a fact that may give higher probability to the assumption that the correct subdivision was reconstructed here.

⁴⁶ A small difference between B and Q is that in B53r the last row of the left column is not filled in, in Q16r a reference was added. As it is also missing in S53r and V196r (in W this diagram is lost) it was probably supplied by the scribe, following the example of similar diagrams (e.g. B80r).

Thus one can draw the following stemma:



6. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, RB.Msc. 166 (B)

Former shelf mark: Re.III.18

Bibliography:

Joseph Heller, *Geschichte der protestantischen Pfarrkirche zum heil. Stephan in Bamberg* (Bamberg: Dederich, 1830), 19 (transcription of letters from γ:B149r – from there these letters were copied into several editions of Luther's and Melancthon's correspondence). Heller's papers contain several pages of notices and transcribed documents about the Lautensack family and the contents of this manuscript (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, JH.Msc.theol. 18a/2); Luther *WA Briefwechsel* 6:434–37 no. 2,002 (quotes not only the letters but also excerpts from B12v and 14v), *ibid.*, 14:13 (short catalogue entry, dates it to 1553–58) and 306; Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften*, 84 (for the early 20th-century detailed catalogue entry); Leitschuh, *Studien und Quellen*, 59–60 (summary of contents and re-edition of the letters); Schmitt, *Hans Lautensack*, 3 n. 9 (short reference); von Aufsess, *Altarwerkstatt*, 67 n. 20 (brief reference); Hofmann, *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse*, 561 n. 46 (short reference); *Cimelia Rhodostaurótica*, 6 no. 6 (short entry, reproductions of B36r and B189v); Rowlands, *Drawings by German artists*, 198 (regarding it not as autograph); Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 29–31 no. 1, L2–4 (regarding it as an autograph sketch-book, reproduction of B36r, B66v and B130r); Philipp Melancthon, *Melancthons Briefwechsel*, vol. T5, *Texte*

110–1394 (1531–33), ed. Walter Thüringer (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstadt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2003), 511–12 no. 1,377 (transcription of Melanchthon's letter from B149r).

Reproduced here:

24:B62r (Fig. 74), 26:B81v (Fig. 84), 47:B128v–29r (Fig. 95), 42:B189v (Fig. 78), B190v (Fig. 87)

Provenance:

Annotations show that the manuscript was used by several persons in the 17th century (v.i.); since it was the model for R (cf. p. 350), it was probably in Moravia (even if only on loan) for some time between its completion and the Swedish raids in that country during the 1640s.⁴⁷ By 1830 it was in the property of the Bamberg art historian Joseph Heller, who included an excerpt in Heller, *Geschichte der Protestantischen Pfarrkirche* (v.i.). On 15 April 1853 it was given to the Royal Library in Bamberg by Fr Adam Martinet (1800–77), Hebrew scholar and Professor at the Lyceum in Bamberg and one of its leading intellectuals, who donated numerous books to public collections in the city.⁴⁸ In any case, this manuscript of Lautensack's tracts, most likely written in Eastern Germany (v.i.), seems to have been brought to Bamberg by local historians interested in their fellow citizen Lautensack.

Dimensions:

cover: 34.7 × 22 cm

pages: ca. 33.5–34 cm × 16.5–20 cm (B130r: 34 × 32 cm)

written space: ca. 28 × 16.5–17 cm

State:

B1–11, B109 and B183 are missing, resulting in loss of text. The paper is yellowed; the margins are worn, primarily at the outer edge and especially on the first leaves. Restored in 1972 (“no. 282,” finished May 1972) in the Institut für Buchrestaurierung in Munich; probably during this process some paper was added at the margins. The additional leaf after B42 was badly damaged owing to the acidity of the ink; it was glued onto a new sheet.

Binding:

Plain binding in pigskin, spine renewed, on it old labels (“Re III 18. | Lautensack | Paul | Apocalypse | [illegible, maybe a date?]” and “R. B. | Msc. | 166”).

⁴⁷ For the date of these raids see Petrus Cornelius Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1975), XVII.

⁴⁸ For Martinet see Heinrich Joachim Jäck, *Zweites Pantheon der Literaten und Künstler Bambergers vom 11. Jahrhundert bis 1843* (Bamberg: Jäck, 1843), 68; Valentin Loch, “Dr. Adam Martinet,” 40. *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* (1878): 303–16, esp. 313–14; Friedrich Wachter, *General-Personal-Schematismus der Erzdiözese Bamberg, 1007–1907* (Bamberg: Nagengast, 1908), 313 no. 6,478. *Luther WA Briefwechsel*, 14:308, contains no additional information. Professor Bernhard Schemmel, formerly director of the Bamberg Staatsbibliothek, kindly suggested that Heller might have given the manuscript to Martinet because its illustrations were too poor to be relevant for an art historian. Also one of the notices in JH.Msc.theol. 18a/2 was destined for Martinet.

Later entries:

On the inside of the cover the old shelf marks "Re.III.18", "Msc. th. 8"⁴⁹ and the beginning of the new shelf mark "R.B."; furthermore notices about Martinet's donation to the library and a signature of the librarian Dr. [Michael] Stenglein. On the flyleaf a notice claiming that the manuscript was an autograph on the Apocalypse written by Paul Lautensack of Bamberg, signed by Martinet, with some later added bibliographical references on the artist. On this page, on its verso, on B12r, the first surviving page of the actual manuscript, and on B225v, the last page with text, post-1918 stamps of the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg with the Bavarian arms, and on B99r stamp with the name of the library.

Collation:

The manuscript has two sets of foliation, one at the top right of the rectos, which was made before the loss of several pages and which originally omitted the index quire, later counted as B105a–105h. The other foliation, at the bottom right, counts all leaves that are currently extant and accordingly numbers B12r as fol. 1. Here the first foliation is used.

[B1–11 missing]^{*} + 3 × VI^{47†} + VII^{61‡} + 2 × VI⁸⁵ + 2 × V¹⁰⁵ + IV^{105h} + (VII-1)^{119§} + (VI+1)^{132**} + 3 × VII^{173††} + (VII-1)^{187‡‡} + VII²⁰¹ + VI²¹³ + VII²²⁷.

* Probably this was a sexternio like the following quires, beginning with an unfoliated title-page.

† In the last gathering a folded leaf is glued to the margin of B43r.

‡ A small piece of paper with later annotations on the recto and verso (16, 47) is glued to B64r, cf. p. 350.

§ B109 is missing, whereas its counterpart B116 is preserved.

** The larger, folded, B130 is added to this gathering.

†† The first leaf of the first of these three gatherings is counted as B132a.

‡‡ B183 is missing, its counterpart B178 preserved.

This irregular sequence of quires shows that this manuscript consists of several parts that were planned independently of each other. The first section (–B61) contains tracts 12 and 15 and is built of regular sexternios – only the last quire has seven double-leaves to provide space for the whole text. The next section (B62–105, tract 24–25) consists of sexternios and quinios. The last empty leaf of its last quire (B105r–v) remained empty, here an index to the entire manuscript was begun, which was continued on a quaternio (B105a–h).⁵⁰ The rest of the manuscript contains chiefly septernios (until B201r–v, an empty leaf). For the last tracts first a sexternio and then a septernio were used, although two sexternios would

⁴⁹ Professor Werner Taegert, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, kindly informed me that this shelfmark was suggested during a re-ordering of the manuscripts but never actually used, e-mail 1 July, 2013.

⁵⁰ The position of the index for the whole work in the middle of the manuscript is puzzling; since most of it is written on a gathering of the same paper as the first half of the manuscript, one must assume that some paper was deliberately put aside for the index, which naturally could only be compiled after the completion of all parts of the manuscript. Perhaps the second part of B was written before the first part (cf. p. 327 n. 76).

have been sufficient; probably, more material should have been included at the end.

Paper:

Two different watermarks appear. The first parts (B12–105h) have an escutcheon charged with two hammers in saltire. The closest parallel is Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Werkzeug und Waffen*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980), no. I 139, for which Piccard gives an example in Petersburg⁵¹ from 1577; other very similar examples, dated 1584, were found in Reichenbach in Saxony.⁵² Generally, Piccard locates a larger group of relatively similar watermarks to Saxony and Bohemia (*ibid.*, 1:12).

The paper of the second half of the manuscript (B106–227) and the leaf glued to B43r shows two concentric circles, between which appears an inscription that could read “A/SCHWARTZBACH”, and in the inner circle is an unidentifiable object, most likely a locust (!). Watermarks of this type were common in late 16th-century North-East Germany; Briquet, no. 1,229, is another double-circle watermark from Schwarzbach, which has, however, clearly a crescent in the center (Briquet 1:100). Paper bearing the latter water-mark was used in Eastern Saxony in the last years of the 16th century.⁵³ Probably the watermark in B is an unclear copy of such designs.

Ink:

Most of the text is written in black, sometimes brown, ink, with some key words and underlining in red ink.⁵⁴ Since they fit smoothly into the line, the copyist did not add them later but wrote in both colors at the same time. Rarely entire paragraphs are done in colored ink (B14r–v). More frequently, passages are written against a colored background, as in parts of L and K.⁵⁵ As there, the colors of Lautensack's rainbow dominate: yellow (normally a dirty light brownish hue), blue (as if done with chalk, sometimes intensive, sometimes rather a light bluish grey), red (a dirty brownish red, sometimes lighter, nearly pink) and green (a light bluish green), occasionally combined with dark purple as a fifth color (e.g. B73v–74r, B78v, e.g. Fig. 78).⁵⁶ Frequently the wet ink and the wet background colors

⁵¹ It is unclear, which city is meant. The Russian city would probably have been called “Leningrad” or “St. Petersburg,” and no larger settlement in Germany bears this name.

⁵² This most probably is the modern Reichenbach / Vogtland – several other places called Reichenbach in Saxony are mere hamlets.

⁵³ Ernst Kirchner, “Die Papierfabrikation zu Chemnitz mit einer Tafel Wasserzeichen,” in *Festschrift zum 750jährigen Jubiläum der Stadt Chemnitz*, ed. Paul Uhle (Chemnitz: May, 1893), 79–80, unnumbered plate, fig. 12. One of these examples is dated to 1500, probably a misprint, it refers to Schwartzbach in Bohemia, therefore probably the modern Černá v Pošumaví close to Krumlov in Southern Bohemia.

⁵⁴ They do not occur throughout the manuscript but from the beginning to B43v and again on B64r–74r and B102r–3v. They restart at B168r (in the middle of a text), first rarely, then more frequently. From B200 they become rare again, now chiefly words like “gloſa” are written in red, possibly announcing the beginning of a commentary.

⁵⁵ Versos of 1b, 1c, 2, 4a.

⁵⁶ Although the colors can vary considerably, it seemed unpromising to discern different color schemes. Some pages are nevertheless quite distinct, 13a:B10v/111r, for instance, are comparatively muted.

became intermixed, causing smears. In most cases the same colors are used for the figures.⁵⁷ Christ is usually clad in a dark red cloak, Mary in red and blue, John the Evangelist in red and green. Additionally, different shades of brown appear. The person responsible for the coloring was not very skilled, often he modeled by applying thick strokes of opaque white, greyish blue or purple (dramatic clouds are made in a similar way), while his incarnadines can be aggressively pinkish. Some clothes have red parallel lines at the seams (e.g. B62v).

Hands:

Two main scribes.

The first section, B12r–104v (upper half)⁵⁸ is by the principal hand: a relatively clear, simple cursive, vaguely similar to the writing style of Valentin Weigel and some of his followers⁵⁹ and hence suggesting the same date and place as the paper. The concluding notice on B104v shows a more decorative style with elongated *s*-forms; it was probably added later by another scribe. The hand of the second main scribe appears first in the (chiefly Latin index) on B105ar–105hr and the following title-page B106r. Afterwards the first hand resumes,⁶⁰ and the second scribe appears again on B202r–22v.⁶¹ The writing on the larger fold-out leaf B130r differs from the surrounding text but could still be by the first scribe.⁶² The alterations between the two main scribes and the fact that they corrected each other's work (v.i.) suggest that they collaborated on this manuscript, as also happened with some manuscripts copied by Weigel and his deacon.⁶³ The roughly colored drawings all seem to be by the same person. The awkwardness of the figures reveals that he was not a trained draughtsman, but his attempts at modeling (v.s.) show some artistic ambition. Nothing speaks against identifying him with one of the scribes – probably the first, because virtually all drawings are in his sections. One tract has non-colored illustrations with rich hatching and many ornamental features, especially floral ornaments; they may not be good enough for a

⁵⁷ Sometimes the wings of Mary (B41v and B155r) are in a purplish red, not the normal brownish tone, occasionally stronger reds are used for seams (e.g. B23v) or Luke's ox (e.g. B79r), and an orange-shaded red appears on B99r. Some pages show a more intensive blue (e.g. B65v). The leaf inserted before B43r has instead of the reddish brown and the green two browns, probably because of chemical degradation of the pigment (also resulting in a damage to the paper).

⁵⁸ Exceptions are a leaf inserted before B43r (its elegant writing shares the *p*-shapes with B130r (cf. beneath, n. 62) but is more florid) and a paragraph added on B43v (by the second main scribe).

⁵⁹ Dr. Horst Pfefferl, Marburg, kindly suggested this similarity and sent me some photocopies.

⁶⁰ The second hand appears, however, in most parts of a diagram on B192r.

⁶¹ The last line of the diagram on B202r is, however, again by the first scribe.

⁶² It is close to the main scribe, but the letters seem to be a bit more apart. Typical is the *p* with a vertical hasta, on which the sinus is hanged. As the inscription of the bottom contains both this and the normal version of the *p* with a diagonal hasta, this scribe may be identical with the main scribe, who just tried to write more clearly on that page (and thus the main scribe may also be responsible for the leaf before B43r, cf. above, n. 58).

⁶³ Weigel, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 8:XII.

professional artist but at least show more training.⁶⁴ The first hand has often 41 lines per page, occasionally a few more, the second has often around 45 but at the last full pages more commonly about 42.

Marginalia:

Marginal comments appear on most text pages of the manuscript, they vary from one cross-reference on approximately every other leaf to several entries per page. Many of them were written by the scribes themselves, who wanted to supply left-out words, correct errors or give additional information. Furthermore, the second scribe frequently made additions to pages of his colleague (e.g. B92r), and the reverse of this procedure also may have happened once (B215r).⁶⁵ Most other notes are cross-references, they come from several scribes, but one elegant hand is especially conspicuous (e.g. B26r).⁶⁶ Further notices, ranging from "Nota bene" notes over single words in Hebrew (with vocalization, therefore probably written by a scholar)⁶⁷ to Latin and German comments on several lines, were added by probably 8–10 different readers, one possibly as late as the 18th century.⁶⁸ The copy of the latter part of the manuscript into R contains some of the marginal remarks but not all of them – a comparison could help dating the layers of annotations to before and after the copying process (cf. p. 350). For the marginalia different inks were used, some are red (e.g. B150r) or green (B167v, B169r).

Contents:

[B1r–12v lost]	B102v–4r: 27b
B13r–60r: 12 (inserted on a double-leaf glued to B43r: 27a)	B104r–v: 28
B60v–61r: 15	B104v: α
B61v: empty	B105r–105h, r: β
B62r–63v: 24	B106r–15r: 13a
B64r–68v: 25	B115v: empty
Label glued to B64r, r: 47	B116r–22v: 22
Label glued to B64r, v: 16	B123r–24v: empty
B69r–102r: 26	B125r–v: 40

⁶⁴ B125v, B128r–29v, B130r and probably also B164r. For the similar drawings in R cf. p. 350.

⁶⁵ It is not completely clear whether this is the first hand or something very close to it.

⁶⁶ The five cross-references on B145v/146r come, for instance, from the 'elegant' scribe and from three others. Such notes refer frequently to distant parts of the manuscript and thus were only made when its parts were bound together.

⁶⁷ As some of them appear also in S (e.g. B82v/S82v), they may at least partially have been supplied by the original scribes.

⁶⁸ As these notes may have been added over an extended period of time and probably also under different circumstances, some that look relatively different may in reality have been made by the same person. The fact that Latin and vernacular were written quite differently does not ease the identification. Some annotators are easy to identify: an ornamented Baroque hand on B28r; a tiny remark on B3r; a scribe indulging in transforming the cauda of the *g* into a dangling circular object (B70v, B118r, perhaps also B29r). A drawing scribbled by the undisciplined scribe of R is pasted onto B64r (cf. p. 350); a notice that may be from the 18th century is on B155r. One person added also index entries (e.g. B105r, 2nd column).

B126r–v: 41	B165r–80v: 39
B127r–v: 38	B181r–90v: 42
B128r–29v: 48	B190v [or 191r]–95v: 33
B130r–31v: 44	B196r: empty
B132r–v: empty	B196v–200r: 36
B132ar–48v: 35, first part	B200v–1v: empty
B149r: γ	B202r–15v: 30a
B149v: empty	B216r–21v: 50
B150r–54r: 35, second part	B222r–24r: δ
B154v–64r: 29	B224v–25v: ωc
B164r–v: 49	B226r–27v: empty

7. *Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz,*
Ms. germ. fol. 519 (S)

Bibliography:

Hans von der Gabelentz, *Zur Geschichte der Oberdeutschen Miniaturmalerei im 16. Jahrhundert* (Straßburg: Heitz, 1899), 62 (saw here influence of Dürer but criticized the inferior quality; in his index he dated it to 1534); Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften*, 58 (brief catalogue entry, dating it to the 16th century, perhaps as autograph); Zeller, *Die Schriften Valentin Weigels*, 71 no. 6 (entry in list); Schmitt, *Hans Lautensack*, 3 n. 9 (brief reference); von Aufsess, *Altarwerkstatt*, 67 n. 20 and 95 (rejects authenticity); Hofmann, *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse*, 561 n. 46 (brief reference); Rowlands, *Drawings by German Artists*, 198 (brief reference, dating it to the late 16th or early 17th century); Pfefferl, “Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels,” *Teil II, A*, 7–16 (detailed descriptions of the content);⁶⁹ Muller, *Artists Dissidents*, 32–35 no. 2, L5–6 (regarded it as autograph close to B and N, short description, reproduction of S62v, S81v).

Reproduced here:

25:S66v (Fig. 86), 26:S84v (Fig. 9)

Provenance:

As this manuscript is virtually without annotations (v.i.) it was most likely not in heavy use by scholars; a hardly legible note on S60r refers to the year 1620. It does not appear in the Accession Register of the Prussian Royal Library and was probably transferred with some other manuscripts from the Department of Printed Books in 1837/38. Manuscript germ. fol. 518, which entered the manuscripts collection in the same way, belonged to Daniel Sudermann (1550–1631), a mystical Protestant poet and collector of manuscripts.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ On p. 7 Pfefferl refers to an unpublished description of this manuscript by Zeller.

⁷⁰ This was kindly pointed out by Dr. Bernd Michael, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, e-mail 25 August 2006. However, neither Hans Hornung, “Der Handschriftensammler Daniel Sudermann und die Bibliothek des Straßburger Klosters St. Nikolaus in undis,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 109 (new ser., 68, 1959): 338–99, nor Monica Pieper, *Daniel Sudermann (1550 – ca. 1631) als Vertreter des mystischen Spiritualismus* (Stuttgart: Steiner,

Dimensions:

cover: 35.3 × 22 cm

pages: ca. 34.3 × 20.3 cm

written space: 27–28.5 × 16.5–17.5 cm

State:

At the beginning 16 leaves are missing (the leaf now numbered as S17 was probably the first leaf, and the missing leaves were placed between it and S18). S17 is stabilized with small strips of paper glued on it. Dampness has rendered some passages illegible, especially on the upper right corners of S102v–5r. The latter leaf is stabilized by a sheet glued to its – probably empty – verso. In some places the original collation is badly damaged, the pages being held together with glue.

Binding:

Brown cardboard, at the front the lesser Royal Arms of Prussia, on the spine a red label with the title “LAUTENSACK | Himmels-|Erscheinungen | im Jahre | 1534,” beneath a label with the modern shelf mark.

Later entries:

On the inner back cover notice on the numbers of the preserved folia, on S17r library stamp (between 1701 and 1918, probably early 19th century) and shelf mark.

Collation:

$$1^{17*} + V^{27} + VII^{41} + 2 \times V^{61} + 1^{62\dagger} + VII^{76} + VII^{90\ddagger} + VII^{104} + 1^{105}\S.$$

* This leaf is now isolated and glued to S18; it was probably either the first leaf of the manuscript – as is the case in W, which begins with the same tract – or came after an unnumbered leaf. The latter would have led to a more regular collation.

† This leaf is glued to S63.

‡ This gathering was subject to much repair; today several leaves seem to be glued rather than bound together. Nevertheless the sequence of leaves with and without watermarks would allow for the regular structure suggested here.

§ The context of the damaged S105 cannot be determined any longer – as it is the last page of the tract it could either have been a single leaf or part of the preceding gathering – but nothing seems to be missing before S9or.

As with B, the collation of this manuscript shows some irregularities indicating that it had not been planned as a unit over an extended period. The first half (up to S61) has chiefly quinos – it is inexplicable why there is one septernio in the middle. As no gathering ends at the end of a text, this section was planned as a

1985), mention Lautensack or Weigel amongst the authors into whose work Sudermann was interested. According to Hornung, “Der Handschriftensammler Daniel Sudermann,” 382, many of his manuscripts came from Cologne or Straßburg, thus far away from where S was most probably made.

unit. The second half of the book consists of regular septernios, with the exception of its first and last leaves (S62, S105), which appear to be single leaves.⁷¹ One can understand that an isolated single leaf would be added at the end, but it is not obvious why there should be one at the beginning.

Paper:

Everything is written on the same paper, which shows a structure with concentric circles, most likely identical with the second watermark of B (cf. p. 321).

Ink:

Roughly the same range of colors as in B. Where they have a significance, as in diagrams, they are used in the same way as there; where they are just decorative, there can be differences.⁷² This indicates that the copyist knew when he had to follow the archetype painstakingly and when not. On some pages the bluish green is replaced by olive green;⁷³ and sometimes both shades of green appear on the same leaf or even on the same page.⁷⁴ This shows that the coloring of the manuscript had been done in several campaigns.

Hands:

A first scribe wrote S17r–102r, a second S102v–5r and also an additional note on S28r. The latter should be identical with the second main scribe of B. Similarly the first hand is close to the first hand of B but normally narrower, as if the scribe was not yet sure if the space would be sufficient. He also had slightly more pages per line, around 45. The drawings are by the same person as those in B.

Marginalia:

In contrast to its sister manuscript B, this copy was hardly annotated by later owners. Most marginal notes appear also in B and thus must have been copied from the prototype.⁷⁵ On S60r is a faint, virtually illegible entry written in large, very cursive letters. It may read like something like “daß Kind / End. / Künd. 1620”.

⁷¹ As is the case in other Lautensack manuscripts, these leaves could have formed a double leaf, with the other gatherings inserted between them. However, it is impossible to prove or disprove that today.

⁷² In B36r, for instance, Mary's wings are yellowish and blue, in S36r they are greenish.

⁷³ S52r (v.i.), S72v–76r, S77r–v, S78v, S88r.

⁷⁴ S78r uses normal green, S78v olive green. On S52r normal green is used for the diagram, olive green for the figures at the bottom.

⁷⁵ Exceptions are S18r, an entry possibly also made by the first main scribe of B, and S28r, by the second main scribe of B; S58v has a sentence underlined with a commentary in the margin; S68r and S69v have cross-references, and the latter page also has a scribbled diagram added at the bottom. Strangely at least some other marginalia in S that also appear in B were neither written by the scribe of the text nor by the person who made the annotations in B – thus one has to suppose that a reader of S at some point copied some annotations from B or vice versa, or that both sets of annotations came from a lost manuscript.

Contents:

[S1r–16v lost]	S60v–61r: 15	S64r–68v: 25	S104v–5r: 28
S17r–59v: 12	S61v: empty	S69r–102r: 26	S105v: empty
S60r: empty	S62r–63v: 24	S102v–4v: 27b	

B and S are closely related: they were not only executed by the same scribes but also contain the same texts (except that B has additional material from B104v onward). As some biblical quotations in S are longer than in B (e.g. S47r/B47r), B cannot have been the model for S. On the other hand the layout in S is relatively awkward, and the last words of the top paragraph of B39v are missing in the counterpart S38r. Thus both manuscripts were independently copied from the same source. Small differences in the layout, chiefly due to the narrower writing in S, suggest that they were not made simultaneously, which would have been easiest, but one after the other. As B is written in slightly larger letters and text and images fit together better than in S, where sometimes pages had to be kept empty in order to keep the images at the same place (e.g. S41r); and as the collation of the first part of B is more regular than in S, one can assume that S was made earlier.⁷⁶

8. *Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz*,
Ms. germ. quart. 1,957 (T)

Bibliography:

Unpublished. By summer 2008, a description had been entered into the database www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de.

Reproduced here:

9:T132r (Fig. 97)

Provenance:

According to an entry on the inside front cover, bought in 1891 at an auction of a “R. Leschke” (?) – probably the art dealer Rudolph Lepke, whose company at this time sold different kinds of antiquities, chiefly objects of limited value. This manuscript could not be identified in any of his catalogues.⁷⁷ Another notice, probably not by the same hand, names a Willy Gärtner of Kaiser-Friedrich-Straße 12/II I, Berlin-Schöneberg as owner. According to its accession register, the Staatsbibliothek acquired the manuscript on 17 April 1934 from a Nikolaus Rethig, Gothaerstraße 7, Berlin-Schöneberg, for 30 Goldmark (accession no. 1934.11).

⁷⁶ As S is written on the same paper as the second half of B, one could speculate whether that half was written first, then S, finally the first half of B with the index. Another fact suggesting a greater age of S is that on S40v the text (by the first scribe) received a marginal comment from the second scribe, which in B41r was executed, like the main text, by the first scribe.

⁷⁷ Of the perhaps only complete set (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Nv 2598), volumes 752–855, for the time between late 1890 and early 1892, were browsed through. As they are rarely more than quickly compiled lists of superficial entries this manuscript may well have been described unrecognizably, but since these catalogues normally give no provenance, a reference in them would not have been overly helpful.

Date:

The first tract is dated to 1576, so the manuscript cannot predate this year, a (maybe secondary) entry on T175v refers to a letter received in June 1595. Paper and writing point to the late 16th or early 17th century.

Dimensions:

cover and pages: 32.5 × 20.5 cm

T132: 45 × 31 cm

written space:

T1r–42v: 24.5 × 13.5–14.5 cm

T50r–65r: 28.5–30 × 14.5–15 cm

T66r–72r: 25.5–26 × 10 cm

T77r–169r: ca. 26.5–29 × 16–17 cm

T178r–83r: 22.8 × 15.4–15.8 cm

State:

Badly worn, especially at the upper margin. Humidity made the ink often go over to the verso or the opposite page, the upper corner became brown and may have been moldy, here also yellowing leading to decay of paper. A brown paint used at some pages dissolved parts of the paper.

Binding:

Damaged green cardboard binding, in imitation of gothic bindings decorated with crossing diagonals. Today, the manuscript is kept in a cardboard box, labeled “Ms. Germ. | Quart. 1957”.

Later entries:

On the inside cover a notice (late 19th-century?) stating that the manuscript contains 183 folia. Below it an entry about its acquisition in 1891 and the name and address of Willy Gärtner (v.s.). At the left-hand side the current Berlin shelf mark, and at the bottom in blue the number “444” – probably a lot number.

T1r has the accession number, shelf mark, the date “1576” (repeating the date given in the text), twice a stamp of Willy Gärtner and at the bottom a stamp of the Staatsbibliothek. This stamp is repeated several times in the manuscript (T60v, T126v, T131v, T175r, T173v), Gärtner’s appears once more, on T16v. Several notes with pencil indicate that this manuscript had been compared with B.⁷⁸

Collation:

$$(XII-1)^{23*} + XIII^{49} + II^{53} + I^{54} + I^{55} + (II-1)^{58†} + 3 \times I^{64} + I^{65‡} + V^{75} + 4 \times VI^{123} + IV^{131} + I^{132}§ + 2 \times VI^{156} + (VIII + II)^{176**} + (IV-1)^{183††}.$$

⁷⁸ T87r, T133r, T135r, T138v, T139r, T169r. These entries were probably made before 1934 – otherwise the manuscript would have been compared with S, which in this passages has the same text as B, and which would have been available in the same library. There is no terminus post quem but the writing seems to point to the 20th or perhaps the late 19th century. Unfortunately, the Bamberg Staatsbibliothek has no records about who consulted manuscript B before 1950. Therefore it is impossible to say which scholar worked on this otherwise totally unknown manuscript.

* Probably, the counterpart of T23 was glued to the cover – otherwise it would be XI²² + I²³. A stub after T23 is probably a part of the cardboard binding.

† T56 is glued to a stub affixed at T58v.

‡ T65 is glued to T64.

§ T132 is a large, fold-out sheet.

** The Binio T171–74 is inserted after T170.

†† The counterpart of T177 is probably glued to the back cover, otherwise it would be I¹⁷⁷ + III¹⁸³. A stub before T177 is probably a part of the cardboard binding.

Paper:

In the first half of the manuscript (up to T74) the most common watermark shows a shield decorated with three flames or curved tusks and in chief the text “RVKVD” (the first and last letters doubtful). A number of different watermarks showing shields similar to this are recorded in letters sent from Silesia and Lusatia in the early 17th century.⁷⁹ In the chaotic section between T50 and T65, some other heraldic watermarks appear. T50 and T52 have the lesser arms of Saxony surmounted by a crown, T62 a similar design that may come from the counterpart sieve in the same workshop. Another version of this coat of arms, albeit in a plainer escutcheon, is possibly on T63. No parallel is found in Briquet, where in similar watermarks a name, not a crown, is placed above the shield (Briquet, no. 1,202–5). A grander version of the arms – impaling Saxony with the arms of the Imperial High Marshal and above it an unidentifiable structure (probably a crown) with the text “DRESDEN” – is close to yet more symmetrical than Briquet, no. 1,417, used in Dresden in the last years of the 16th century (Briquet 1:115). T59 shows a crowned letter W, it is similar to but plainer than Briquet, nos. 9,158–63, which were used in Breslau (Latin “Wratislavia”) in the 15th and 16th centuries (Briquet 2:486).

Most common in the second half of the manuscript is a round watermark, which has in the center an escutcheon showing crenellation. It is similar, but not identical, to Briquet, no. 2,035, from Bautzen, between Saxony and Silesia, around 1590 – according to *ibid.*, 149, paper from this town was wide-spread over Northern Germany. T150 has, however, a round watermark with a cock, similar to Briquet, no. 1,171. It refers to Frankfurt an der Oder and was used in the late 16th century (Briquet 1:97). The last quire has as watermark a wheel consisting of three circles and eight spokes crossing all of them, it has no close parallel in Briquet.

This great variety of watermarks suggests that the manuscript originated in the late 16th or early 17th century in Eastern Saxony or Lower Silesia. Collation and watermarks betray the heterogeneity of this manuscript. Tracts ε (Weigel) and η (Philosophy) are written on one type of paper, albeit not by the same scribe. Numerous shorter notices on Lautensack were executed on single leaves or

⁷⁹ *The Nostitz Papers: Notes on Watermarks found in the German Imperial Archives of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1956), 55 nos. 241–51, tracings on tab. 54. The author tentatively links these designs with the family von Kinsky. No. 241 may be most similar to the watermark in the manuscript, which is, however, probably slightly older and has different measurements.

bifolia, probably at different times, and then bound between the two mentioned passages (tract ζ, T50r–62r). The copy of the ‘core’ (tracts 12, 15, 24–26) forms a unit, as it does in BS. At its end, some leaves of the same paper (T171–74) are inserted, which contain another version of some diagrams, but executed by a different scribe (and probably also a different draughtsman).

Ink:

T1r–42v: Dark brown ink

T50r–72r: Dark brown ink. On most pages, key words and initials, as well as many lines and labels in drawings, are written in red ink, but in some quires or isolated leaves everything is in black (T56, T59–60, T63–65). Red underlining is used on some pages in both groups (T51r, 61r–v, 64r–v). T66–72 is written in a rather brownish ink, again with key-words and headings in red.

T77r–182v: Dark brown ink, for underlining red is used frequently, green only on one page (T89r). On T127v–28r (15) some words written in red. The text ink is also used for the amateurish drawings. As usual, the four rainbow colors dominate – here the yellow is rendered as a dirty brown, the blue is greyish, the red relatively dark, the green olive green. Especially in tract 26 these colors also feature as background for texts. Mary is shown in the familiar blue and red with wings often in the same (but occasionally more, e.g. T149v) colors, John in green and red (e.g. T115r/T119r). Frequently, Christ received no coloring at all (e.g. T77r). The folded leaf T132 is executed in a much higher quality, with a pale ochre for yellow.

From T133 onward the coloring changes: a bright red is used for some backgrounds (e.g. T133v) but not normally as one of the rainbow colors, green can be replaced by a dark brown (e.g. T147v), and occasionally incarnadine appears (e.g. T149v). Occasionally, faces are washed with red (e.g. Christ on T133v or the Cherubim on T134r). Christ can now be clothed in blue (T133v) or reddish brown (T134r).

In the drawings of T171v, 172v–73r, 174r blue is missing, and yellow and red are rendered in similar pale browns. On T172r, Mary is shown in blue, on T173r Christ in purple, all colors on these pages are pale.

Altogether, the predomination of dirty brownish hues, which are even used for stars and halos, makes the manuscript visually less attractive than B, S and V. Some of the colors have an unusual, lacquer-like quality, and not rarely they have begun to dissolve the paper.

Hands:

T1r–44v are written in a clear, regular German cursive with normally 27–29 lines per page. The numerous headings are executed in slightly larger and more formal shapes.

T50r–65r are quite heterogeneous – some are written with large, formal letters (e.g. T50r), others in a smaller, more cursive way, parts are in Latin and parts in German (e.g. T51v). However, some mannerisms such as large and loopy first letters of paragraphs and elaborate *st*-ligatures show that these pages were written by one person, probably over a longer period of time.⁸⁰ T66r–72r, containing a

⁸⁰ The longer notice on T175v is similar but probably not by the same person.

Latin text, are written in a rounded, mannered hand with long curved *d*-ascenders and ca. 41–49 lines per page. Although the same paper is used as before, this is hardly the Latin version of the first hand, which shows different characteristics and is considerably larger.

On T77r–169r a small curved cursive is used, with ca. 43–63 lines per page. T171r–74r show a relatively formal, old-fashioned hand.

T178r–83r are executed in a dynamic yet clear German cursive, with 23–24 lines per page.

Marginalia:

T1r–42r and T50r–65r have some marginal numbering and – chiefly Latin – keywords, probably by the text-scribe. From T77r onward there are rich marginal additions. Besides the usual “NB” signs and some other entries that were copied by the text scribe there is a string of short Latin commentaries to the explanatory parts of the text, which become very rare after T144r. They were executed with a finer quill and darker ink and are therefore not made together with the text (occasionally, the same scribe also made comments beneath the text, e.g. T89r). On the otherwise empty T175v are longer entries by two different hands (\times , the second is written by the scribe of the Latin commentaries); besides this, the latter part of the manuscripts shows no additions.

Contents:

T1r–42v: ϵ	T132r–v: \oint
T43r–49v: empty	T133r–34v: 24
T50r–65r: ζ	T135r–38r: 25
T65v: empty	T138v–69r: 26
T66r–72r: η	T169v–70v: empty
T72v–75v: empty	T171r–v / upper halves of T172v–
T76r: Heading “Liber theologicus mysticus”	73r / 174r: excerpts from 12
T76v: empty	T172v–73r (lower halves) / T173v: ι
T77r–126v: 12	T174v–75r: empty
T127r: empty	T175v: \times
T127v–28r: 15	T176r–77v: empty
T128v–31v: empty	T178r–83v: λ

9. *Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, theol. 1,231 (missing) (H)*

Bibliography:

Thesaurus | Librorum | Manuscriptorum, | quos summe Reverendus | Dn. | Joach. Morgenweg | Pastor, dum viveret, Hambur|gensis | magno studio, labore & sumptu collegit (N.p., n.d.), bound together with *Catalogus | Bibliothecae | B. Dni | Joach. Morgenweg* (Hamburgi: Stromer, 1730), 15 no. 192 (short catalogue entry); “Handschriftenarchiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Hamburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Theol. 1231,” described by Emil Henrici, 1912–14 (manuscript, 4 leaves, available on the Academy’s website, brief codicological description and overview over the contents); Emil Henrici, *Sprachmischung in älteren Schriften Deutschlands*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Klönne, 1914), 160

(quotation from H204); Peter Jörg Becker, *Die theologischen Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg*, vol. 1, *Die Foliohandschriften* (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1975), 175 (modern catalogue description, repeating Henrici's comments). As the manuscript could not be examined, all information is taken from Henrici.

Provenance:

In the early 18th century in the collection of the Hamburg minister Joachim Morgenweg (*Thesaurus Librorum Manuscriptorum*, 15 no. 192). Later owned by the brothers Johann Christoph (1683–1739, Hebraist and Church Historian) and Johann Christian Wolf (1689–1770, Classicist and Historian of Typography), who gave their collections to the Hamburg civic library.⁸¹

Dimensions:

33 × 22 cm. This is the only measurement Henrici gives, it probably indicates the size of the cover. Accordingly, the manuscript was as wide, but not as high, as B and S.

State:

By 1914 damaged by fungus, title and first page nearly lost. Missing since World War II – it could have been burnt or may still be kept somewhere within the former Soviet Union.

Binding:

18th-century cardboard binding.

Collation:

Not recorded, II + 216 pages.

Paper:

pp. I–206: Coat of arms, divided per fess, in chief a cock's head “erased” (as if torn off) facing sinister, in base the paly-bendy Bavarian arms, cf. Briquet, nos. 2,231–39. According to Briquet 1:65, many similar watermarks appeared in large parts of Germany, from Bavaria to Posen, but principally in the North and East, ca. 1535–1615, chiefly in the second half of the 16th century.⁸² However, the arms in the watermark are those of Schrobenhausen, a market town in Bavaria, and thus the paper should originate from the South. Therefore the information on the watermark does not permit dating or locating the manuscript with greater precision – it could have been Lautensack's lost autograph of the ‘core’ that was copied in manuscripts B, S, T, V and W, or, like them, a copy made around 1600 in Silesia.⁸³

⁸¹ A short notice on them in Brigitte Lohse, *Die historischen Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Cod. Hist. 1–100* (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1968), VI.

⁸² Becker, *Die theologischen Handschriften*, 175, only refers to Briquet, nos. 2,231–33 (used 1531–61), but there is no obvious reason for excluding all the other, very similar, forms.

⁸³ Henrici, *Sprachmischung*, 160, suggests a date around 1530, probably because the mentioned apparitions took place in this time. Thus that information is of limited value for

pp. 207–14: Another, non-identifiable, watermark.⁸⁴

Ink:

No information.

The manuscript had tinted drawings. As Henrici praises their quality, they might not have been made by amateurs, like those in BSW, but by a trained artist, perhaps Lautensack himself – although the content of the last pages speaks against that (v.i.)

Hands:

No information. Henrici places the manuscript within the 16th century, so the writing was probably not yet Baroque.

Marginalia:

No information.

Contents:

According to Henrici the badly damaged title-page most likely read “A & Ω” – this would have been an uncommon feature.

The scarce information on the main section of the manuscript only permits us to know that pp. 123, 127 and 133 had features in common with B62r/S62r (which would be p. 123, if BS were paginated), B64r/S64r (would be p. 127) and B67r/S67r (would be p. 133) respectively. The few incipits and explicits given for this section are the same as in BS. In contrast, a heading recorded for H131 does not feature in the parallel B66r.

The main text ended apparently before H207, thus at the latest on H206 (= fol. 103v). In BS the main text ends on fol. 102r, and an additional section (in S in a different hand) follows, ending at B104v and S105r respectively. A short quotation from H204 (= fol. 102v)⁸⁵ combines Latin and German phrases and is therefore hardly by Lautensack who apparently did not know Latin.⁸⁶ Therefore, Lautensack's text probably ended around H203, and the final section of BS was here replaced with a text by another author.

The content of the last pages H207–14 is unclear. According to Henrici they were on different paper, albeit probably by the same scribe, and contained comments on the importance of the book. This phrase suggests that they were not composed by Lautensack but by a later author, and if they are in the same hand as the bulk of the manuscript it could not have been Lautensack's lost autograph.

establishing the actual date of the manuscript. The content of the last pages rather suggests a later copy (v.i.).

⁸⁴ Henrici's description in the “Handschriftenarchiv” does not give information on the paper of p. 215–16.

⁸⁵ Henrici, *Sprachmischung*, 160.

⁸⁶ He certainly could have just copied it like the chronographs in N (cf. p. 11 n. 3 and p. 49), but this is less plausible. Unfortunately, Henrici does not go into detail about the position of this quotation, so it could also have been merely a marginal addition.

As far as can be determined, H not only contained a text very similar to B and S but also distributed the text in virtually the same way over the pages, only the last pages differed from these manuscripts. Therefore, it probably contained the following tracts: 12, 15, 24, 25, 26 and μ .

10. *London, The Warburg Institute, FHH 198 (W)*

Bibliography:

Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 4:673a; Massing, "Bibliotheca Dissidentium," 76 (both short references). The manuscript is fully digitized and available via the catalogue of the Warburg Institute Library.

Reproduced here:

26:W80v (Fig. 62), W91v (Fig. 7)

Provenance:

Owing to the materials used for the binding (v.i.) this manuscript was probably kept near Brunswick at some point after 1723; at an unknown time, possibly after 1913, it was acquired by the bookseller Joseph & Co in Frankfurt / Main;⁸⁷ on 11 June 1917 bought by Aby Warburg for his library,⁸⁸ with which it came to London.

Dimensions:

cover: 21 × 34 cm

pages: W1–22, 25–51, 75–108: 20.8 × 33 cm

W23–24, 52–74, 109–18: 20 × 33 cm

written space: W1–22, 25–51, 75–108: ca. 18–18.8 × 27.5–28.5 cm

W23–24, 52–74, 109–18: 16–17 × 25.5–27 cm

State:

The binding is relatively loose, some pages are glued together, the very thin paper is partially worn at the margins. Several leaves are lost, and others are bound together in a random way (cf. Collation). It can be assumed that the manuscript, when acquired by a dealer in the 18th or 19th century, was in a ruinous state, and the dealer 'restored' it by removing the damaged leaves and placing the others together in a somewhat random order.

Binding:

The flyleaves are reused copies of a decree of August Wilhelm, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, dated 25 November 1723, and provide a terminus post quem for the new binding. As scrap paper was scarcely transported over long distances, the

⁸⁷ The manuscript does not occur in *Freimaurerei – Illuminaten – Rosenkreuzer – Tempelherren – Vehmgerichte: mit einem Anhang Emblemata*, Katalog 609 von Joseph Baer & Co. (Frankfurt am Main: n.p., 1913), where it would probably have been included, had it been for sale by then. It could not be found either in the somewhat confusing volumes of Baer's journal, the *Frankfurter Bücherfreund*, which appeared from 1900 to 1920 (nos. 1–20).

⁸⁸ Warburg Institute, Archives, Accession Register 1905–18, no. 17/452; the price was 225 Mk.

manuscript was probably bound in that part of the country. Three fragments of a liturgical manuscript⁸⁹ were glued to the front cover. Their very stiff Textura and the (tame) fleuronée may point to the 14th century, the horseshoe-like notation of the music to Germany. They were probably added to make the manuscript more attractive for buyers. They are framed with marbled paper – in green and brown and not the more common reddish tones – which also decorates the back cover.

Later entries:

On the inside of the front cover Aby Warburg's *ex libris* and a remark on the number of folia, on 1r the accession number, on 2r the shelf mark, on the inside of the back cover a note with pencil, like "Jm".

Collation:

As the paper is thin and damaged at the margins, especially at the bottom of pages close to the spine, it is difficult to determine the collation.

$$VI^{12} + (VII-1-1+I)^{26*} + (VII-1)^{39}\dagger + (VI-I+I)^{51}\ddagger + (?)^{54}\S + VI^{66} + (VII-I-II)^{74**} + (VI-II-4+2)^{80}\dagger\dagger + (VI-I+1)^{91}\ddagger\ddagger + (VII-1)^{104}\S\S + II^{108} + V^{118}.$$

* It is not certain if the outermost leaves belong to this gathering, but this is the most straightforward solution. Between W16 and W17 a missing leaf (whose counterpart is W21); also the counterpart of W15 (after W22) is cut out, and a double leaf (W23/24) is affixed to the stub. Apparently no text was lost in these manipulations, which therefore must have happened during the writing process.

† The counterpart of W30, between W36 and W37, is missing; no text is lost.

‡ The innermost double leaf of the quire (between W44 and W45) is missing, resulting in loss of text (equivalent to B53r–54v), the double leaf W48/49 is inserted into this gathering.

§ The three leaves W52–54 are today glued together; nothing about their original context can be said. If the structure of tract 37 was in W as it is now in U, then W53/54 probably formed a double leaf and were originally inserted in the middle of a gathering, after W70 (v.i.).

** Lacunae in tract 23b suggest that one leaf is missing before W67, the first leaf of the gathering, and probably two leaves after it – as this version of the text is not preserved elsewhere, the length of the missing passages cannot be established. Their counterparts must therefore also be missing, and these were probably two leaves after W73 – the first of them must have shown the other half of the Heavenly Jerusalem from W73v. The counterpart to the single missing leaf would have appeared after W74. However, it is also possible that this leaf belonged to the preceding gathering, and in this case its counterpart would have been placed before W55, and the collation should read (VII-I)⁶⁶ + (VII-II)⁷⁴. Furthermore, if W reflected the arrangement of U, W53/54

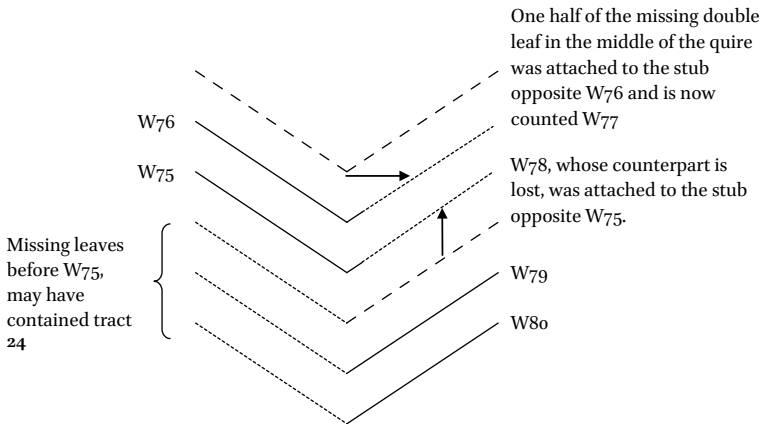
⁸⁹ As the letter *R* ("Responsum") appears several times in a rubric this manuscript might have been an antiphonary (which also contains the Responses of Matins) rather than a Gradual.

must have been inserted in the center of this gathering, after W70. Then, W55r would be the only diagram of the series preceding the text beginning on W56. One could therefore speculate that it and its counterpart (W66) originally belonged to the next gathering and were bound in the wrong way, their correct place should have been after W74 – however, the then empty recto would be hard to explain.

†† This gathering is in a bad state (see drawing below). It seems that W76 was part of a double leaf, but its other half was cut off; instead, W77 was glued to the stub of it. As the stub shows a diagram of the sun it is most plausible that a page with a diagram on it was cut off, and that accordingly some text is lost. Because W is arranged here a bit differently from BSV, it is impossible to state what exactly was cut out.⁹⁰ Also W78 is affixed to a stub, and here parts of the text had to be reconstructed (which was done resembling the original hand closely), and thus this stub was probably inserted during a restoration – unless it belongs to W75 (The watermarks show that W75 and W78 could not have constituted one double-leaf). W79 and W80 are today isolated; they cannot form a double leaf. They could have been connected with two leaves before W75, which might have contained tract 24. What the third hypothetic leaf before W75 contained is unclear (see also p. 335, **).

‡‡ Losses of text between W85v/86r and W87v/88r indicate that a double leaf is missing here. One half of it, now counted as W81, survives and was erroneously glued onto W82.

§§ A leaf between W92 and W93 is missing, but apparently without loss of text.



(Solid lines denote leaves that are still in place, broken lines leaves that have been moved, dotted lines lost leaves.)

⁹⁰ Missing is probably the poem, which faces the coat of arms in BS. However, the image, which is in those manuscripts at the verso of the poem, appears here only on W78r,

Paper:

Altogether five watermarks appear in this manuscript:

Most of the 'core' sections (W1–51, W75–108, cf. p. 272) are written on paper marked with an eight-spoked wheel. It is similar, yet not identical, to Briquet, no. 13,234, examples of which are documented from 1584 to 1598 between Lower Silesia (Görlitz) and Lübeck (Briquet 2:657). A similar watermark appears in Sb, which is, however, by a different scribe, cf. pp. 379–80.

W1 has another circular watermark, containing the name of Grünberg in Lower Silesia. The very similar Briquet, no. 2,308, was found in a document from 1603 (Briquet 1:172).

Some pages in the same sections (W48, 97, 103) have a crowned escutcheon charged with the letters "CB". A similar design (although without the crown), thus probably from the same paper mill, appeared in Frankfurt / Oder in 1586 (Briquet 2:493, no. 9,316).

W77 shows a circle with a large Z, which is close, but not identical, to no. 30,632 in the digitalized section of Piccard's archive.⁹¹ Briquet 2:489 suggests that the Z in a group of similar watermarks referred to Zittau in Bohemia (later in Saxony).

In the other sections (W52–74, 109–117, also in W24, v.i.), the watermark shows an escutcheon charged at the middle base with what appears two antlers in saltire, a name above it seems to start with "KOB". No exact parallels could be found, but shields with single antlers occurred around Görlitz during the 16th century.⁹²

Altogether, the paper – as far as identifiable – suggests that the manuscript was produced in the last years of the 16th century in Lower Silesia. Probably W1–51 and 75–108 on the one hand and W52–74 and 109–117 on the other hand were written in two distinct campaigns. Although it continues the text and is written by the same scribe, W23/24 has a slightly different layout and was thus probably added later, replacing a single leaf. Perhaps the copyist had originally left out a passage of text and then replaced the leaf with the gap with a complete version of the text on a double-leaf.

Ink:

The text is written in brown ink, some marginal comments are in the colors used for the drawings (W9v/10r, W28v), which are also employed for some underlining (W14r). The drawings for the figures are executed in ink in an amateurish way, with very little hatching. Unlike BS, there is no modeling with white.⁹³ Probably they were executed by the scribe of the text.

and the texts on the page inserted now as W77r–v appear in those manuscripts only after the diagram. They could not have been at a similar place in W, where the next tract is already beginning on W78v.

⁹¹ <http://www.piccard-online.de/start.php>.

⁹² Briquet, nos. 4,523–26, cf. Briquet 1:274–75. Some similar watermarks (Briquet, nos. 4,527–28) also seem to come from Northern Germany.

⁹³ In the last column of W32r the scribe became weary of painting twelve times the face of Christ, replacing it by two reddish lines.

As regards the use of colors, the two parts of the manuscript are treated differently.

In the 'core' sections (W1–51, W75–108), the same 'rainbow' colors are chosen as in manuscripts B and S (v.s.). The effect is, however, different because the colors are only applied as washes – especially the red and the blue appear in a paler and a more intensive quality (e.g. W28v). Unlike B and S, there are hardly any additional colors.⁹⁴ In contrast to these manuscripts the colored washes were hardly ever applied on wet ink so that the overall impression is tidier (an exception is a part of W47r, where the text was corrected when the wash was applied. This emendation is made in a Fraktur-like style different from the normally used round cursive so that one could speculate that the coloring was done by a person different from the main scribe). Some images of celestial bodies retain the dirty brownish 'yellow' familiar from B and S.⁹⁵ As in these manuscripts, wings are painted in several colors, yet their arrangement is not the same. Like B and S this manuscript features a bluish green and a greyish blue; it is not clear if these were made with pigments that were easily available for laymen at this time, or if this was a choice reflecting the color-scheme of the exemplar.⁹⁶

The other parts of the manuscripts (W52–74, W109–117) do not have many colored pages. On W54v, W73v and W109r darker hues are used, partially applied on top of still wet ink; here blue is replaced by purple and the order of the rainbow is incorrect. The celestial bodies are shown in the usual dirty yellowish; on W109r the image of Rev. 1 has a brown beard and a dark purple cloak. Probably these pages were illustrated at another time, with new pigments at hand.

Hands:

Two different hands:

The first scribe worked from W1r to the second third of W6r. He starts with an elegant German cursive, which has still vertical *hastae* apart from the strong diagonal *ss*. On W3r, the first text page, it degrades after the first lines into a narrow, 'scratchy,' quite abbreviated cursive. Some insertions and underlining make the pages even less clear. He has ca. 55 lines per page.

His writing is replaced in the middle of a sentence by a more regular cursive, with most letters leaning to the right. Characteristic are the Latin *ds*, whose *hasta* is curved far towards the left. Corrections are rare. Perhaps the first pages were written by a scholar interested in Lautensack, who soon grew weary of the task of copying and passed it on to a skilled clerk. Now there are about 50 lines per page. On W23r–24r the writing becomes wider, the *ds* even more mannered. As also the written space is different these pages were probably supplied by the same scribe later (v.s.). This fits with the fact that this double leaf is a secondary addition, but

⁹⁴ Several times the figure of Christ, dressed in a dark red in BS, is left uncolored (e.g. W44r, cf. B/S52r), though incarnadine appears on W18v, and the flesh on W89v/93v is given in light blue.

⁹⁵ E.g. W9v–10r; surprisingly these hues also dominate on W96v.

⁹⁶ Another hint at a close relation between W and BS are the incorrect colors of the rainbow in W88r – this could be connected with something like B80v/S80v (but not V74r), where one color was left out.

the writing on the verso is surprisingly similar to the following recto. The inserted leaves W52–74 were written by the same person. On W74r is the signature of “Abraham Meffert.” This does, however, not mean that he had to be the scribe of the text; his signature could also have been copied from another manuscript.⁹⁷ On W39r a drawing and a notice were added, on W47r and W80v (Fig. 62) mistakes in the diagram were corrected on paper slips glued onto them, probably by the main scribe but at a later date.

Marginalia:

Most marginal notes may have been added by the original scribes. References to Luther and the Calvinists on the margin of W3r–4v could have been added by two different readers. In some sections, chiefly in the first half of the manuscript, hands and “NB” ligatures, probably drawn by up to five different persons, highlight core sections. On W79r a reference to Melanchthon is underlined in pencil and marked in the margin.

Contents:

W1r: v	W69v–73v: 37, second part
W1v: empty	W74r: o
W2r–50r: 12	W74v: empty
W50v–51r: 15	W75r–78r: 25
W51v: empty	W78v–108r: 26
W52r–v: ξ	W108v: π
W53r–55r: 37, first part	W109r: ρ
W55v: empty	W109v–18v: 30b
W56r–69r: 23b	

11. *Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 23 B n (1) and 23 B n (2) (U and V)*

Bibliography:

Unpublished. I am very grateful to Dr. Carlos Gilly, Basel, for informing me about the existence of this manuscript.

Reproduced here:

U: 17:U104v (Fig. 70), U124v (Fig. 14), U125r (Fig. 12), U128v (Fig. 13), 34:U153r (Fig. 88), U154v (Fig. 80)
V: 24:V34r (Fig. 77), 26:V113r (Fig. 83), 12:V171r (Fig. 65)

Provenance:

Dr. Marita von Cieminski, head of special collections, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Halle, kindly informed me that the entries “Ff. 19¹ f” and “Ff. 19² f” respectively are shelf marks of the Schloßbibliothek in Köthen (Anhalt). It is tempting to link UV with one of the Lautensack manuscripts mentioned in the correspondence of Prince August of Anhalt (cf. p. 387). However, documents

⁹⁷ Also in B149r the signatures of Luther and Melanchthon are copied by the scribe, so a signature does not necessarily indicate an autograph.

on the history of this library are scarce and only begin with the early 18th century.⁹⁸ A superficial list from the early 19th century contains a large number of theological books but also some hundred volumes on alchemy, magic and related disciplines.⁹⁹ The large number of the latter may suggest that books from Prince August did indeed survive in the library, but nothing can be proven. It seems that the first *F* in the shelf mark denotes that the manuscript was placed in the theology section, the second the folio size.¹⁰⁰ The entry “L121” shows that these volumes were transported from Köthen to Halle in 1950.

Date:

On UIIr dated to 1611. Some tracts contain earlier dates – they can have been copied with the text, but it is also plausible that the large collection of divers Lautensack tracts in this manuscript was compiled over a longer period of time (for details see Hands).

Dimensions:

cover: 32 × 22 cm

pages: 30.8 × 20.3 cm

written space: irregular 25.4–26.7 × 13.4–15.2 cm

State:

The lower margin is damaged by dampness, especially on the first pages of V.

Binding:

Both volumes bound in brown leather decorated with dies. They have at the center of the fronts an Annunciation with the text “AVA * MARIA * GRATCIA,” at the backs a Nativity with “DIE GEBVRT IESVS,” both 67 × 37 mm. As of summer 2008, none of these images was identified in the German *Einbanddatenbank*. Although the design resembles covers from the Reformation period, some of the dies have 17th-century ornaments. Furthermore, the binding shows no signs of being reused so that it was probably made for this manuscript in the early 17th century.

Later entries:

U: On the inside cover the shelf mark “Ff. 19¹” in a 19th-century hand, crossed out, beneath, in a 20th-century hand, “L121” (cf. Provenance). On UIr “Ff. 19¹ | f.”, also written in the 19th century and crossed out. On UIIv, U298v and U305v a modern stamp of the library,¹⁰¹ on the inside of the back cover the modern shelf mark appears twice.

⁹⁸ Franz Heimann, “Zur Geschichte der Bibliotheken in Anhalt,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Anhaltische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 5 (1890): 631; Edmund Blume, “Die Herzogliche Bibliothek in Köthen,” *Das Archiv: Bibliographische Wochenschrift* 2, no. 24 (1889): 242; Waltraut Guth, *Bibliotheksgeschichte des Landes Sachsen-Anhalt* (Halle (Saale): Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 2004), 78–79.

⁹⁹ Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Halle, MsA 171, no. 1,1.

¹⁰⁰ Dr. von Cieminski informed me that a Baroque collection of sermons (now MsA 52) has the old shelf mark “Fd. 27 f.”, Weigel, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 4:X1, refers to a manuscript of texts on prayer, which had the shelf mark “Fd 26 f.”

¹⁰¹ This stamp uses the name *Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek* that was introduced in 1948.

V: On the inside cover the shelf marks "Ff. 19² f" (crossed out) and "L121", on VIr the modern shelf mark, on VIIr again "Ff. 19² | f", crossed out. On V3v, V11r, V50v, V100v, V284v the modern stamp, on V296r the modern shelf mark twice, both times in 20th-century hands.

Collation:

U:

$$(V-1)^{7*} + 15 \times VI^{187} + (VI-1)^{198\dagger} + VI^{210} + (VI+1)^{222\dagger} + 4 \times VI^{270} + I^{271} + I^{272}\S + VI^{284} + V^{294} + (VI-1)^{305**}.$$

* The very first leaf is missing, the following two are counted as I and II.

† The last leaf of the gathering was cut out during the writing process; no text is missing.

‡ After U221 a loose, non-foliated leaf is inserted.

§ This and the preceding leaf could form one double leaf, but rather seem to be independent of each other.

** The counterpart of U295 is missing. It is probable but not certain that U295 was the first leaf of this quire, in this case the last leaf of the manuscript would be cut out. Alternatively, U295 could come from the preceding quire, in which case a leaf before U285 would be missing – something easily possible in that chaotic part of the manuscript.

V:

$$I^{II} + (VI+1)^{11*} + 4 \times VI^{59} + VII^{73} + 3 \times VI^{109} + 2 \times VII^{137} + 3 \times VI^{173} + VII^{187} + VI^{199} + VI^{212}\dagger + 3 \times VI^{248} + V^{258} + VII^{272} + VI^{284} + VI^{296}\ddagger.$$

* The first leaf of the gathering is counted IV; leaf III is glued to it, the following leaf is then counted as fol. 1.

† The foliation jumps from V201 to V203, but the structure of the quire seems to be regular.

‡ V296 is glued to the back cover.

On both title-pages (UIIr, VIIIr) a sheet is glued on the lower half, containing a new version of the concluding words of the title.

Paper:

Inexpensive paper, its watermark shows the arms of the County of Brieg in Lower Silesia (quartered, 1, 4 chequy, 2, 3 eagle), as in Briquet, nos. 957–60 (between 1566 and 1580, found in Prague, Ohlau and Wschoven, Briquet 1:74) but with a more stylized coronet than those examples. The arms of Brieg also appear in a tract referring to Lautensack in its heading (Hx, cf. p. 385).

Ink:

Although the whole manuscript is written on the same paper, it is a collection of several tracts by Lautensack, rendered in technically different ways, either reflecting the models or different stages of copying.

Unless otherwise stated, texts and drawings are executed in various shades of brown ink. Borders and crosses at the bottom of the text (v.i.) in red ink.

U1r–27v: Also parts of diagrams, headings and marginal comments in red – probably this ink was used to add comments and supply forgotten elements (this becomes clearer on pages like U112v). Occasionally black ink is used (e.g. U13r, U21v–23r).

U44r–91v: Again red ink occasionally used for headings and diagrams. On U78r an uncompleted image, partially sketched with pencil. On U83r the end of a diagram – the words are not yet filled in, but the grid-lines and the images (according to Latin instructions below) are already finished.

U93r–97r: On 93r a sketchy diagram, crossed out with pencil.

U104r–56v: Red again used for parts of diagrams, sometimes more frequently than before, resulting in two-colored diagrams (e.g. U125v). Towards the end some words within the text are also written in red (e.g. U155r). On 104r–v blue watercolor is used. As in the diagrams on some following pages (U105r, U116r) parts are left sketched in pencil – they were probably supposed to receive similar treatment. On U106v, an instruction for drawings, probably in a different hand.

U164r–72v: As on the pages before; sometimes (e.g. U168r) also parts of the figures are drawn in red.

U176r–272r: Borders in brown, no diagrams. The image on a sheet inserted after U221 shows a brown drawing with golden hatchings, the clothes are either uncolored or rendered in blue.

U273v–98v: Red appears frequently in texts and diagrams.

V11r–v: Red ink used for some letters.

V12v–30v: Red ink frequently used for words in the text, headings and annotations.

V31v–119v: This part, parallel to B62r–102r, is again dominated by the four colors of Lautensack's rainbow; similar to BS are a quite dirty yellow and a light bluish green, but the blue is not greyish, the red goes towards purple rather than brown. As in those manuscripts some more colors appear in the images.¹⁰² In contrast to them V does not restrict the colors in the diagrams to the four colors of the rainbow with their special significance; these colors have in some cases a decorative role and can thus be combined with others.¹⁰³ Christ characteristically appears in a white raiment with bluish shadows (e.g. V33v), Mary in a blue robe with red lining and multicolored wings (V34r, Fig. 77). Some words and annotations within the text are written in red – a feature that is very rare in B and S.

V124v–206v: As on V31v–119v, the colors of Lautensack's rainbow are used here. On V124v Christ in blue, otherwise dressed as before, St John in green (V155v) or yellow (V195v), with a red cloak. Alongside red, green is used for underlining and, rarely, also for marginal comments (e.g. V157r).

¹⁰² Most notably are a light yellow (V96r), a light green (V74r) and a bright red (V70r). On V31v the suns are shown in different tones from yellow over orange to brown, the clouds dramatic, with reddish, greenish and brownish tones. Some stars appear in gold (V33v), otherwise they and the Mercy Seat are rendered in yellowish and brownish hues.

¹⁰³ The rings with the *Ao*-letters in V124v–25r are not just painted in one of the four colors but combine several of them. Sometimes also other colors like purple (V40v) and olive green (V63r) frame diagrams.

V207r–8v: Underlining in red, on V207r symbols of the celestial bodies in the colors of the rainbow.

V209r–58v: Red and green ink used for underlining and some words in the text.

On V250v some hatching on the limbs of Christ in pencil, remainders of an underdrawing on V252r, which suggested blood flowing from Christ's left hand.

On V251r again instruction for the painter, in a different ink. Gold sometimes used for celestial bodies (e.g. V258r).

V259v–84r: As above, much of the text written in red and green ink; once (V260v) also in yellow ink.

Like manuscript L, some sections of manuscript V have texts in colored ink, but here the coloring does not follow the system of Lautensack's 'rainbow.' It was probably introduced by a copyist to make the diagrams more legible but was not applied systematically so that the rationale for writing certain passages in red or green is unclear.

Hands:

Most of the manuscript is executed in a cursive based on the German Fraktur, with Fraktur-like letters used for headings, highlighted words and some entries in diagrams. The quality varies between a stiff, clear writing (e.g. V154r), chiefly within diagrams or wherever there was not much space, a slightly larger, still relatively stiff style with few larger capitals (e.g. V245r), and a large, rather cursive, writing with strong diagonals and extended loops that sometimes take the space of several letters (e.g. U9r). Accordingly, the number of lines per page oscillates widely, from about 25 to 40. Sometimes his style can become undisciplined and 'scratchy,' e.g. U206r. As passages with different characteristics are sometimes closely combined (e.g. V155v/156r), probably all these texts were written by the same person (Hand I), who used a florid cursive when he had space but restrained himself where necessary.

A second hand (Hand II) lacks the influence of Fraktur. In the few larger sections (e.g. U156r) it is narrow and rounded; in smaller passages it is hard to read, sometimes coming close to an oscillating line (e.g. U19v). Apparently the second scribe worked after the first, filling in some of the more complicated diagrams and adding passages on some of the many pages left empty by the main scribe.¹⁰⁴

It is difficult to attribute the numerous shorter entries to these hands. Some, especially instructions for a draughtsman (e.g. Fig. 14), are in a minute, restrained Antiqua,¹⁰⁵ while cross-references (frequently done in red) are in a larger, slightly more mobile hand (e.g. U75r). Two longer Latin passages are probably by Hand I, as the first of them contains a German paragraph in his style.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ U7v, U11v, U19v–20v, U22v (at least lower part), U24v, U25r (lower part?), U25v, U26r, U122r, U153r–56v, some lines at the bottom of U165r–v, V77r, V120v–21r, V124v–25r, V207v.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. U76r, U116r, U124v – with small differences between them, thus not necessarily all by the same person.

¹⁰⁶ V120r–v, V208r. Hand II then added the German translations on V120v–21r and V207v. Probably the tables with the Hebrew Alphabet on V11r–v are by the same hand. On U8v a Latin passage accompanies German texts by Hand II and thus is most likely by this person.

Unfortunately the copyists remain anonymous. None of the several persons mentioned in the text (e.g. U18r, v.i.) can be identified as a scribe.

Marginalia:

Some sections are massively annotated, but most annotations are in the same hand as the text and were therefore probably copied from the exemplars (Hand II annotated some texts by Hand I, e.g. U10r). The versatility of Hand I makes it difficult to identify marginal additions by later readers. The nature of the marginal apparatus changes from section to section – another sign that it was copied together with the main text. On U176r–272r it consists, for instance, of long German comments, on V124v–206v of brief, frequently Latin, notes. A possible later addition are the marginal comments on U274r–76v, whose Hebrew and Greek letter forms differ markedly from Hand I. The hands pointing to key passages are in U clearly larger than those in V; one of the sets therefore must have been added by a later reader. On the bottom of every page are one or two cross- or x-shaped devices in red; they probably indicate that these pages were ‘ticked off,’ either by their writer or by a later copyist.

U18r contains several marginal notes, probably related to the acquisition of manuscripts, at least partially by Hand I. As they refer to dates before the date on the title-page (1611)¹⁰⁷ and are placed at the end of one tract, they were probably copied from the exemplar.¹⁰⁸ Another notice on the same page, not in the margin but beneath the main body of the text and written by a different person, may refer to Martin Moser from Goldberg as copyist of this text.¹⁰⁹

U and V are the richest source of Lautensack material. They faithfully reproduce some disparate tracts, probably even complete with the sets of annotations they had received. Together with the unstable temper of its main scribe, this adds to a chaotic appearance, which stands in puzzling contrast to the unity of paper and the relatively regular collation. These volumes seem to be the fruit of scholars who systematically tried to copy all Lautensack tracts they could consult; notices as on U18r (v.s.) refer to this process. With stronger decorative features and the use of colored ink in the later sections of V, the copyists departed from the bulk of copies after Lautensack but without facilitating the understanding of the text.

Contents:

As opposed to the other manuscripts, the scribes of UV often left the back sides of pages with diagrams empty. As they also used larger letters, most of the tracts take up a good deal more pages than elsewhere.

¹⁰⁷ This date appears on UIIr – on the sheet glued on the lower half of the original title but probably written by the original scribe.

¹⁰⁸ For the persons mentioned here, see p. 271. Above is another reference, possibly denoting the completion of a manuscript, on a 5 May of a 29th year, in the middle of the ninth hour. The 29th year probably means the 29th year of the life of the scribe.

¹⁰⁹ This text “Ego M M absolvi ao 1602 23 Juli | a Martino Mosero Goldsparg” The verb “absolvere” normally means in this context, as it does elsewhere on this page, “to complete,” but this does not fit together with the Preposition “a.” Perhaps the text writer first copied the original colophon “I, M M, completed it on July 23, 1602,” and then added the explanation “[written] by Martin Moser of Goldberg.” This would suggest that Moser was not the scribe of U but of the exemplar of this text. For Martin Moser see pp. 271–72 n. 27.

U:

UIr–v: empty	U176r–77r: 19
UIIr: σ	U177v: empty
UIIv–7v: empty	U178r–272r: 31
U8r–18r: 13b	after U221: υ
U18v–19r: τ	U272v–73r: empty
U19v–26r: 37	U273v–85r: φa
U26v–27v: 6	U285v: ωa, 2nd part
U28r–31v: empty	U286r: χ, 1st part
U32r–41v: 7b	U286v: empty
U42r–43v: empty	U287r–88r: χ, 2nd part
U44r–56v: 9b	U288v–89r: empty
U57r–97r: 10b	U289v–90v: ψ
U97v–103v: empty	U290v: ωa, 1st part
U104r–51r: 17	U291r: empty
U151v–52r: empty	U291v–92r: χ, 3rd part
U152v–56v: 34	U292v–95v: empty
U157r–63v: empty	U296r–98v: χ, 4th part
U164r–72v: 18	U299r–305v: empty
U173r–75v: empty	

V:

VIr–IIv: empty	V207r: δδ
VIIIr: σ	V207v–8r: εε
VIIIv–10v: empty	V208v: ζζ
V11r–v: αα	V209r–11r: ηη
V12r: empty	V211v–20r: 51
V12v: ββ	V220v–30r: 46
V13r–30v: 14	V230v–36v: empty
V31r: empty	V237r–42v: 20
V31v–36r: 24	V243r–44v: empty
V36v: empty	V245r–58v: 43
V37r–45v: 25	V259r: empty
V45v–119r: 26	V259v–70r: 21
V119v: empty	V270v–81r: 1e
V120r–21r: γγ	V281v–82v: 40
V121v–24r: empty	V283r–84r: 38
V124v–206v: 12	V284v–96r: empty

12. *Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz,*
Ms. germ. fol. 1,179 (Q)

Bibliography:

Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften*, 162–63 (brief catalogue entry); Zeller, *Die Schriften Valentin Weigels*, 70 nos. 4 and 5 (entries in list); id., “Der frühe Weigelianismus,” 71 (on Pseudo-Weigel’s text u:Q30r–35v); Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 3:495b (ditto); Hofmann, *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse*,

561 n. 46 (brief reference); Pfefferl, "Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels," *Teil II, A*, 23–27 (detailed description of contents); Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 70–77 no. 9, L39–41 (with incorrect comments about entries on the fly-leaves, reproductions of Q1r, Q7r, Q17r).

Reproduced here:

99:Q1r (Fig. 98), 27a:Q2v–3r (Fig. 63)

Provenance:

The initials "CS" in ligature on the front flyleaf may refer to a Baroque owner of the manuscript. Entries on the flyleaves (v.i.) show that it was at some point in the 17th century in the possession of someone interested in speculative theology, and during the 19th century in the library of someone with historical interest. According to Degering, acquired from a Kanzleirat Jochens in Berlin¹¹⁰ who is not mentioned as former owner of any other manuscript in this catalogue. Q1r gives the accession number 1898.38, therefore the manuscript entered the library in 1898.

Dimensions:

cover and leaves: 48.6 × 32 cm

written space: ca. 39.7 × 26.5 cm

State:

Many small tears along the outer margin, especially in the lower corner; water damage. Some leaves missing after Q17 (an impression of a leaf that was relatively similar to Q7r is on Q18r).

Binding:

Parchment, on the top left of the front cover red leather label with the modern shelf mark.

Later entries:

On the inside cover entry, probably from the 17th century, giving the manuscript's contents as "Tabulę Apocalypticę Pauli Lautensaks secretiore | Apocalypsis (?) Magistri Valentini Weigelij," on the recto of the flyleaf large initials "CS" in ligature, probably 17th century, beneath a German 19th-century notice calling both Weigel and Lautensack fanatics and mentioning their professions and places of activity. This entry was probably made by someone for whom neither Weigel's nor Lautensack's names were familiar and who did some research on them. Beneath, the modern shelf mark in a 19th-century hand. On the back is a late 18th-century (?) notice on Lautensack's authorship. Q1r has the stamp of the Berlin Royal Library and the accession number. On Q35v again the library stamp, on the inside of the back cover another, probably 17th century entry, this time in German, that refers to Lautensack and Weigel, as if its scribe knew about them.

Collation:

$$(I+1)^{3*} + I^5 + VI^{17} + I^{18}† + (IV+1)^{27} + IV^{35}.$$

¹¹⁰ Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften*, 162.

* Q1 is glued to Q2.

† Q18 is glued to Q19.

Like the leaves wrapped around several gatherings in other manuscripts, also Q1 and Q18 might have formed originally one double leaf.

Paper:

Two different watermarks, both showing the civic arms of Danzig. One appears on Q18 and probably also on the preceding pages, where it is difficult to see, the other in the second part of the book, beginning with Q19. Therefore, the manuscript was produced in two distinct campaigns but most likely in the same region. Similar designs (cf. Briquet, nos. 1,256–59) appear in papers used in Danzig and Nackel but not commonly in Silesia or Saxony (Briquet 1:104). The Baroque shape of both escutcheons points to the 17th rather than the 16th century.

Ink:

The first part of the manuscript shows two different decorative systems. Q1r and Q17r–v, both presenting designs probably unconnected to Lautensack, are executed in a mixture of reddish, brownish and yellowish hues, and the same color scheme is used on frames of many other pages.

The Lautensackian diagrams show his familiar four rainbow colors. All of them appear in a darker and a lighter variety, the latter is used for backgrounds of texts.¹¹¹ As most colors are quite intensive, the manuscript is more colorful than the other copies after Lautensack. These four colors also dominate the figures, although sometimes also purple appears. The stars are normally executed in yellowish or light brown shades, the faces in incarnadine. Christ is here dressed in purple (e.g. Q5r) or grey (e.g. Q10r), Mary in the usual red and blue, St John in red and green. The clouds on Q15r are executed in blue and white, the mountains in different greens.

Hands:

Q1r–17v are written in a clear, relatively restrained style based on printed Fraktur with Fraktur-headings and a clear, lightly mannered Antiqua for some Latin names. Some forms, like the line in the middle of the capital *I* and the ε-shaped *E* (both on Q1r and Q7r), are inspired by decorative alphabets of the early 16th century. Q30r–35v are written in a narrow, round Baroque hand with about 50 lines per page, which has, like the relatively similar Hand II of U/V, a tendency towards becoming a mere oscillating line. The naïve drawings were probably inserted by the scribe of the first half.

Marginalia:

nil.

Contents:

Q1r: 99, first part

Q1v: empty

Q2r–3r: 27a

¹¹¹ Yellow / light brown, light blue / normal blue, salmon / reddish brown, light bluish green / olive green.

Q3v–4r: empty
 Q4v–16r: 12 (excerpts)
 Q16v–17v: 99, second part
 Q18r–29v: empty
 Q30r–35v: u

The first section of this manuscript, combining excerpts of Lautensack works with other speculative diagrams, was probably made in one campaign. Its irregular start with a single leaf and two double leaves may be due to a scribe preferring to have two-page diagrams on one sheet of paper. For some reason a further leaf, with decorated borders but no writing, was added, as if a continuation was planned (unless it is the counterpart of Q1, cf. Collation). Later a quaternio was added to these pages, but strangely only its last pages contain text, whereas the first part remained left empty.

13. *Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. VCQ 44 (R)*

Bibliography:

København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 576 Fol. ("Catalogus manuscriptorum Praga in Suediam advectorum" [1656]), 4r, litt. X (brief entry);¹¹² Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL127AF ("Codices Mss. Græci, Latini, Gallici, Hispanici, Germanici, Sinici, Italici, &c. Viri Illvstris Isaaci Vossii, volumen primum," n.d.), 82r no. XLIV: /25./22. (ditto); Wolferdus Senguerdus and Jacobus Gronovius, *Catalogus | Librorum | Tam Impressorum Quam Manuscriptorum | Bibliothecæ | Universitatis | Lugduno-Bataviæ* (Lugduni apud Batavos: Vander Aa, 1716), 336 no. 44 (ditto); Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici*, 206–7 (detailed description); Melanchthon, *Melanchthons Briefwechsel*, T5:511–12 no. 1,377 (transcription of Melanchthon's letter on R29v).

Reproduced here:

44:R131v (Fig. 93)

Provenance:

Probably from Bohemia or Moravia, part of the Swedish loot,¹¹³ in 1654 given, together with other alchemical manuscripts, to the Dutch scholar Isaac Vossius (1618–89) as payment for his cataloguing work;¹¹⁴ following his death acquired by Leiden University in 1690.¹¹⁵

¹¹² This manuscript is apparently missing in the very succinct catalogue from 1650 (Christian Callmer, ed., *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Holmiensis, c. annum MDCL ductu et auspicio Isaaci Vossii conscriptus* (Stockholm: Kungliga Biblioteket, 1971), in which only 31 of the 113 alchemical manuscripts of Vossius's Collection have been identified (ibid., appendix, 196).

¹¹³ These pillages took place in the 1640s, Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici*, xvii.

¹¹⁴ Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici*, ix.

¹¹⁵ Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici*, xi. As opposed to other items of the *Codices Vossiani Chymici* (see Nicolette Mout, "Books from Prague: The Leiden Codices Vossiani Chymici and Rudolf II," in *Prag um 1600: Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II.* (Frederen (Emsland): Luca, 1988), 206), nothing is known about the early history of this volume. We can merely assume that it came from the same region.

Dimensions:

cover: 19.2 × 16.4 cm

written space: 17 × 11.5–12 cm

R131: 41 × 24.6 cm

State:

No significant damage. Slightly cut on the lower edge.¹¹⁶

Binding:

19th-century cardboard, earlier bound in vellum. A fragment of the old binding, according to its dimensions probably from the spine, is glued onto the first flyleaf; it contains the title “Cabbalistica | super Apocallypsin Pau|lus Lautensack” in a steep and somehow scratchy Latin cursive, beneath a short, worn text in Hebrew letters. Its first five lines contain a transliteration of the Latin title,¹¹⁷ the following lines could, with some imagination, be read as name of the copyist.¹¹⁸ The nature of this fragment points to a naïve enthusiast rather than to one of the Leiden scholars,¹¹⁹ and therefore the binding possibly predates the transport of the book to Sweden.

Later entries:

On the first flyleaf is the pasted fragment from the binding (v.s.), next to it the author's name in a modern hand. On the recto of the next flyleaf the entry from Senguerdus, *Catalogus Librorum*, is pasted in, above is the shelf mark in an early 19th-century hand, beneath an entry on missing pages by a perhaps slightly later scribe; at the bottom right the abbreviated shelf mark, also 19th century. The bottom of R1r has a slip of paper with the printed text “Ex Bibliotheca Viri Illustris Isaaci Vossii” pasted in, on the top is a stamp ACADLVGD.

Collation:

NB: The gatherings are numbered on their first recto, next to the folio-number.

$$3 \times IV^{24} + V^{34} + 11 \times IV^{122} + (*-1)^{\text{leaf after R131}}$$

* Today, R123 is a single leaf – originally it could have had a counterpart following the empty leaf after R131. This is plausible because R123r is numbered as first page of a quire. This last quire of the manuscript is similar to quires in K, with

¹¹⁶ On R24v, for instance, the catchword is missing; on R124r and R125r the last line of the text.

¹¹⁷ See Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici*, 206. It is, however, not exactly the same wording, reading פאולילא...אקש [Paūli Laū ... aqš], thus the Genitive. So it may have been copied from somewhere else.

¹¹⁸ It reads: יוּ [?] | נַאטאַנאַל | שרפסית [the נ is uncertain], thus “šripsit | NaPanal | ?.” If we assume that this is, like the title, no proper Hebrew but a mere transliteration, it could be interpreted as “scripsit Nathanael ...”. A J. Nathanael is mentioned amongst followers of Paracelsus in the late 16th century in Telle, “Johannes Huser,” 170.

¹¹⁹ An earlier example for playful transliterations into Hebrew is München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18,662, a fifteenth-century manuscript from Tegernsee Abbey. It contains a diagram for transcribing the Latin into Hebrew letters, and beneath the prayer “Maria hilf uns” spelled in Hebrew (מאריא הילף אונז), see Walde, *Christliche Hebraisten*, 166.

two leaves (R123/lost, R124/unnumbered leaf after R131) wrapped around several smaller units, here the binio R125–28, the double leaf R129–30 and the large single leaf R131.

Paper:

Different types of inexpensive paper, with watermarks that are difficult to identify. On most pages it seems to be an escutcheon charged with a double eagle; Boeren's claim that it is close to Briquet, no. 221, a paper used in Brünn ca. 1577–80 (Briquet 1:30) seems to be optimistic. The leaf R35/42 is on a different paper, without watermark; if the traces in the paper of R129/130 are a watermark, it is different from that in the earlier part of the book. R131 seems to have an escutcheon in an irregular shape ("Tartsche") charged with a knot-like figure.

Ink:

Different shades of brown ink, on R35/42 and the diagram on R52v very pale; from R83r onward light brown ink. The poor drawings are normally made with the same ink as the text. On R79r and R85r some words and letters expunged with white. On R92v parts in grey ink, for the drawings towards the end also black ink is used.

Hands:

The manuscript is written in a clear, large, disciplined but not calligraphic early Baroque cursive. R35r–v, R42r–v and the diagram on R53v have a calmer, less cursive script, with different forms for some letters. A similar, but again less cursive, hand appears in the diagram on R92v.¹²⁰ Possibly this diagram was filled in secondarily, as was the case in many parts of manuscript E.¹²¹

Most diagrams were copied in a highly cursory way together with the text, while those on the pages written by the second scribe (e.g. R42r) are slightly less crude. A note copying the central image (if one can call it such) of R93v is pasted to B64r, and therefore the main scribe of R most likely owned that manuscript at some point (cf. p. 319). By contrast, the drawings in the last quire were executed by at least an accomplished amateur (R124r, R129r–30v, R131v, Fig. 93), they are similar to the respective images in B (which are also superior in quality to the rest of the manuscript) but probably not by the same hand (cf. p. 323 n. 64).

Marginalia:

Most marginal additions are made by the main scribe. They either supply omitted parts of the text or reflect marginal comments in B, including several "Nota bene" signs (e.g. B122v/R110r–v, cf. p. 323). One of the very few additions proper to this manuscript, a Latin remark on R57r, might come from another, but approximately contemporary, hand. Rarely, words are underlined in red (e.g. R27r).

¹²⁰ Its chief difference to the letters on R35r–v is that the "M" is not merely a zigzag but has a loop at the end.

¹²¹ The writing on R83r and R131r is stiffer and narrower than the rest of the document. Since it shares one mannerism of the main scribe – the large, bold "–en" abbreviations – it is probably written by him, too.

Contents:

Since nearly all of this manuscript is a copy after B, it is of limited importance for an edition of the text.

R1r–28v: 35, first part	R94r–100r: 33, second part
R29r–v: γ	R100v: empty
R30r–v: empty	R101r–7v: 36
R31r–37v: 35, second part	R107v–18v: 22
R37v–52r: 29	R119r–22v: empty
R52v–53v: 49	R123r–24r: 40
R53v–81v: 39	R124v: empty
R82r–v: empty	R125r–26r: 41
R83r–90v: 42, first part	R126v: empty
R91r: 16	R127r–28v: 38
R91v–92v: 42, second part	R129r–30v: 48
R92v [or 93r]–93v: 33, first part	R131r–v: 44
R93v: 47	

14. *Erfurt, Bibliothek des Evangelischen Ministeriums im Augustinerkloster Erfurt, Msc. 13 (E)*

Former shelf marks: B. fol. 48, B. fol. 99; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 8,588

Bibliography:

Erfurt, Bibliothek des Evangelischen Ministeriums, A339 (handwritten catalogue from 1762), Exeg. no. 39 (brief entry); *ibid.*, Msc. 69 (handwritten catalogue by Casp. Fridericus Lossius, 1799), B. fol. 48 (ditto, with note that the shelf mark was altered to B. fol. 99); Heinrich Winkler, *Katalog der Ministerial-Bibliothek zu Erfurt* (Erfurt: Stenger, 1876), 8 (ditto, now as B. fol. 99); *Manuskripte. Autographen. Photoalben. Wertvolle Bücher v. a. aus dem Besitz der Kaiserin Elisabeth von Österreich. Dekorative Graphik: Auktion 27, 14.–16. Nov. 1978, Hartung & Karl München* (Munich: Hartung & Karl, 1978), 34 no. 175 (brief, partially incorrect description, when manuscript was for sale); *Jahrbuch der Auktionspreise für Bücher, Handschriften und Autographen*, vol. 29 (for 1978, Stuttgart: Hauswedell, 1980), 748 (short notice on the sale). A set of photocopies from this manuscript is München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. sim. 306.

Reproduced here:

45:E8r (Fig. 89), E10v (Fig. 92), E12v (Fig. 91), E16v (Fig. 71), E25v (Fig. 94), E27r (Fig. 90), E28v (Fig. 82)

Provenance:

As the manuscript is bound in scrap parchment that probably comes from Halle (v.i.) it might have been in North-Western Saxony for some time. In 1762 it appeared in the first surviving catalogue of the Ministerialbibliothek in Erfurt,

which had been founded as the library of the city's Lutheran ministers in 1646.¹²² Together with other precious books it was stolen from the library in the 1970s, it was offered for auction by Hartung in November 1978 (for 1,000 DM, sold for 1,100 DM). The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek acquired it as Cgm 8,588. In early 1985 the manuscript was returned to Erfurt.

Dimensions:

cover: 39 × 21 cm

pages: 37.7 × 21 cm

written space: irregular, frequently the writing comes very close to the margin.

State:

Worn, binding loose. The lower parts of the pages are damaged by water, there are also strong damp-stains and rust-stains, on the upper margin light caused some degradation of the paper. The cover is much eaten by worms, its lower corners damaged. At some point E3v and E4r were glued together. On E4r are tears; in several places, like on E8r, small patches were added. A large section in the upper half of E17 is a copy on an inserted piece of paper, also E35 is badly damaged.

Cover:

It is bound in cardboard covered in reused parchment, containing copies of letters, to and from a Hans Ekkelman of "Hals" (probably Halle) and a Pfleger [administrator] Leo Klebsattel, dated to 1433.¹²³ Apparently the manuscript had been folded horizontally before this cover was added to it.

Later entries:

On the cover is a label with the Munich shelf mark, beneath Hartung's catalogue number "175" encircled with pencil, on E3r stamp of the Staatsbibliothek München with the number 79/146, probably its Munich accession number. An acknowledgement of receipt dating from the return of the manuscript to Erfurt is loosely inserted between the pages.

Collation:

$I^2 + I^{3*} + V^{13} + IV^{21} + V^{31} + (II+1)^{36\dagger} + I^{\text{flyleaf after E36}}$.

* E4r is badly damaged and therefore it might have been the title-page for some time, but the preceding leaves E1–3 are constructed in the same way as the main part of the MS (though without watermark).

† The other half of the leaf to which E36 belongs is missing, its stub being glued to E32r. The stub contains some of the marginal notes of E32r, they seem to have been copied on it during an early restoration and not by one of the original scribes, therefore indicating that this leaf is a later addition (v.i.).

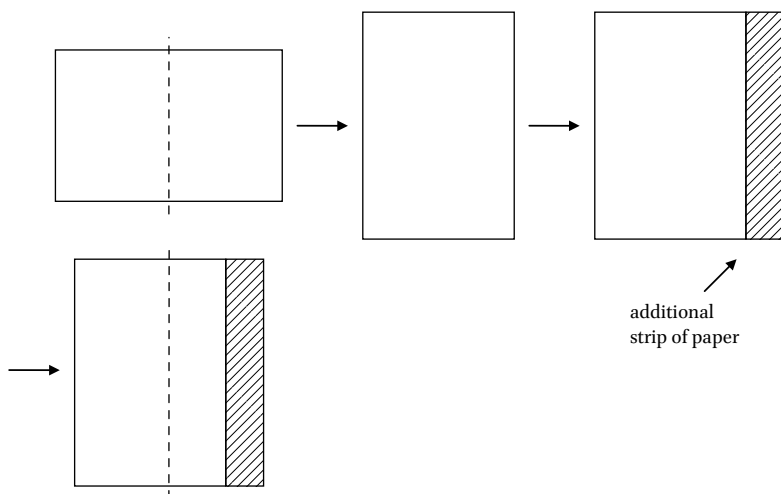
The pages are foliated at the top left; from 5r onward the first halves of each double-leaf are numbered with Arabic letters in the bottom right (except E34r).

¹²² For this library see Michael Ludscheidt, ed., *Die Bibliothek des Evangelischen Ministeriums zu Erfurt: Geschichte, Bestände, Forschungsbereiche* (Bucha bei Jena: Quartus, 1998).

¹²³ This information partially comes from the Library's card catalogue.

Paper:

This manuscript was apparently made as an exact copy of another book. In order to reproduce the format of the exemplar, each sheet of paper was turned by 90 degrees, and a strip of ca. 10 cm width was added on one longer side, making it approximately square. This extended sheet was then folded in the middle to create a double-leaf. As a result, every other leaf is glued together close to the middle.



Most leaves have a (difficult to see) watermark with crowned single-headed eagle, on whose breast may be an escutcheon charged with a bend – or a large S-like curve or a Z is superimposed on the eagle; from the eagle's tail an object looking like a poppy-head is hanging down. Watermarks showing an eagle with an escutcheon and the letters *S* or *Z* do exist in Germany in the second half of the 16th century (e.g. Briquet, no. 175, according to Briquet 1:28 used in 1584 in Breslau), but no exact parallel was found in Briquet.

On E36 wheel, similar but not identical to the main watermark in W (cf. p. 337).

Ink:

Most of the text in brown ink; for the images a dark brown, nearly black, and a light brown are used (with a quill of the same thickness); at least a few times they appear together in the same image, e.g. E7v. Some additions (cf. Hands) are in very dark and in red ink.

Hands:

Most of the manuscript is written by one person, in a somewhat rigid 16th-century hand. This same person was most likely also responsible for most of the drawings. In contrast to the other manuscripts, the diagrams in E are decorated with rich, foliate ornaments similar to Lautensack's autographs but executed

clumsily with blunt hatching. Many of them and some of the images were left unfinished.¹²⁴

Afterwards, at least three different persons supplied some of the missing elements. The first additions were done by someone who was an even worse draughtsman than the main scribe – his figures are executed with a thick quill, the text in bold cursive (e.g. E20v). Some of his additions were labeled in a minute, edgy hand, and thus probably by a further scribe (e.g. E24v). Lastly, someone made some corrections (e.g. on E30r), added again small sections of drawings (e.g. face of the sun in E27r, Fig. 90) and references to verses (e.g. E4v), and labeled some roundels that had never been filled in with images¹²⁵ in a tiny, clear hand with light brown (e.g. E14r) or red (e.g. E26v) ink. Also some images, like the bizarrely hovering Apostles on E14r, probably come from this campaign. It seems that these three later scribes also had access to the exemplar for this manuscript. This surprises because one would normally assume that the main scribe had borrowed the exemplar and returned it as soon as he finished working on it. Probably at some later date a fifth hand, using a shiny red ink, added the verse numbers (not the paragraphs, as usual in Lautensack manuscripts) on some pages (E4v–5r, E33v–34r; with the same ink a quotation is traced on E5r, some words are underlined on E35r).

Marginalia:

Apart from the elements described under ‘Hands,’ the only addition to the manuscript is the text on (the possibly later added) E3r, a copy of the title of the 1619 edition of Lautensack’s tracts (v.i.), probably made soon after that date.

Contents:

Bizarrely, this manuscript contains some diagrams twice, frequently in different states of completion. The collation does not allow us to assume that parts of two similar manuscripts were simply bound together.¹²⁶ Since the corresponding diagrams differ slightly from each other, especially as regards the accompanying texts, they may reflect different states of Lautensack’s original tracts, as already evident in the differences between A, K and L.

E1v–3r: empty

E3v: $\sigma\sigma$, title-page

E4r–35v: 45

E36r–v: empty

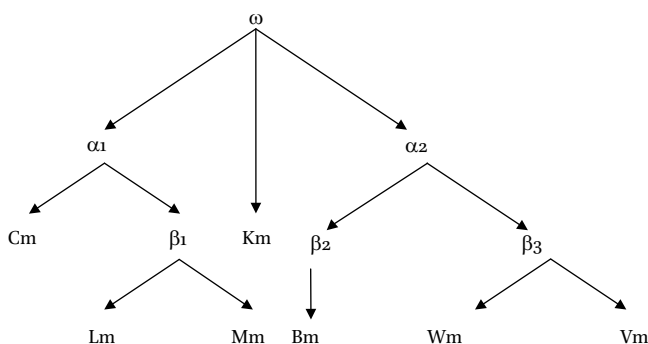
¹²⁴ A good example is E17v: of the three large brackets on the left-hand side, only the upper half of the first has leaf-work decoration, and the lower half of the last is missing altogether. Two of the suns within them have only one ray.

¹²⁵ On E14r, for instance, the last row of the right half of the diagram, which should contain images, was left empty. It was filled by the third additional scribe. He placed into two fields drawings in pale ink, but the other two fields contain the texts “Agnus cum uexillo” and “Maria cum puero” – taking so much space that they cannot have been instructions for an illuminator. With the same ink a Transfiguration was drawn around an extant head of Christ at the bottom left.

¹²⁶ Paired are E4v/E26r, E12r/E27v (though the texts have different ends), E12v/E28r (only central parts), E27r/E34v. Apart from the last group the respective second page is left unfinished. Additionally, E9r and E31r, as well as E10v and E29v, contain similar diagrams.

Meffert's Edition of Lautensack (-m)

This section describes a group of manuscripts whose main content is Meffert's commentary on Lautensack. Whereas the material described in the last section are more or less chaotic collections of very disparate tracts by Lautensack, often made by different scribes and heavily annotated, the manuscripts in focus here only contain Meffert's commentary, his short biography of the painter and possibly one or two more tracts by Lautensack. They are clearly modeled on contemporary books with engraved plates as illustrations, and in several cases they were produced by skilled scribes. The following stemma of the surviving copies of Meffert's editions can be drawn:

15. *Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, RB.Msc. 167 (Bm)*

Former shelf mark: Re.III.18a

Bibliography:

Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften*, 84 (catalogue entry); Adam J. Metzner, "Paul Lautensack der Aeltere: Maler – Musiker – Mystiker," *Die Stimme Frankens* 27 (1961): 137–38 (short quotations from Bm3v); von Aufsess, *Altarwerkstatt*, 68 n. 20 (regards it apparently as autograph); Hofmann, *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse*, 553–54 and n. 10 (short quotation from Bm5v); Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 62–66 no. 6, L30–32 (brief description, reproductions of the title-page Bm1r, Bm56r and Bm110r).

Reproduced here:

λλa:Bm97v (Fig. 100)

Provenance:

An entry on the inside of the front cover, probably from the late 18th century, identifies an E. L. Schultze from Anhalt as owner. According to a further entry, the manuscript was donated to the Royal Library in Bamberg by Geheimrat Professor Johann Lukas Schönlein (1793–1864) on 18 December 1853. By then, this famous

surgeon, one of the most prominent sons of Bamberg, was teaching in Berlin, but he regularly sent rare books to his home town, which eventually inherited his entire library. As the owner Schultze lived not far from Berlin, the manuscript probably had come up for sale in the Prussian capital.¹²⁷ Like the other Bamberg manuscript this work had originally no connection to this city (cf. p. 319).

Date:

According to Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften*, 84, dated on the title-page to 1587, but this line is no longer legible.

Dimensions:

cover: 33.5 × 22 cm

text pages: 32 × 21 cm

written space: ca. 22–22.5 × 12.5–13 cm

image pages: ca. 32 × 20 cm

State:

The tinted paper glued on the title-page (v.i.) is damaged, rendering parts of the title illegible; chiefly in the first third of the manuscript slight stains on the upper part of the pages, probably caused by water. Singes on the back cover.

Binding:

White pigskin, with few ornaments, on the spine label with the modern shelf mark of the manuscript.

Later entries:

On the inside cover at the top the former shelf mark “Re.III.18a”, beneath a notice about the donation to the Library (according to Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften*, 84, by Stenglein). Beneath are the present and another obsolete shelf mark (“R.B. Msc. theol. 9”, cf. p. 320 n. 49) as well as the name of E. L. Schultze. On Bm_{iv} and Bm_{193v} post-1918 stamps of the Library.

Collation:

For this manuscript two types of paper were used: the diagrams are executed on finer and narrower leaves than the text. At the beginning of the manuscript (–Bm₆₈), the diagrams are inserted on single leaves without text.¹²⁸ Afterwards they are normally placed on double leaves, which are in two cases integrated in the original gathering¹²⁹ but normally inserted between two pages. In this

¹²⁷ For Schönlein's benefactions to the Bamberg Royal Library see Franz Ferdinand Leitschuh, *Geschichte der königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg nach der Säkularisation* (Bamberg: Buchner, 1894), 22, and Alois Fauser and Hermann Gerstner, *Aere Perennius: Jubiläums-Ausstellung der Staatlichen Bibliothek Bamberg zur Feier ihres 150jährigen Bestehens*, exh. cat. Bamberg, Neue Residenz, 1953 (Münsterschwarzach: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 1953), 15 and 22 no. 15.

¹²⁸ An exception is the double leaf Bm_{1–2}, which consists of the title-page and an empty leaf.

¹²⁹ Bm_{97/108}, Bm_{146/49} (v.i.).

section the text extends to the parts of diagram-pages not used by the diagrams – the arrangements of some show that the space needed for the text was taken into account when drawing the illustrations (e.g. 74v).¹³⁰ The text normally flows smoothly from the normal text pages to pages with diagrams and back, but smaller discrepancies¹³¹ reveal that some sections of the text were begun on leaves (both on normal text leaves and leaves also containing diagrams) before the preceding page had been completed. A least this part of the manuscript was probably copied from a model with a similar number of words per page, so that the scribe knew where he would be at the beginning of a certain leaf. Most probably he copied a manuscript he had compiled beforehand. Why he did not adopt the more economical combination of texts and images on the same leaves before Bm69 is mysterious.

In the following formula, leaves in the paper of diagrams are indicated in italics, and numbers of inserted folia are given in square brackets:

$$I^2 + VI^{14} + (VI+I [26])^{27} + 2 \times VI^{51} + (VI+I [56] + I [60])^{65} + (VI+I [68] + I [74-75])^{80} + (VI+I [91-92])^{94} + (VII+I [105-6] + II [109-12])^{114*} + VI^{126} + (VI+I [135-36])^{140} + VII^{154}† + (VI+I [158-59])^{168} + (VI+I [173-74] + I [180-81])^{184} + (VI-1)‡.$$

* As far as this massive gathering can be described, it consists of six leaves of the normal paper (Bm95/114, 96/113, 98/107, 99/104, 100/3, 101/2), one double leaf of the paper for diagrams is fully integrated into it (*Bm97/108*). Furthermore, one double leaf (*Bm105-6*) and one binio (*Bm109-12*) of this paper are added.

† In addition to the six double leaves of text paper, a double leaf of drawing paper is part of the gathering (*Bm146/49*).

‡ The foliation of the manuscript ends with Bm193, but two further leaves follow. Probably also the last gathering was a sexternio, and the very last leaf was cut out, maybe at a rebinding of the manuscript.

Paper:

Most text pages are written on a paper that has as watermark two escutcheons, one above the other. The upper escutcheon is impaled: on the dexter half paly-bendy, on the sinister half a lion rampant. The lower coat of arms shows a bald head couped in profile. Between the escutcheons the letters *I* and *S*. A similar watermark, albeit with the letters “S S” (Briquet, no. 2,255), could be found in the last years of the 16th century in several parts of central Europe – from Lorraine via Bavaria up to Hamburg. The origin of the paper is unclear. Briquet 3:166 suggests a connection with the moor in the arms of Freising diocese in Bavaria.

Several image leaves (Bm2, 56, 105, 110, 146) have an *E* in a circle, similar, but not identical to Briquet, no. 8,135; his example from 1595 comes from Geisenfeld in Bavaria (Briquet 2:440). Other image leaves (Bm75, 92, 108-9, 135, 159, 174,

¹³⁰ Here the image is moved to the lower part of the page, leaving space for the end of a section of the text.

¹³¹ On Bm159v, the last page of a double leaf of ‘diagram paper,’ the last line of the text contains only one word, to connect with the continuation on the text-page Bm160r.

181) have a probably single-headed, haloed eagle with the letter *F* on its breast. I could not identify it with one of the numerous eagle-watermarks in Briquet.

The watermark of the rear flyleaf is a double circle with an (illegible) inscription, in the center an impaled shield, the dexter half also divided per fess. No parallel was found in Briquet.

Here the watermarks suggest dating the manuscript to the end of the 16th century. Its region of origin, however, cannot be determined. Like many copies after Lautensack it might come from Silesia or Saxony, but it could likewise have been made in other parts of Germany.

A piece of fine paper dyed wine-red is glued to the title-page.

Ink:

Text ink between black and brown, on the title-page writing in gold and silver ink. Also on the title-page, a drawing in brown ink, with some elements in blue and some gold contours. Otherwise drawings in grey and/or brown,¹³² occasionally with yellow (Bm75v) and more often gold (Bm73r, 105r, 110r, 136v, 158v/159r, 180r)¹³³ used for celestial phenomena, halos, crowns and other objects.

Hands:

The entire manuscript is written in a large, regular Baroque cursive, possibly by a professional scribe. The images were made by a person who had some training in draughtsmanship. Probably the same person labeled them in a slightly rounder and possibly somewhat more old-fashioned cursive with Fraktur-inspired headings. Normally there are 24–25 lines per page, in some cases it ranges between 23 and 27.

Marginalia:

On Bm23r–v two short marginal notes on the use of images, by a hand looking more old-fashioned than that of the text scribe, hence they were probably added not long after the completion of the text.

Contents:

Bm1r: *λλa*, title-page

Bmiv–3r: empty

Bm3v–6r: *xx*

Bm6v–193r: *λλa*

Bm193v and the following unfoliated leaves: empty

This manuscript is radically different from most copies after Lautensack: a beautifully made book, probably not by scholars but by professional craftsmen (one would regard it as presentation copy, had it a dedication), virtually untouched since its production.

¹³² There is apparently a slight preference for brown in grids and ornaments and for grey in figures, but in most drawings both colors appear.

¹³³ On Bm173r it seems that a golden, yet not metallic brown is used.

16. *Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, R292 (Cm, lost)*

Former shelf mark: S. IV. 4. p. 15

Bibliography:

Unpublished. All information concerning this lost volume comes from a manuscript description in "Handschriftenarchiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, R 292," described by Martin Haertwig, 1914 (manuscript, 5 leaves, available on the Academy's website).¹³⁴

Provenance:

The *R* in the shelf mark may suggest that it came from the Rehdiger Library in Breslau, founded in the 16th century and much enlarged in the following periods. It later became the core of the Breslau Stadtbibliothek.¹³⁵

Dimensions:

pages: ca. 31 × 20 cm

written space: 22 ¼ × 12 cm

Cm92 was 52.5 cm wide and folded thrice.

State:

In 1914 not worn, but yellowed; lost in 1945.

Cover:

Cardboard, covered with yellow parchment, with leather bands instead of clasps, on the back signed with "APOCALYPSIS / Paul Lautensack / MS" and the former shelf mark "S. IV. 4. p. 15".

Later entries:

No information.

Collation:

Non-foliated title-page and 160 leaves.

The title page is apparently a single leaf, otherwise regular sexternios (though this is probably not the case with Cm92, v.s.).

Paper:

Unclear watermark, a circle with figures, perhaps with a crescent (for a possibly similar watermark see p. 321).

¹³⁴ I am very grateful to Mr. Jan Gromadzki, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, for information about this manuscript's existence, and to Dr. Aleksandra Koutny-Jones for undertaking Polish telephone calls.

¹³⁵ On this library see *Handbuch deutscher historischer Buchbestände in Europa*, vol. 6, *Polen, Bulgarien* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1999), 184. According to [Arthur Biber], *Stadtbibliothek Breslau: Wissensnötiges und Wissenswertes für den Benutzer* (Breslau: Stadtbibliothek, 1933), 12, the prefix *R* denoted the section on intellectual history and biography coming from the former church library of St Bernhardin. However, all manuscripts from the civic library described by Haertwig for the Handschriftenarchiv (v.s.) have shelf marks beginning with *B*, *M* or *R*, and therefore they apparently were not included into this system but grouped according to the initial letters of the names of their original collections, in case of the Meffert manuscript the Rehdiger library.

Ink:

No information.

Hands:

A cursive, partially not very clear hand, with decorated initials and headings in a more bookish style (Fraktur?).

Marginalia:

No Information.

Contents:

According to Haertwig the manuscript had three smaller and 18 larger diagrams, slightly less than Bm, Km and Wm.

[Title-page]: **λλb**, title-page

Cm1r–(?): **μμ**

Cm2v–(?): **κκ**

Cm6v–158v: **λλb**

Cm159v–160v (?): **νν**

17. *København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 40 2° (Km)*

Bibliography:

Catalogi | Bibliothecae Thottianae | Tomus Septimus | Libros Cum Ab Inventa Typographia Ad Annum MDXXX | Excusos | Tum | Manuscriptos | Continens (Havniae: Popp, 1795), 276 no. 40 (short catalogue entry); Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 66–70 no. 7, L33–35, 37 (reproductions of Km, title-page, Km24, Km41, Km58 – the latter erroneously labeled as image from Kk).

Reproduced here:

λλa: Km120 (Fig. 72), Km121 (Fig. 81)

Provenance:

The manuscript may come from Saxony and may have been rebound in Western Germany (see Paper). In 1681 given by a Mr. Allen, stationer, to an unknown English-speaking person. Bequeathed by Otto Thott (1703–85), an 18th-century book collector, to the Danish Royal Library.¹³⁶ Thott's library contained several works by Paracelsus, Böhme and the Rosicrucians; but they do not seem to form a special point of interest in this encyclopedic collection.

Dimensions:

cover: 43.5 × 29 cm

pages: 43 × 28.3 cm

written space: Hand I: ca. 36–37 × 24–24.5 cm

Hand II: 38 × 24.5 cm

Hand III: ca. 38–39 × 22–24 cm

¹³⁶ For Thott see *Skatte i det Kongelige Bibliotek* (Copenhagen: Kongelige Bibliotek, 1993), 99–113; *Living words & luminous pictures: Medieval book culture in Denmark*, exh. cat. Copenhagen, 1999, ed. Erik Petersen (Copenhagen: Kongelige Bibliotek, 1999), 82.

State:

The binding is unstable, and therefore the manuscript is kept wrapped in paper, there are furthermore signs of water damage and degradation of paper.

Cover:

Bound in a plain brown leather cover, only decorated with burnt double-lines.

Later entries:

On the inside cover "N o 9 M" is legible, the rest obscured by a piece of empty blue paper glued on it; here and on the back of the title-page stamp of the Royal Library; on the first flyleaf the shelf mark. The title-page has at the top the notice "Given me by M^r Allen stationer at y^e q [illegible] church Oct 19. 1681".

Collation:

NB: This manuscript is paginated.

II^{4*} + (III-1)^{14†} + II²² + (III-1)^{32‡} + § + (IV-1)^{46**} + (††)⁹⁴ + IV¹¹⁰ + (II-1-1)^{114‡‡}
+ IV¹³⁰ + I¹³⁴ §§ + I¹⁴⁰ + II¹⁴⁸.

- * The first two leaves are the title-page and a non-paginated leaf after it. According to the watermarks, these first four leaves could form together a binio, but it is impossible to prove this.
- † The last leaf is cut out, maybe because a drawing is to follow (cf. beneath, n. 138). As the draft of this diagram is incorrect, an amended version was inserted on a strip between Km14 and Km15.
- ‡ The last leaf is missing, possibly because its counterpart, Km23–24, contains drawings.
- § Here are three stubs: two small ones, one probably being the missing last leaf of the preceding gathering, one most likely a piece of scrap paper bound in; the context of the third is unclear.
- ** The counterpart to Km41–42 (between Km36 and Km37) is missing, perhaps because Km41 contains an image.
- †† This gathering seems to consist of a quinio, whose first half is Km47–56 and second half Km85–94. Inserted between them are: V⁷⁶ + I⁸⁰ + I⁸⁴.
- ‡‡ This quire was a binio, but the first halves of both double leaves, which would have been placed between Km110 and Km111, are cut out.
- §§ The pages Km134–38 are missing.

Unusually for the copies after Meffert, the collation of this manuscript is somewhat chaotic. In the first section (Title-Km44) and less regularly in the last (Km71–146), images tend to be either placed on separate pages – though frequently with a continuation of the text beneath or on the back¹³⁷ – or on the first page of a gathering.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Km41, for instance has a diagram on the recto and text on the verso, its counterpart is cut out. Whether the title-page forms part of a normal gathering is not clear (v.s., *). Km43–44 has a drawing on the back but is apparently part of a normal gathering, as are Km100–2.

¹³⁸ Km141 is the first page of a bifolium with a drawing, beneath it and on the following three pages comes normal text. The leaf after Km14 is cut out so that the new gathering can begin with a drawing (bottom of Km15, v.s. † in the collation).

Paper:

Watermark with rampant quadruped (bear?), at its right something like a cub looking up to him. Relatively similar, especially as regards the shape of the escutcheon, is Briquet, no. 1,935, showing the arms of Königstein in Saxony.¹³⁹ Briquet's example came from Magdeburg, while other Königstein watermarks appeared in Saxony and, further away, in Frankfurt / Oder and even Hamburg (Briquet 1:143).

The flyleaves have an escutcheon, divided per bend with a double line, instead of a helmet it is crowned with a fleur-de-lis; beneath it a sign like a 4, at the foot of this figure the ligature "WR", on its other edges three *Os*. It is similar, but not identical, to Briquet, no. 996, a paper made in Straßburg ca. 1598 by Wendelin Richel and his successors and used along the Rhine into Westphalia (Briquet 1:76). Given the commercial importance of Straßburg, a watermark from there does not say much about the provenance of the book, but it might suggest a rebinding in the West rather than in the East of Germany.

Ink:

Text, border lines and drawings in brown ink. On Km23 some elements tinted blue, maybe done secondarily with a blue pencil. The diagrams from Km24 onward use grey together with brown.

Hands:

Three different hands:

Hand I: Elegant, clear cursive; for headings a playful Fraktur, ca. 32–40 lines per page: title-page–Km44 (with exception of the diagrams on Km23, Km41 and Km44, which are filled in with Hand II). Towards the end of the section the script becomes larger and more florid. The diagrams Km66–67, Km77, Km81, Km100–2, Km110, Km120–21, written in Fraktur, Capitalis and a calligraphic, rigid cursive, could be by Hand I or by a fourth scribe.

Hand II: Relatively ugly, tiny writing, very clear, with many letters not joined-up and strange e-ligatures, ca. 54 lines per page: text in diagrams on Km23, Km41, Km44, Km81, Km131, Km139; fully Km47–70 (with except of the diagram Km66–67, which might be Hand I).

Hand III: Round, flowing, not particularly calligraphic cursive, ca. 45–50 lines per page: Km71–146, with exception of the diagrams Km77, Km81, Km100–2, Km110, Km120–21, Km131, Km139.

The drawings are also made by two different persons, both relatively skilled. Those in diagrams associated with Hand II are somewhat plainer, more naïve and often use stiff parallel hatchings; the others are slightly more elegant. As in E, the model could have contained rich decorations, similar to Lautensack's early autographs, but they were only copied in parts, especially in diagrams by Hand II.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ The Königstein arms should show a lion holding a severed hand; in this watermark the scene has, however, become hardly legible.

¹⁴⁰ In Km44 only one spandrel is decorated with (quite un-Lautensackian) floral motifs; in Km81, only seven of 16 are filled with leaves; on Km70 the rays of the celestial bodies are partially omitted.

The close interrelation between these different hands means that the manuscript was not left unfinished by one scribe and then completed by two others; it rather seems that three scholars shared the burden of copying. Such a process could also explain why Km45–46, the last double-leaf in the last gathering written by scribe I, is left empty – probably he had reached the place from which his colleague was supposed to continue. As Hand III follows immediately on Hand II on Km71, within a gathering, the second scribe must have given his half-finished work to the third, and then received it back for correction.¹⁴¹

Marginalia:

Marginal notes only appear in the text written by Hand I. Some of them are probably likewise by Hand I (Km6, Km13, Km15), and by Hand II (e.g. Km17(?), Km32) – some, chiefly Latin, comments on Km1–12 may be by that scribe or by a later user. The same is the case with notices about different periods on Km18. On Km16 is a “NB”, on Km34–36 the numbers 4–12 appear in circles, were not written by one of the text scribes.

Contents:

Km, title-page: **λa**, title-page

Km, leaf after the title-page: empty

Km1–3: **xx**

Km3–146: **λa**

Km147–48: empty

18. Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. theol. germ. 98 (Lm)

Bibliography:

Paul Hagen, *Die deutschen theologischen Handschriften der Lübeckischen Stadtbibliothek* (Lübeck: Schmidt, 1926), 80 (short catalogue entry).

Reproduced here:

λb:Lm8r (Fig. 85)

Provenance:

The library has no information. The cover is similar to a printed book (Theol. 8° 5,725) formerly belonging to a “Henricus Speda Suevus” [Swabian]. This book has a Catherine wheel impressed on the front cover, suggesting it came to the Library before 1822.¹⁴² Dr. Schweitzer, head of special collections of the library, kindly suggested that Lm may not have been stamped with this sign because it was never properly catalogued – but it could also have been given to the library by someone else after 1822. The Stadtbibliothek, founded in 1622, contains books from dissolved religious institutions in Lübeck and from several private collections.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ On Km123 and Km140 Hand II corrected passages of Hand III.

¹⁴² See Willy Pieth, *Mitteilungen über die Lübeckische Stadtbibliothek, 1616 (1622)–1922* (Lübeck: Schmidt, 1922), 11.

¹⁴³ Overview in Pieth, *Mitteilungen über die Lübeckische Stadtbibliothek*, 5–8.

Date:

Lm9r dates a tract to 1591, giving a terminus post quem for the manuscript.

Dimensions:

cover: 28 × 18 cm (Hagen, *Die deutschen theologischen Handschriften*, 80)

written space: ca. 19.5–21 × 13–14 cm

State:

The manuscript was hardly used, it shows no significant damages.

Cover:

It is bound in vellum, painted green, at the top of the spine the remains of a label, beneath is a label “MS | Theol. germ. | fol. 98”, probably from the 19th century.

Later entries:

On Lm1r is a post-1822 stamp of the library.

Collation:

The manuscript is neither foliated nor paginated. For the sake of convenience a foliation was introduced here, which counts the page with the heading “Vita Pauli Lau|tensacci” as Lm1r.

$$IV^{7*} + 20 \times IV^{167} + IV^{175}\dagger + 8 \times IV^{239} + III^{245}.$$

* The first leaf of this gathering is an empty leaf before Lm1.

† Lm172 seems to be glued secondarily on a stub, perhaps a result of a restoration.

Paper:

The thin paper has as watermark the arms of Freiberg in Saxony (city gate between two towers), close, but not identical, to Briquet, no. 2,336 (the portcullis is missing in Lm), dated to 1597 (Briquet 1:177).

Ink:

The drawing on Lm8r is executed in black pen with bluish-greyish washes. Some details, all the text on this page and some other headings are in red ink.

Hands:

Most of the manuscript is written in an elegantly stylized, quite mannered cursive with stressed diagonals and loops; the headings – a good deal larger than the text – are in Fraktur; for Latin a decorative Antiqua is used (e.g. Lm49r). It could have been executed by a professional scribe. There are ca. 19–27 lines per page. Lm239r–43v has a smaller, stiffer writing, with ca. 27–29 lines per page.

With the exception of the first image, the illustrations to this manuscript were never executed, resulting in several blank pages.¹⁴⁴ The number of blanks indicates that this manuscript should have received fewer images than Bm, Km

¹⁴⁴ Empty: Lm1v (back of title of biography), Lm7v (before first miniature), Lm8v (after first miniature), Lm9v (back of main title), Lm84v, Lm92r–v (on the verso heading, probably for the image that should have stood here), Lm106v–7r (end of section), Lm120v–21r (end of section), Lm153r, Lm162v, Lm169v, Lm221v, Lm238v (before beginning of second text). Especially at the beginning the versos of image-pages are left blank, because of the thin paper.

and Wm. The text "Hic pertinet figura" on Lm112r shows that the model was probably illustrated and had the images on separate plates, like other illustrated manuscripts of $\lambda\lambda$, and not within the text. The first image was made by someone who had some experience in drawing.

Marginalia:

Some parts of the manuscript have rich marginal additions, but most of them were apparently entered by the principal scribe who probably copied from his source, with only a few notices being added by later users.¹⁴⁵ Also all the "N.B." and "Q.V." abbreviations seem to come from one scribe.¹⁴⁶ The last pages supplied by the second scribe have no annotations. By another hand are, however, numerous references in light red ink, which are scarcely visible on microfilms of this manuscript. They may be cross-references to folia (or columns?) of another Lautensack tract.¹⁴⁷

Contents:

Lm1r-7r: $\kappa\kappa$	Lm49r-238r: $\lambda\lambda b$
Lm7v: empty	Lm238v: empty
Lm8r: $\lambda\lambda b$, isolated image	Lm239r-43v: ϕb
Lm8v: empty	Lm244r-45v: empty
Lm9r-48v: 23a	

Lm and Mm contain the same texts, albeit in a different order. They must go back to a common archetype.

19. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 4,416-18 (Mm)

Bibliography:

Die deutschen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu Muenchen nach J. A. Schmellers Kürzerem Verzeichnis, vol. 2 (Munich: Palm, 1866), 455 (brief catalogue entry); Horst Pfefferl, "Weigel und Paracelsus," in *Paracelsus und sein dämonengläubiges Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1988), 81-82 (brief reference); Pfefferl, "Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels," *Teil II, A*, 408-12 (detailed description of context); Geyer, *Verborgene Weisheit*, 2:59 n. 253 and 107 n. 35 (short references).

Provenance:

Written in Eger (v.i.). The shelf mark Cgm 4,416 was given to a collection of 37 manuscripts containing religious speculative texts. According to a notice on the inside cover, this manuscript was transferred from Regensburg to the Royal

¹⁴⁵ This could be the case with the calculation on Lm141r and a note on Lm177r, referring to the Microcosm. Also a shamrock-shaped Q (?) on Lm176v might be a later addition.

¹⁴⁶ On Lm61v are two different forms of this sign, but they are similar enough to come from the same scribe.

¹⁴⁷ Lm79v has a cross-reference in a different format by the main scribe, pointing to a "fol. 18". It is not clear, which manuscript was meant. Whereas Lm might have had a foliation that was later cut off, the pages between Lm17r and Lm19v contain nothing obviously relevant for Lm79v.

Library in November 1825. This corresponds well with a letter, according to which 37 “theologische handschriftliche Quartanten” had been moved from a dissolved Archive in Regensburg to the Allgemeine Reichsarchiv in Munich and were now offered to the Royal Library in Munich.¹⁴⁸ Two notices in another volume of this collection, Cgm 4,416-9, could hint at its early history: according to one of them, 20 Reichstaler were paid to “Wolffen Naimern” for some written books on 12 February 1632; the other states that Herr Johann Jakob Wolff received a box with books from the possession of “Wolffen Neymans,” lately a citizen of Regensburg, from a “Mattheo friesls” (?) on 4 March 1631. A Johann Jakob Wolf became Syndicus of the city on 23 June 1623 and received the imperial “Palatinat,”¹⁴⁹ and members of a family called Naimer / Naymer held for generations civic offices.¹⁵⁰ Thus one can assume that the manuscripts had been in the hands of respectable Regensburg families by the 1630s, soon after their production. According to Carlos Gilly, several of the Munich volumes could be identical with those in a list by Dr. Johannes Rehefeld, a physician in Erfurt, that dates from ca. 1620.¹⁵¹ If the notices in Cgm 4,416-9 really refer to these manuscripts and to Regensburg families, Mm must have travelled within slightly more than ten years from Eger (Bohemia) to Erfurt and then to Regensburg – this journey cannot be ruled out but may be implausible.

Date:

According to the colophon on Mm124r, the manuscript was completed in Eger on 5 February 1618.

Dimensions:

cover and leaves: 19 × 15.6 cm

written space: ca. 16–16.4 × 12.2–13 cm

¹⁴⁸ München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, A-Reg. B 94, no. 31, dated 18 November 1825, and München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Generaldirektion der staatl. Archive Bayerns, no. 767 (giving 23 November as date of transfer). The late Professor Walter Jaroschka, formerly Director of the Bavarian State Archives, kindly informed me that at this time the archive of the Lutheran Free City of Regensburg was transferred to Munich together with the collection of the last civic archivist, Karl-Theodor Gemeiner. This group of manuscripts appear neither in a catalogue of this archive (Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Repertorienzimmer, ad R 13) nor in an index of Gemeiner's papers (ibid., B 2a). They also are not listed in a catalogue of the Regensburg civic library (a copy of which is München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cbm Cat. 15).

¹⁴⁹ Erwin Riedenauer, “Kaiserliche Standeserhebungen für reichsstädtische Bürger, 1519–1740: Ein statistischer Vorbericht zum Thema ‘Kaiser und Patriziat,’” in *Deutsches Patriziat*, ed. Helmut Rössler (Limburg / Lahn: Starke, 1968), 47.

¹⁵⁰ Information kindly supplied by Dr. A. Klose, formerly of Regensburg University Library, in a letter from 4 March 2004. Wolf is not mentioned in the will of a Barbara Neymerin, wife of Michael Neymer, from 19 February 1620 (München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Reichsstadt Regensburg, Testamente, no. 2,420).

¹⁵¹ This suggestion is quoted in Weigel, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 7:XXIV, see also Carlos Gilly, “Johann Arndt und die ‘dritte Reformation’ im Zeitalter des Paracelsus,” *Nova Acta Paracelsica*, new ser., 11 (1997): 73, esp. n. 41.

State:

No significant damage, only small wormholes.

Cover:

On the inner and outer sides covered with leaves from a Latin work on grammar, printed in a Gothico-Antiqua, probably not later than the early 16th century. Around the spine a fragment from a liturgical manuscript containing collects for different needs, in a Textura of average quality, probably German. At the spine the binding threads are not covered, and there is a 19th-century label with the current shelf mark. On the top of the front cover a Baroque title "Das Lebendig | Buch: von | P. L." in energetic 17th-century Fraktur (initials in Antiqua), beneath the figure "18," probably predating 1800, at its left in pencil "No". At the top right of this page the older numbers "24" and (crossed out) "27".

Later entries:

On the inside cover the current shelf mark and a pasted note, containing the number "VII" and "v. Regensburg. | Novbr 1825" (v.s.); on the verso of the title-page a stamp of the Royal Library in Munich.

Collation:

The first leaf is not foliated, there are five non-foliated leaves between Mm124 and Mm125 and one, likewise not foliated, leaf at the end of the manuscript, after Mm128.

$$10 \times VI^{119*} + V^{\text{last leaf before Mm125}} + II^{\text{leaf after Mm128}}.$$

Paper:

The watermark shows the civic arms of Eger (paly-bendy, in chief one-headed eagle, as crest a large *E*), similar, but not identical to Briquet, no. 910 and H. П. Лихачевъ, *Палеографическое Значение Бумажныхъ Водяныхъ Знаковъ* (С.-Петербург: Балашевъ, 1899), no. 4,149, both used in central Germany in the late 16th century (Briquet 1:66).

Ink:

It is written in dark brown ink, with some headings, chronographs and diagrams in red, especially in the last pages.

Hands:

The single scribe, probably an experienced clerk, used an elegant, clear cursive, with headings in a more elaborate Fraktur and normally 27–28 lines per page.¹⁵²

Marginalia:

Most of the relatively few annotations probably come from the main scribe.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Pfefferl, "Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels," *Teil II, A*, 408, suggests a change of hand on Mm27r, but there seems to be no significant difference before and after that leaf.

¹⁵³ As the "Nota Bene" signs on Mm69v and Mm82v are different, one of them may come from a later reader – perhaps the first, as the second is connected with a reference to Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* written in letters similar to some Latin words in the text.

Contents:

title-page–Mm26r: 23a

Mm26v: empty

Mm27r–118v: **λλb**Mm118v–24r: **ϕb** (incomplete)

Non-foliated leaves between Mm124v and Mm125r: empty

Mm125r–27r: **xx**20. *Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cpv 12,6o8 (Vm)*

Former shelf mark: Suppl. 547

Bibliography:

Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum, vol. 7, *cod. 11501–14000* (Vienna: Gerold, 1875), 121 (brief catalogue entry).

Provenance:

According to a database of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, bought in 1851 from the antiquarian bookseller Kuppitsch. A request for information from that company was not answered.

Dimensions:

cover: 33.7 × 23.5 cm

pages: 33.5 × 22.7 cm

written space: in the first section of the manuscript (Vm1–45): ca. 25.4 × 17.1 cm
in the latter part: 27.1 × 17.1 cm

State:

No significant damage.

Cover:

It has a worn cardboard binding with water damage, perhaps with some vestiges of writing on it, on the spine is a shield with the lesser Imperial arms and the shelf mark “Bibl. Pal. Vind: Cod. 12,6o8”.

Later entries:

On the inside cover is a label with the modern and earlier shelf marks, beneath, with pencil, “4^o”; on the recto of the leaf “I” the modern shelf mark, on the verso a library stamp (post-1918); on the verso of leaf “II” an entry on Lautensack’s life (with the wrong date of death 1561) in a hand of the late 18th or early 19th century, beneath again the library stamp, which also appears on Vmiv and the versos of leaves “I*”–“III*”. On the back cover are the cryptic notices “14 Fig”, “7/7. 38”, “9589^{1h}” and “10–q”.

Collation:

The text is preceded by two empty leaves (“I”–“II”) and followed by three (“I*”–“III*”); the second of the former and the first two of the latter group belong to the same quires as the main text. Two empty leaves after Vm45 are not foliated.

$$5 \times IV^{39*} + (IV-1)^{45^1} \dagger + (IV-1)^{51\dagger} + I^{53} + I^{55} + IV^{63} + V^{II*} \S.$$

* The first leaf of the first gathering is leaf "II."

† After Vm45 comes an empty leaf numbered Vm45¹, the following leaf is cut out.

‡ The first leaf of the gathering is missing, the second remains empty and is numbered Vm45², then the normal sequence restarts with Vm46.

§ The main sequence ends with Vm71, leaves "I*" and "II*" follow.

All three tracts (Vm1–45, Vm46–55, Vm56–71) were probably copied independently and only bound together later.

Paper:

The text is written on two different types of thin paper.

The first (Vm1–45¹) shows a post horn in a shield, beneath a sickle-like shape with the letters "I C H" and it probably comes from the same mill as one of the papers of Wm. It is most similar to Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Horn*, no. IX 240 (crown, used in the Breisgau around 1760) and 243 (lower section, used in Baden in 1793, cf. Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Horn*, IX), but these watermarks have different letters.

The second (Vm45²–II*) has on one half a coat of arms with a lion passant, above three fleurs-de-lis in a laurel wreath, on the other half a post horn surmounted by a flagpole and the letters "B P V" (?), close to Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Horn*, nos. VIII 434–35, from North of the Lake of Constance, early 18th century (Piccard does not have its counterpart). The ornaments of the watermarks seem to go back to the early 18th century; indeed, an example from this time appears as *Лихачевъ, Палеографическое Значение*, no. 3,711, from a text dated to 1731 (ibid., 1:433). Parallels for both watermarks suggest that the book was compiled in Southwest Germany, far away from the main centers of Lautensack Reception.

Ink:

Dark brown ink is used for both text and diagrams. In the third part of the manuscript much of the diagrams is in red (Vm69r/70r); here and in the second part some elements also added with pencil, most likely later.¹⁵⁴

Hands:

Entire text written in a narrow, awkward, 'scratchy,' yet regular cursive. In Vm1–45 ca. 43–47 lines per page; in the later part, after Vm46, slightly more. The primitive diagrams are most likely by the same person.

Marginalia:

In the first section (up to Vm42v) some letters corrected in the margin by a later scribe, otherwise there are no comments.

Contents:

Vm1r–v: xx

Vm2r–45v: λλa

¹⁵⁴ Vision of Rev. 1 on Vm52v, head of Christ on Vm53r, faces of the larger celestial bodies and faces as well as rays of the smaller celestial bodies left and right of the center on Vm70r (the rays above and below the center had already been done in red).

Vm45^{1r}–45^{2v}: empty

Vm46r–55v: 11

Vm56r–71v: 35

21. *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 35 Blank. (Wm)*

Former shelf marks: Cod. Guelf. 15 Blank. and 17 Blank.

Bibliography:

Hans Butzmann, *Die Blankenburger Handschriften* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1966), 51–52 (detailed catalogue entry).

Reproduced here:

λλa:Wm, title-page (Fig. 99), Wm115 (Fig. 79)

Provenance:

Donated by the scribe Christianus Grumbach (v.i.) to Ludwig Rudolph, younger son of Duke Anton Ulrich of Brunswick-Lüneburg and Prince of Blankenburg.¹⁵⁵ In 1755 transferred to Wolfenbüttel.¹⁵⁶ The Blankenburg library contained manuscripts of Paracelsus (94 Blank. and 115 Blank.) and works on alchemy (179–187 Blank.) but focuses on history. This book was probably copied as a curiosity rather than intended for scholarly use.

Date:

On the third leaf of the dedication fascicle dated to 1 November 1728 (v.i., hands).

Dimensions:

Dedication fascicle:

cover and pages: 32.6 × 20.8 cm

written space: 17–17.3 cm wide

Tract:

cover: 34.5 × 23.3 cm

pages: 33.6 × 22.3 cm

written space: 24.4–25.5 × 17–17.3 cm

Binding:

2 parts: One, containing the dedication, is covered with gilt paper,¹⁵⁷ on which Régence-motifs are impressed; the tract proper has a red velvet binding with the ducal monogram embroidered in silver and remains of a label on the spine. Inside flyleaf of gilt ornament paper similar, but not identical, to the cover of the dedication. Both parts stored together in a box.

Later entries:

On the inner cover are an ex libris from the ducal library and three labels with the shelf marks “15”, “17” and “19”.

¹⁵⁵ For him and his collection see Butzmann, *Blankenburger Handschriften*, 3–10.

¹⁵⁶ Butzmann, *Blankenburger Handschriften*, 8.

¹⁵⁷ It is not “Brokatpapier,” as suggested in Butzmann, *Blankenburger Handschriften*, 51, but “Metallpapier” (see Albert Haemmerle, *Buntpapier: Herkunft, Geschichte, Techniken, Beziehungen zur Kunst* (Munich: Callwey, 1977), 131).

Collation:

This manuscript is paginated. As in Bm, the illustrations are placed on separate leaves; here these are glued to the following page. These additional pages are indicated in italics, their numbers are added in square brackets.

Dedication fascicle:

II [no pagination]

Tract:

$$(V+I \text{ [Title]})^{18*} + (IV+I \text{ [33-34]})^{36} + (IV+I \text{ [47-48] } +I \text{ [53-54]})^{56} + (IV+I \text{ [63-64]})^{74} + (IV+I \text{ [79-80] } +I \text{ [83-84] } +I \text{ [93-94]})^{96} + (IV+I \text{ [101-2] } +I \text{ [107-8] } +I \text{ [111-12] } +I \text{ [115-16]})^{120} + IV^{136} + (IV+I \text{ [139-42]})^{156} + (IV+I \text{ [161-62] } +I \text{ [169-70]})^{176} + 2 \times IV^{208} + (IV+I \text{ [209-12] } +I \text{ [217-18]})^{230} + (IV+I \text{ [233-36]})^{250} + IV^{266} + (IV+I \text{ [275-76]})^{284} + (IV+I \text{ [289-90†]})^{302} + (III)_{\text{back of flyleaf}}^{\ddagger}.$$

* The first leaf is glued to the back of the flyleaf, after which a double leaf of finer paper is inserted, its first half being empty, the second carrying on the recto the (non-paginated) title-page. Afterwards the regular gathering is resumed, on the next (thus altogether fourth) leaf the pagination begins with Wm1.

† The penultimate leaf erroneously carries the page-number 189.

‡ After Wm310 comes an empty leaf, the following last leaf of the gathering is glued to the back of the final flyleaf.

Paper:

Thin, fine paper.

Five different watermarks occur. In this case they do not come from local mills, and therefore they do not suggest where the manuscript was made (which is known anyway, *vi.*) but show the sequence in which it was copied.

Christian Grumbach, the scribe, apparently began with the diagrams later to be glued in. Many of those inserted into the first half of the manuscript¹⁵⁸ show as watermark an escutcheon charged with a post horn and, beneath it, the letters "WR" in ligature, close to Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1950), no. 2,732 (Leiden, 1724, but the horn mirrored) or 2,734 (Amsterdam, 1732) and Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Horn* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1979), no. IX 236, which has, however, "GR" with crown as counterpart. Piccard's example comes from the Black Forest and is dated to 1747, but the "GR" points to Hanover. No complete bifolium appears, but the distance of the chain lines suggest that leaves with the letter "VI" as a watermark formed the other half of these sheets.¹⁵⁹

Soon another paper appears; it has again an escutcheon charged with a post horn, beneath it a figure like a 4, with the letters "I C H". It is similar to Heawood, *Watermarks*, nos. 2,718-28, which have, however, the letters "WR", used in England

¹⁵⁸ Wm33-34, 53-54, 63-64 and again 217-18.

¹⁵⁹ Wm79-80, 91-92 and 101-2. Wm83-84 is made of a different paper, without identifiable watermark.

and the Netherlands in the late 17th century.¹⁶⁰ Grumbach used the same paper for the beginning of the text: the dedication leaves and Wm1–74.¹⁶¹

It is then (Wm75–192) replaced with a paper that has again a post horn in an escutcheon, but now on top a crown decorated with fleur-de-lis, its circlet divided in three lines; in the center a wavy line indicates three jewels. The other halves of the leaf have the letters “I MB” (MB in ligature). No parallels appear in Heawood, *Watermarks*.

The remaining part of the manuscript is done on paper displaying on one side grapes hanging down from a crowned square with the letters “ICV”, on the other halves a post horn without frame, with a much enlarged holding loop. The grapes are loosely similar to Heawood, *Watermarks*, no. 2,367 (English, 17th century), but the letters are different; the grape in the manuscript has rather the proportions of a square standing on one corner, quite similar to Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Horn*, no. VII 101 (Straßburg, late 17th century), but there combined with a different horn.

Ink:

Text in brown ink, many headings in a pinkish red. In the drawings many fine lines are done in a light brown, most other elements in red.¹⁶² Less frequently, black is used¹⁶³ – several times thick black lines are decorated with white pupil-like shapes, e.g. Wm310 and especially some letters on the title-page.¹⁶⁴ A decorative interest is evident.

Hands:

The entire manuscript is executed by a professional scribe using a relatively large, clear and slightly tensionless cursive, a more florid style for the headings, sometimes with rich initials, and clear Latin cursive for Latin quotations and some diagrams. At the beginning are ca. 29–33 lines per page, later normally 25. The diagrams are made by a person with some drawing skills, probably the scribe himself.

The scribe signed the title-page (Fig. 99) as “Chretien Casper Grumbach Etudiant en Droit 1728,” and the poem on the 3rd leaf, r, of the dedicatory fascicle is dated “Blankenburg den 1. Novbr. | Ao 1728. Grumbach.” He was probably identical with a Daniel Christian Grumbach from the Altmark, who matriculated at Helmstedt University in 20 April 1721. By late 1729 he was working for the Prussian administration in Halberstadt and applied successfully for a clerical position in Blankenburg; possibly the gift of this manuscript had helped him to gain it. Another manuscript written by Grumbach for the Duke of Blankenburg is a copy of *Raphael oder Artzt-Engel* by the speculative theologian Abraham von

¹⁶⁰ Leaf opposite title-page, Wm11–12, 115–16, 139–42, 209–12, 233–36, 275–76.

¹⁶¹ Apparently a leftover sheet of it was used for Wm157–58/175–76.

¹⁶² Sometimes, as in Wm83r, the light, pinkish red is enlivened by dark red dots; on Wm101 dark red ornaments are painted on light red surfaces.

¹⁶³ E.g. title-page, Wm1, Wm33.

¹⁶⁴ Large letters decorated in black-and-white patterns appear sometimes in 18th-century calligraphy, e.g. on a page of Johann Christoph Albrecht's *Muster einer ganz neuen schönen und Regelmäßigen Schreib-Art*, Nuremberg 1764 (reproduced in *Schreibmeisterblätter: Kurrent, Kanzlei, Fraktur* (Leipzig: Deutsche Bücherei, 1967), 21).

Franckenberg,¹⁶⁵ from 1729, which is in quarto and technically similar to, yet more elaborate than, the Lautensack manuscript.¹⁶⁶ Here Grumbach calls himself "Candidatus Juris." In 1732 he asked, in verse, for a full salary in order to feed his family.¹⁶⁷ Whether Grumbach was interested in speculative theology, or whether he merely had access to manuscripts by von Franckenberg and Meffert and regarded them as attractive objects for decorative copying, is another question.

Marginalia:

None. Apparently the manuscript was never used.

Contents:

Dedication fascicle: ξξ

Text fascicle:

Wm, title-page: λλa, title-page

Wm, verso of title-page: empty

Wm1–5: xx

Wm5–310: λλa

Leaf after Wm310: empty

Meffert's Comments on Lautensack (-s)

22. *Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. VCQ 1, fols. 64v–70r (Rn)*

Bibliography:

Callmer, *Catalogus codicum* (1650), 74 (short entry, not mentioning Meffert's tract); København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 576 Fol. ("Catalogus manuscriptorum Praga in Suediam advectorum" [1656]), 3r, as Folio, Z² (ditto); Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL127AF ("Codices Mss. Græci, Latini, Gallici, Hispanici, Germanici, Sinici, Italici, &c. Viri Illvstris Isaaci Vossii, volumen primum," n.d.), 99 no. F. 43; Senguierdus, *Catalogus Librorum*, 363 no. Q. 1 (ditto); O. Walde, "Bücher- und bibliotheksgeschichtliche Forschungen in ausländischen Bibliotheken," *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 17 (1930): 109 n. 4 (on the scribe); Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici*, 113–15 (detailed description).

Provenance:

Owned by Johann Jacob Praetorius of Perlenberg († Brunn, 1624), an avid collector and copyist of speculative manuscripts, especially of works by Paracelsus, who possessed at least one manuscript by Lautensack.¹⁶⁸ Then in the collection of

¹⁶⁵ For von Franckenberg see pp. 286–88.

¹⁶⁶ Cod. Guelf. 16o Blankenburg; a facsimile was produced with Schneider, *Abraham von Franckenbergs Raphael*, as commentary. It uses not only red but also green (e.g. p. 77), and some elements are fully painted, like the serpent on p. 14.

¹⁶⁷ Biographical information in Schneider, *Abraham von Franckenbergs Raphael*, 17–19.

¹⁶⁸ Walde, "Bücher- und bibliotheksgeschichtliche Forschungen," 108–9 and esp. 109 n. 4. Walde identifies Praetorius as the scribe of the manuscript, but it was written by several persons. For the Lautensack manuscript cf. p. 387 n. 188.

Franziskus Cardinal von Dietrichstein in Nikolsburg (Moravia).¹⁶⁹ Looted by the Swedish troops in 1645 and brought to Copenhagen, given to Isaac Vossius and bought by Leiden University Library from his heirs.¹⁷⁰

Date:

Several entries in this manuscript are dated to between 1587 and 1616,¹⁷¹ an additional note to the section discussed here has on Rn69r “Raptim den 3 April 15 87” (see Marginalia). As this date also appears on Wm8v it may indicate the completion of the tract, thus furnishing a terminus post quem.

Dimensions:

25.2 × 17.9 cm (Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici*, 113).

Cover:

Leather, at the front cover stamp of “D. IACOBUS: CONRAD: PRÆTORIVS”.

Later entries:

None in Meffert’s text.

Collation:

The text by Meffert is part of a regular sexternio going from Rn60 to Rn71. Two loose sheets with notices are stuck into the book after Rn66v.

Paper:

The watermark shows the arms of Basel.¹⁷² One of the notice sheets has as a watermark a crowned double-eagle with an A on its breast, similar yet not identical to Briquet, no. 324, from Brünn, 1597 (Briquet 1:35).

Ink:

All is written in brown ink.

Hands:

Supposedly the whole manuscript is an autograph by Praetorius (cf. p. 373). In fact, there may be more than five different scribes of varying calligraphic skills. Like the preceding pages the section with Meffert’s is written in a clear cursive, which becomes very round in Latin quotes (e.g. Rn65v), with 21–33 lines per page. The same person also wrote Rn60v–64r and Rn71r–74r, an alchemical text.

Marginalia:

This manuscript was heavily used and annotated by several different persons.

¹⁶⁹ So Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici*, 113, without further sources.

¹⁷⁰ For details concerning the history of the Vossius Collection cf. p. 348; according to Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici*, XVII, Nikolsburg was conquered in 1645.

¹⁷¹ Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici*, 113.

¹⁷² Boeren, *Codices Vossiani Chymici*, 113, identified it with Briquet, no. 1,326, but the staff is enclosed in an escutcheon that is somewhat similar to Briquet, no. 1,343 (according to Briquet 1:110 Basle, 1592). However, in the manuscript the escutcheon is pointed at the bottom.

The last paragraph on Rn69r, with the date “1587” (v.s.), is written with a much finer quill, probably by a different scribe. After the end of the tract appears an appendix of 14 lines in a smaller, slightly blunt hand, probably written not long after the main text (Rn70r). At Rn65r a passage crossed out in red, with a Latin comment, also in red, at the margin; a red line marking the margin on Rn66r. At the bottom of Rn65v and the margin of Rn66r are numbers, not by the main scribe. Further comments in Latin on Rn68r and in German on Rn65r and Rn69r may be by three different people. The remarks “Ecce homo” and “O admirabile commercium” on Rn68v and Rn69r respectively are in a small, clear Latin cursive not found anywhere else – but even these could come from two different persons. Another, minute and ‘scratchy,’ hand appears in the Latin remarks on rectos of the two inserted leaflets, on their versos a round, undisciplined cursive. On Rn68r a pointing hand and the notice “NB”; another “NB”, possibly by the same person, on Rn66v. The loose notice-sheets stuck between the pages of this tract are apparently not related to Lautensack.

Contents:

This volume contains primarily alchemical recipes and some works by Paracelsus. Rn64v–70r: ∞

23. *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 778 Helmst., fols. 12r–21r (Wn)*

Bibliography:

[Wilhelm Ernst Tentzel], “Theologica | Manuscripta | Summa diligentia multisqve sumtibus, | circa finem defluxi & principium currentis | sæculi | a | N. N. | hic inde collecta,” *Monatliche | Unterredungen | Einiger | Guten Freunde | Von | Allerhand Büchern und andern | annehmlichen Geschichten*, Aprilis 1692 (VD 17 3:633139M): 267; Otto von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, part 1, *Die Helmstedter Handschriften*, 3 vols. (Wolfenbüttel: Zwissler, 1884–88), 2:209–11 no. 869 (short catalogue entry, erroneously regarding Wn20r–21v as a distinct text); Zeller, *Die Schriften Valentin Weigels*, 80–81 nos. 88–92 (entries in list); Weigel, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 3: XIV–XV no. W₅. (information on provenance).

Provenance:

According to von Heinemann, *Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, 2:210, this manuscript has the same provenance as cod. Guelf. 774 and 776 Helmst. They come from a large collection of mystical tracts that once belonged to Benedict Hinckelmann († 1642), court Chemist in Dresden and friend of Jacob Böhme, a catalogue of which was published in 1692.¹⁷³ In 1817, some years

¹⁷³ This collection is described in Tentzel, “Theologica Manuscripta,” with this fascicle on p. 267, see Gilly, “Zur Geschichte und Überlieferung,” 53. The volumes in Wolfenbüttel contain primarily material from volumes A, E and F of Tentzel’s catalogue (Wn was in volume E), but at some point after 1692 the old volumes were disbound, and the individual tracts combined differently (the numbers on their first pages still give their place in the original volumes).

after Helmstedt university had been dissolved, the library was passed on to the Dukes of Brunswick and subsequently placed in Wolfenbüttel.¹⁷⁴

Date:

A calendar added by the same scribe on Wn21v has Easter on 15 April, which occurred in 1571, 1582 and 1593 (Old Style).¹⁷⁵ As in Rn, also Wn18v gives 3 April 1587 as date of the composition of the text, so the manuscript must be later.

Dimensions:

pages: 19.7 × 16.5 cm

written space: ca. 16.5–17.5 × 11.5–12 cm

Cover:

Bound in a modern cardboard cover, which has on the spine a label with the number “778”.

Later entries:

On the flyleaf is a modern stamp of the Herzog August Bibliothek. The sections of this volume are counted; Meffert’s text has the number “N. 2” (Wn12r, cf. p. 375 n. 173).

Collation:

The manuscript has altogether 462 leaves; Meffert’s text forms a regular sexternio from Wn12 to Wn23.

Paper:

The watermark shows an escutcheon with a city gate surmounted by three towers, probably with a “Tartsche” placed within the gate, as in Gerhard Piccard, *Die Turm-Wasserzeichen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970), nos. XVII 371–74. However, the wider central tower touches the upper margin, and the towers are straighter than in Piccard. Watermarks of this type were chiefly used in the last quarter of the 16th century between the lands of Saxony, Silesia and Eastern Prussia (Piccard, *Turm-Wasserzeichen*, 68) and therefore where most Lautensack manuscripts were copied.

Ink:

Written in brown ink.

Hands:

All written in a round Baroque cursive. This hand does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript.

¹⁷⁴ A brief history of the collection appears in von Heinemann, *Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, 1:V–VI, IX.

¹⁷⁵ Tract ππ: This is a calendar for 31 days, beginning with a Sunday, connecting each day with a religious word, with some repetitions (e.g. “1 Sonntag Heilig | 2 Montag rain...”), in a different ink but by the same hand as the preceding pages. Maundy Thursday is marked for 12 April, Easter Day for the fifteenth, Easter Saturday for the twenty-first.

Marginalia:

Much underlining and highlighting on the margin, in a pale ink, probably all by the same person.¹⁷⁶

Contents:

Wn12r–18v: 00, 1st part

Wn19r–v: empty

Wn20r–21v: 00, 2nd part

Wn21v: ππ

This manuscript and the related manuscripts Cod. Guelf. 774 Helmst. (von Heinemann, *Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, 2:204–5 no. 865) and Cod. Guelf. 776 Helmst. (ibid., 208 no. 867) contain several mystical and astrological texts and prophecies, partially from the *devotio moderna* and the Reformation period, including at least one work by Valentin Weigel.¹⁷⁷

*Kaym's Edition of Lautensack (-k)*24. *København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 39 2° (Kk)*

Bibliography:

Catalogi Bibliothecae Thottianae tomus septimus, 276 no. 39 (short catalogue entry); *Cimelia Rhodostaurotica*, 9 (short reference); Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, 70 no. 8, L36 and 38 (short description, reproductions of Kk2r and Kk239r, plate L37 is in fact not from this MS but from Km58); Gilly, "Zur Geschichte und Überlieferung," 410 n. 1 (regards the first tract in this manuscript as an updated version of the epistle sent by Kaym to Jacob Böhme).

Reproduced here:

pp:Kk206r (Fig. 102)

Provenance:

The early history of this manuscript is unknown, it later became part of Thott's collection, cf. the entry for Km, p. 360.

Date:

1634 (Kk1v)

Dimensions:

cover: 37 × 25 cm

paper: 36.1 × 24 cm

written space: main text between 29 × 16.2–18 cm; at the outer edge a column for marginalia, 2–2.5 cm wide, is added.

¹⁷⁶ As they are hardly visible on a microfilm it is difficult to judge if they are by the same person, but this is more plausible than not.

¹⁷⁷ Cod. Guelf. 778 Helmst., 302r–63v, contains the *Gnothi seauton* (Weigel, *Sämtliche Werke*, 3:XIV).

State:

No significant damage.

Cover:

Bound in cardboard covered with yellow, undecorated parchment.

Later entries:

On the inside cover are the shelf mark and a stamp of the Royal Library, another library stamp is on Kkiv.

Collation:

$$I^2 + 13 \times IV^{106} + V^{116} + 6 \times IV^{164} + V^{174} + 2 \times IV^{190} + III^{197*} + 5 \times IV^{237} + V^{247} + I^{249} + 5 \times IV^{289}.$$

* The foliation jumps from Kk190 to Kk192. As nothing seems to be missing this is probably a clerical error.

Paper:

Relatively inexpensive paper of irregular thickness is used. The watermark is a shield with scrollwork ornaments, inside a large fleur-de-lis (with three horizontal lines), at the top a crown with a tripartite circlet, in its center a fleur-de-lis flanked by smaller jewels and outer structures like double horns (probably fleurs-de-lis seen from the side). Beneath the shield a sign like a 4, around which letters probably spelling "C V W". Shield and fleur-de-lis are closest to Briquet, no. 7,165, used by Wendelin Richel in Straßburg around 1587 (Briquet 1:394–95). On the other half of the sheet the letters "MCMD". As Straßburg was a commercial center, paper produced there could be used at many places in Europe.

Ink:

Brown ink, both for text and images. Margins, marginal columns and space for headings delineated with pencil; diagrams drawn with pencil and then executed with the normal text ink.

Hands:

The manuscript is written in a clear book cursive. Its size and wideness changes several times, as do the prominence of loops and the number of lines per page: at the beginning there are quite regularly 32, later frequently 36–40. For headings a Fraktur is used, for Latin quotations an elegant Latin cursive. Although the character of the writing changes visibly there are no clear ruptures that would allow to identify several scribes; instead the entire text (and probably also the drawings that show some, albeit limited, skill) should be attributed to one scribe. As the manuscript begins with a portrait of the author Paul Kaym (Kkiv) it is most likely not an autograph. On Kk13v some space is left empty; this could indicate that the scribe wanted to synchronize his copy with the exemplar.

Marginalia:

The text is continually furnished with marginal comments, chiefly key words and biblical references, for which a separate column at the margin was reserved. They all seem to be made by the text scribe and there are no signs of later annotations.

Contents:

Kkiv–289v: pp

Anonymous Tracts Inspired by Lautensack (-b)

25. *Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. fol. 1,070 (Sb)*

Bibliography:

Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften*, 150 (brief catalogue entry); Zeller, *Die Schriften Valentin Weigels*, 71 nos. 3 and 7 (entries in list); Pfefferl, "Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels," *Teil II, A*, 18–22 (detailed description of contents).

Provenance:

The manuscript entered the library in 1891 (Sb1r: accession number 1891.41) and was, according to the accession register, acquired for 20 Mk from a family Behrends, Blücherplatz 1, Berlin. No information on earlier owners is available.

Date:

1599 (Sb1r, Sb10r). Hb, whose contents are most similar, goes back to an autograph acquired in 1599, probably a (complete) sister manuscript of Sb (cf. p. 380).

Dimensions:

cover: 33.6 × 21.1 cm

pages: 32.5 × 19.7 cm

written space: ca. 29.5–30.5 × 17–18 cm

State:

The manuscript is badly damaged through the acidity of the ink and partially hard to read.

Binding:

The manuscript was rebound by the Royal Library with a leather spine and marbled paper, on the front cover are a stamp with the lesser royal arms of Prussia and a red leather label with the shelf mark.

Later entries:

Since the flyleaves are modern no older entries are preserved. The recto of a flyleaf has the shelf mark, the first page of the text displays a pre-1918 stamp of the library and, in the bottom right corner, the accession number. On Sb23v is again the library stamp.

Collation:

XIV²⁸.

Paper:

The outer leaves of the gathering (Sb1–4/24–28) have as watermark a wheel, close to that used for parts of W (cf. p. 337) and typical for the region between Lower Silesia and Lübeck in the late 16th century. The inner leaves have instead a

heart-shaped shield charged with an eagle with asymmetrical legs, emblazoned with the letter Z.¹⁷⁸ It is somewhat similar to Briquet, no. 176, found in Lübeck in the 1590s (Briquet 1:28).

Ink:

Written in black ink; headings, key words and some drawings in red ink.

Hands:

The entire manuscript is written in a cursive, which becomes less disciplined towards the end. For headings a Fraktur is used, for Latin quotations a relatively florid Latin cursive. Normally there are 39–43 lines per page.

Marginalia:

On Sb11v are some small hexagram-like drawings. The lower one, which might have come from the original scribe, is crossed out, above is a corrected version with a Latin comment by another, very mannered, hand, by the same scribe “paragraphus” on Sb12v. In Sb14r the names of the weekdays and six times “24 stunden” [24 hours] are added in a mannered German cursive. It is not clear if this was done by the same person as before.

Contents:

Sb1r–10r: 23a (incomplete)

Sb10v–20v: ϕb

Sb21r–22v: ψ

Sb22v–23r: ωb

26. *Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, theol. 1,235 (Hb)*

Bibliography:

Becker, *Die theologischen Handschriften*, 177; Pfefferl, “Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels,” *Teil II, A*, 19 (reference in connection with Sb) and 225–28.

Provenance:

No information available.

Date:

Hb18r: “Hæc sunt secreta secretorum secretissimum, nonnisi fidelibus sapientia filiis revelanda, descripta ex autographo Wigelli mihi communicata a F. N. 99. Circa festum Natus Christi. | Von obstehender Copia des Autographi ist gegenwärtige Copia wieder genommen worden anno 1724.” Therefore, the Hamburg manuscript, written in 1724, reproduces a manuscript made before 1599, which supposedly is in turn a copy after an autograph by Valentin Weigel.

State:

On several pages water damage.

¹⁷⁸ One leg is nearly horizontal, the other slightly diagonal.

Dimensions:

Cover: 33.8 × 21 cm

Pages: 33.8 × 20.8 cm

Written space: 28.5–29 × 17.5–18.5 cm (in the text, the diagrams are wider)

Cover:

Bound in sheet of music, mensural notation on five lines, without text, probably 16th century, above it a paper cover dating at least to the 19th century.

Later entries:

On the front cover at the top left label with “21”, in the center of the cover an old shelf mark, “no. 85”, besides it in red “s – p” (according to Dr. Hans-Walter Stork, this note was made whilst the manuscript was kept in the Soviet Union after the Second World War). On Hb2r stamp with the Hamburg arms and the text “Publ. Bibliotheca”.

Collation:

V¹⁰ + IV¹⁸.

Paper:

The watermark is a large Baroque coat of arms: impaled, in the dexter half barry (alternating between wide and narrow stripes), over all a bow in double-line, in the sinister half two staffs (or a baton and a sword) in saltire, no helmet, as crest a lying bow, above a six-pointed star. Some watermarks have a shield with the arms of the Duchy of Saxony impaled with those of the Imperial High Marshal – but the latter (here sinister) should be divided per fess and the two charges should be swords with their handles at the bottom, rather than at the top, as here. Furthermore, the examples given by Briquet (nos. 1,412–17) have instead of a crest the word “Dresden”. In default of a more convincing solution one could still assume that the paper mill had a Saxon connection.

Ink:

Written in brown ink. As in Sb red ink is used for headings, keywords and drawings but less frequently than there

Hands:

The manuscript is written in a clear 18th-century cursive, which towards the end becomes less disciplined and ‘scratchy,’ but probably all is done by one scribe.

Marginalia:

Several, chiefly Latin, words on Hb3r–6r, Hb7r–v, Hb9v, Hb10v, Hb12v, which might have been added by a reader. Surprisingly, also the notice on the history of the text on Hb18r (v.s.) is not in the hand of the main scribe, and its script is again different from a lengthy annotation beneath it.

Contents:

Hb1r–v: empty

Hb2r–11r: 23a

Hb11r–17r: ϕ bHb17r: ω b

This manuscript is most similar to Sb, but it contains a more complete version of the text and is more carefully executed.

Further Manuscripts about Lautensack (-s)

27. *Nürnberg, Stadtarchiv, Rep. E 1 / 931 (olim Lautensack 54 30) (Ns)*

Bibliography:
Unpublished.

Provenance:
No information.

Date:
This text refers to the 1711 edition of Lautensack's tracts (v.i.) but not to Zeltner, *Lautensack* (published in 1716), and hence it was probably compiled between these dates.

State:
No significant damage.

Cover:
Unbound.

Later entries:
On p. 318 the text "Paul Lautensack", probably added in the early 19th century.

Collation:
The text is paginated, from p. 318 to p. 329:
 $3 \times I^{329}$.

Paper:
The watermark (eagle with a large square shield, which contains a circle and a perpendicular central line) could not be identified.

Ink:
Written in brown ink.

Hands:
One scribe, regular 18th-century cursive.

Marginalia:
The text is only written at the left half of each page; there are several additions between the lines and at the right margin, and some text is crossed out on p. 319. As could be expected, all changes were probably made by the scribe of this collection of notices, the only exception may be a reference to Zeltner on Ns315.

Contents:
Ns318–329: $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$

With its excerpts from different texts by and on Lautensack, these pages are a collection of material on this man, probably written by a local scholar working on

Nuremberg worthies. Many extensive compilations for such studies survive, but they do not contain entries on Lautensack.¹⁷⁹

28. *Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Car I 262, fols. 68r–76r (Zs)*

Owing to the relative insignificance of this manuscript it was not studied in the original.

Bibliography:

Ernst Gagliardi, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, vol. 2, *Neuere Handschriften seit 1500 (ältere schweizergeschichtliche Handschriften inbegriffen)* (Zürich: Berichthaus, 1931/82), 1,622 (short catalogue entry); Pfefferl, “Weigel und Paracelsus,” 81 (brief reference).

Provenance:

In 1835 transferred from the library of the Kanton (Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, vol. 1, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften* (Zürich: Berichthaus, 1951), xi).

Date:

Must postdate 1619.

Dimensions:

20 × 16 cm

Cover / Notes / Collation / Paper / Ink:

No information.

Hands:

One scribe, Baroque cursive, not very fluent, ca. 29–35 lines per page.

Marginalia:

Nil.

Contents:

Zs68r–76r: ζζζ

This volume contains indexes for several mystical works, e.g. by Weigel, Franck and Paracelsus (Gagliardi, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, 1622).

¹⁷⁹ Lautensack could not be found in the following manuscript collections of notes in the Nürnberg Stadtbibliothek: Will III.44.4° (Georg Matthias König, “De Claris Norimbergensibus,” ca. 1700); Will III.919b.4° (“Lob etlicher Künstler,” ca. 1700); Will III.16–20.2° (Erhard Schmid, “Bibliotheca Norimbergensis | Sive | Catalogus Scriptorum, quorum Aucto[re]s vel Nativitate Norimbergenses fuerunt vel sub Illustri hac Republica | publico munere sunt functi,” 18th century); and two collections of notes probably connected with the preparation of Will, *Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (whose entry on Lautensack merely summarizes Zeltner, *Lautensack*): Nürnberg Stadtbibliothek, Will III.43.2° (“Biographiae autographae ad Lexicon Eruditorum Norimbergensium pertinentes”) and Will VIII.12b*.4° (“Collectanea | zum Nürnbergischen Gelehrten-Lexicon”). Lautensack is also missing from Jacobus Gvilielmus Feverlinus, *De | Claris Qvibvsdam | in orbe literato | Norimbergensibus* (Altdorf: n.p., 1718).

Texts Incorrectly Associated with Lautensack (-x)

29. *Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, theol. 1,892, pp. 607–699 (Hx)*

Bibliography:

Bibliotheca | Furliana | sive | Catalogus | Librorum | Honoratiss. & doctiss. Viri | Benjamin Furly ... Auctio fiet die 22 Octobri 1714 (Roterodami: Fritsch & Bohm, 1714), 323 no. 26 (short reference, not mentioning the Lautensack section); *Bibliotheca | Uffenbachiana | Universalis | sive | Catalogus | Librorum | tam Typis quam | Manu exaratorum, | quos summo Studio | hactenus collegit | Zach. Conradus | ab Uffenbach*, 4 vols. (Francofurti ad Moenum: Andreae & Hort, 1729–31), 3:700–1 no. 33 (slightly more detailed reference, mentioning the Lautensack section); Zeller, *Die Schriften Valentin Weigels*, 75–76 nos. 39–49 (list of Weigelian tracts); Nilüfer Krüger, *Die theologischen Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg*, vol. 3, *Quarthandschriften und kleinere Formate (Cod. Theol. 1751–2228)* (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1993), 50–51 (description of contents); Weigel, *Sämtliche Werke*, 8:XXIX no. H₈ (on a text by Weigel in this manuscript).

Provenance:

From the large library of the prominent English Quaker Benjamin Furly (1636–1714).¹⁸⁰ This collection, poor in manuscripts, contained many heterodox Protestant works. Later part of the library of Zacharias Konrad Uffenbach, an universally interested bibliophile,¹⁸¹ his collection contains some heterodox tracts (amongst them also the 1619 edition of Lautensack's works¹⁸²) but they form only a small part of it. Later in the library of Johann Christoph Wolf and thence in the Hamburg civic library (cf. p. 332).

Dimensions:

Cover: 21.7 × 18 cm

Paper: 21 × 15.8 cm

Written space: 18.5–19.5 × 13–14.5 cm

State:

No significant damage.

Cover:

Pigskin, 17th or 18th century, with title: "VALENT. WEIGELII | SCRIPTA VARIA | MS".

Later entries:

On the inside cover ex libris from Wolf and Uffenbach, next to the latter "no. 26"; in the first gathering a description of the contents of the MS, probably 19th century.

¹⁸⁰ For him see Richard L. Greaves, "Furly, Benjamin," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 21 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 183–85.

¹⁸¹ For him see *Lexikon des Gesamten Buchwesens*, 2nd edition, to date 7 vols. (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1987–), 7:554–55 (P. Neumann).

¹⁸² *Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana* 1:906 no. 1.

Collation:

The manuscript consists of different parts on different paper, most likely bound together later.

The Lautensack section is paginated twice. The first system goes from p. 1 to p. 83, the other from p. 607 to p. 712, including some empty pages at the end that are not numbered in the first system (p. 83 = p. 699).

6 × IV⁷¹².

Paper:

This section has as watermark the arms of Brieg in Silesia, similar to Briquet, no. 959, but with spiral ornaments on the lower end of the escutcheon. The Brieg arms appear also in the Halle manuscripts (cf. p. 341, there also blazon), fitting well with the role of Lower Silesia as a center for Lautensack reception.

The flyleaves of this manuscript have the civic arms of Amsterdam – this may suggest that the tracts were bound together by Furly, who spent most of his life in Rotterdam, but Amsterdam paper was so widely used that its presence means little.

Ink:

Written in brown ink.

Hands:

It is written in a Baroque cursive, Fraktur is used for headings. There are ca. 31–33 lines per page.

Marginalia:

Several times paragraphs are numbered, most likely by the text scribe; on p. 24 “NB”, on p. 58 a correction, unclear if by a later scribe.

Contents:

Hx607–699: 777

30. *Kassel, Hessische Landesbibliothek, 4° Ms. chem. 72, fols. 302v–6r (Kx)*

This manuscript was only studied cursorily in the original.

Bibliography:

Hartmut Broszinski, *Manuscripta Chemica in Quarto* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 321–29, especially 328.

Provenance:

One of the sections of this manuscript is dedicated to Elector August of Saxony (Broszinski, *Manuscripta*, 329). Most alchemical manuscripts in Kassel come from the collection of Landgraf Moritz of Hessen, who was deeply interested in this discipline (cf. p. 388 n. 195, Broszinski, *Manuscripta*, XV), but this manuscript cannot be identified in the inventory of his estate (*ibid.*, 329).

Date:

Ca. 1585–1600 (*ibid.*, 329)

State:

Several leaves missing (*ibid.*, 329).

Cover:

Bound in scrap parchment, probably from the 15th century.

Later entries:

No information.

Collation:

No information.

Paper:

Paper from Hessen, different watermarks, several of them with eagles (one was also used in a manuscript dated to 1597), one with the letters "KF" (Broszinski, *Manuscripta*, 329).

Ink:

Written in brown ink.

Hands:

Baroque cursive. Other parts of the manuscript contain drawings.

Marginalia:

On Kx302v the Latin comment "aqua Regis" in the left margin, by another scribe, further down on this page is a (pointless) correction.

Contents:

Kx302v–306r: ~~999~~

Lost Manuscripts

Although a significant number of manuscripts with tracts by Paul Lautensack have survived, many others must have disappeared; among them are virtually all autographs used by later copyists and printers as well as several manuscript stages that must have taken place between the autographs and the extant copies (for details see the stemmata of individual tracts in my doctoral dissertation and on pp. 318 and 355 of this book).

The following survey contains Lautensack manuscripts that were mentioned in sources but could not be identified with any surviving copies (the one or the other might be identical with a manuscript described above).

There is no trace of the manuscripts Lautensack sent to Luther or donated to the town council in 1534 (cf. p. 24 n. 66). If the latter were kept at all, they would probably have been placed in the old civic library in the guildhall – and apparently only few of its holdings were transferred into the later Stadtbibliothek, whereas much had been lost by the end of the 16th century.¹⁸³ However, it is possible that some of these manuscripts were the books that the council had given to Rudolf II before 1597. Since we have no 16th-century catalogues of the Stadtbibliothek in Nuremberg there is no record of any manuscripts that may have been housed there for a few decades, nor did works by Lautensack leave a trace in the Imperial collection.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Goldmann, *Geschichte der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*, 13.

¹⁸⁴ In that year Count Seebach tried to acquire paintings by Lautensack for Emperor Rudolph II and also asked for an explanatory booklet. The council informed him that they

The correspondence of the followers of Paracelsus in late 16th-century Silesia, which has been discussed in Chapter 6, refers to several manuscripts of works by Lautensack in the possession of Johann Huser and Johannes Hörner.¹⁸⁵ The same chapter also introduces Prince August of Anhalt (1575–1653) who in the early 17th century collected manuscripts by Lautensack and also had had access to one of Meffert's tracts about the Nuremberg painter. The manuscript UV, today in Halle, may come from his library.¹⁸⁶ In 1630, a manuscript commentary on Lautensack by Meffert was in the possession of the Lutheran minister Augustin Fuhrmann in Brieg.¹⁸⁷ Johann Jacob Praetorius, former owner of Rn, also possessed at least one manuscript by Lautensack.¹⁸⁸

It is not clear if the text "Paul Lautensack Apocalypsis Jesu Christi, 30. Bogen. Wobey 20. curieus gezeichnete 4to Figuren" in an 18th-century list of works by Valentin Weigel could refer to a manuscript by or about this painter; it can hardly be identified with the 1619 edition.¹⁸⁹

Christian Becman used for his brief yet original comments on Lautensack¹⁹⁰ a manuscript from the library of Thomas Teucher, who had once been a follower of the painter's speculative ideas.¹⁹¹ A Thomas Teucher, Lutheran pastor in Görtzig died in January 1622; according to the funeral sermon he was suspected to be a Calvinist and had great interest in the "studio Philosophico," an aspect on which the preacher did not want to comment any further.¹⁹² Possibly a fascination with

did not know of the existence of a booklet and had already supplied the Emperor with some books, cf. p. 25 n. 68.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. pp. 270–71.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. pp. 289, 339–40.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. p. 286 n. 114. The manuscripts U, V and Hx are written on paper from Brieg (v.s.).

¹⁸⁸ The inventory of his books in Stockholm, Kungliga Bibliotek, Ms. U 374, not foliated, refers to a manuscript by Lautensack in folio as well as to a commentary by Lautensack on the Revelation of St John in quarto. The latter is not marked as a manuscript but, in contrast to other printed books on this page, no date is indicated. It might be the 1619 edition (the catalogue is dated to 1616 but contains some publications from 1618 and 1619, and both references to Lautensack look as if they had been added later) or a second manuscript. The earlier versions of this catalogue (Ms. U 375, dated to 1612, and Ms. U 376, from before 1617) contain no Lautensack texts. I am very grateful to Dr. Gilly for this reference and to Ms. Anne Scherman, Kungliga biblioteket Stockholm, for sending me scans of the relevant pages and informing me about the history of these catalogues.

¹⁸⁹ Weigel, *Himmlich Manna, Azoth et Ignis*, 59. This is not one of the several titles in the 1619 Edition; furthermore, two of its parts, the overall title and the title *Tractatus de Opere Mirabili, item Paul Lautensacks Schrifft* (a59) are listed separately on p. 55. The 1619 edition also consists of more than 30 quires, and its primitive woodcuts can hardly be described as curious drawings.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. p. 1 n. 2.

¹⁹¹ Becman, *Exercitationes Theologicae*, 345b.

¹⁹² Joachimus Crugerus, *Asylum Piorum* | *Freyheit der Frommen vnd Auß(er)wählten*. | *Erzehlet vnd erkeret*. | *Bey dem Begräbniß / weil(land des Ehrwürdigen / Achtbarn vnd | Wolgelarten Errn [sic] M. Thomæ Teucheri | Pfarherrn zu Görtzig; welcher den 17. Januarij dieses 1622. | Jahres ... entschlaffen* (Wittenberg: Gorman, 1622, VD 17 23:324393L), E4v. Teucher had become minister in Görtzig in summer 1602. The sermon for his installation is printed as Marcus Scultetus, *Speculum Servorum Dei* | *Oder | PredigerSpiegel [sic]* | *In zwo Christliche Erinnerungs Predigten ... Bey der Introduction vnd einweisung des | neuen Pfarrern zu Görtzig / M. Thomæ Teucheri etc.* (Wittenberg: Meißner, 1604, VD 17 1:031188Q),

the likes of Lautensack was subsumed under this term. As Becman wrote twenty years after Teucher's death he may have referred to his son Thomas.¹⁹³

Finally, we do not have the manuscripts used for the two printed editions of tracts by Lautensack. The owner of the exemplars for the 1619 edition is unknown; it is not implausible that they came from the library of Prince August of Anhalt (v.s.) who had connections to this printer.¹⁹⁴ The manuscript fragment printed in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten* (published 1711, v.i.) came from the library of David Ehinger († after 1632) – a teacher in Kirchheim / Teck in Württemberg, therefore living far away from most Lautensack copyists. Nevertheless, he was in correspondence with Landgraf Moritz of Hessen-Kassel, who took great interest in alchemy and the Rosicrucians.¹⁹⁵ Ehinger copied works by Paracelsus, Weigel and Böhme; his own works are, however, practical treatises on alchemy.¹⁹⁶ No text by Lautensack appears in a list of books in his possession, which he offered to lend to Carl Widemann in late 1627. Maybe he did not want to part from this manuscript, he did not possess it by then – or the Lautensack tract was part of a longer miscellany and therefore not listed separately.¹⁹⁷

Printed Editions

1. *Paulus Lautensack, Offenbarung Jesu Christi (Frankfurt am Mayn: Jennis, 1619, prints o, t, g and a)*

Bibliography:

Pertz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der mystischen und ascetischen Literatur*, section published 1857, 90–94 nos. 31–36; Opel, *Valentin Weigel*, 64–66 (nos. 29–32); Israel, *M. Valentin Weigels Leben und Schriften*, 48–49 and 92–93 (no. 26); Zeller,

and contains no biographical information. There were several villages called “Görtzig” between Köthen, the Province Posen and Saxony. The information Crugerus gives on the family background would point to the latter, but Görtzig in Saxony was no independent parish (Reinhold Grünberg, *Sächsisches Pfarrerbuch: Die Parochien und Pfarrer der Ev.-luth. Landeskirche Sachsens (1539–1939)*, vol. 1 (Freiberg i. Sa.: Mauckisch, 1939/40), 222), and no minister with this name was recorded for the Lutheran Church of Saxony during these years. He may be identical to a Thomas Teucher of Jessen who matriculated in May 1588 at Wittenberg University (*Album Academiae Vitebergensis ab A. Ch. MDII usque ad A. MDLX*, vol. 2 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1894), 356b).

¹⁹³ Mentioned in Crugerus, *Asylum Piorum*, E3r.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. p. 289. Manuscript Vm contains both tracts included in this edition, but it is clearly a copy after the print; the version of tract 35 in manuscripts B and R is arranged differently from the printed edition.

¹⁹⁵ For his circle see Bruce T. Moran, “Der alchemistisch-paracelsische Kreis um den Landgrafen Moritz von Hessen-Kassel (1572–1632),” in *Paracelsus und Paracelsisten: Vorträge 1984/85* (Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1987), 119–45.

¹⁹⁶ For Ehinger see Julian Paulus, “Alchemie und Paracelsismus um 1600: Siebzig Porträts,” in *Analecta Paracelsica: Studien zum Nachleben Theophrast von Hohenheims im deutschen Kulturgebiet der frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994), 348–49.

¹⁹⁷ This letter, dated to 6 December 1627, is preserved in Landesbibliothek Kassel, 2° Ms. chem. 19/5; it is edited in Paulus, “Alchemie und Paracelsismus um 1600,” 387–90.

“Der frühe Weigelianismus,” 71–72 (all these studies focusing on the tracts in this collection that were attributed to Weigel); Pfefferl, “Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels,” *Teil II, B*, 164–91 (very detailed description of all parts of the edition); Muller, *Artistes dissidents*, nos. 1–2, 16 (brief reference). In Pfefferl’s new edition of Valentin Weigel’s works this print has the number D₃₇ (e.g. Weigel, *Gesamtausgabe*, 3:XL).

VD 17 1:073669H, 1:073666L, 1:073673U, 23:275763F

Reproduced here:

ωω: Diagram before a101, r (Fig. 101)

Virtually all scholars working on Lautensack since 1619 have used this edition as their only source, so its importance for the reception of Lautensack can hardly be overestimated.

For the printer Lucas Jennis see p. 289.

Confusingly, this edition consists of four independently paginated entities. For the sake of convenience they are counted here as different publications (o, t, g, a).

1. o (not paginated)

Title-page:

Offenbahrung Jesu Christi: | Das ist: | Ein Beweiß durch den | Titul vber das creutz
Jesu Christi / | vnd die drey Alphabeth / als Hebreisch / Græ|gisch / vnd Lateinisch
/ wie auch etliche | wunderbahre Figu|ren. | Welcher gestalt der einige Gott auff
vnderschiedene | Arth / vnd weiß / vnd endtlich ohne einige Figur | warhafftig
vnd vollkörnlich in der Person Jesu Christi | sich geoffenbahret habe. | Durch den
Gottsäligen Paulum Lautensack Mah|leren vnd Organisten weilandt in Nürnberg.
Vber | welche vmb völligers Verstandes willen die Außle|gung M. V. Weigelij
herzu gesetzt | worden. | Darin zufinden / wie der Mensch mit Gott Himmel/ | vnd
Erden / durch das Wort / welches am Endt der |Welt Fleisch worden / in einem
Thon gehe / vnd deß / Teuffels *dissonans* verhütt | werde. | [ornaments] |
Franckfurt am Mayn bey Lucas Jennis zu finden. | [line] | Jm Jahr 1619.

Followed by two Prefaces:

a) ij, r–v, r: [Ornaments] | Vorrede an den Leser. | Es solle (Jeremiæ 9) noch der
weisse seiner | Weißheit / noch der Starcke seiner Starck|heit / noch der Reiche
seines Reichtumbs | sich rühmen ... da es zum offtern mit fleiß gelesen / vnd |
betrachtet wirdt / nit abgehen.

b) v, r–vi, r: *Alia præmonitio ad Lectorem*. | Der Vatter vrtheilet niemandt / | sun-
dern alles Gericht hat Er seinem | Sohn vbergeben. | Dieweil es zu diesen vnsern
letzten Zeiten | nuhn leider dahin gerahten / daß alle ding | vnzeitig gevrrtheilt
werden ... vnd was der | Geist Gottes vrtheilet / recht ist. | *Vale in Christo beneuole
lector*: | [Ornaments].

2. t (not paginated title-page and its verso, pagination 3–70, followed by an, also non-paginated, leaf)

a) Title-page:

Tractatvs | Des Gottseligen / from|men / Hoherleuchten / vnd Geist|reichen
Mannes gottselger | Gedächtnuß / | Pauli Lautensacks / deß ältern / Mah|lers vnd

Bürgers in Nürnberg / | Von jhme geschrieben vnd hinderlassen / | Anno 1545. |
[Ornament mask] | Franckfurt am Mayn by Lucas Jennis | [line] | Jm Jahr 1619.

b) Text, pp. 3–70:

Ein Anzeygung von dem Ersten Bild / vnd seinem Buch. | Offenbarvng Jesu Christi
/ als das lebendige Buch am Creutz / welcher bildnuß zum anfang ist angestellt
vor augen ... als das Vätterlich wesen / vns armen Creatürlein also reichlich ist
offenbahren / ohne zuthun von Menschlichem wahn dardurch wir je gewiß versi-
chert werden in Christo / Dem sey Ehr vnd Preiß von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit /
Amen. | Anno 1545 | [Ornament mask]

3. g (non-paginated title-page and verso, pagination 3–50)

a) Title page:

[Ornaments] | Ein Anzeigung mit Schrifft / | Was in der Erborn Frawen
Gundel|fingerin Behausung am spitzen Berg / daselb|sten in jhrem Soller vor
gemähle ist angestellt / | Nemlich das erste theil von der Offenbarung Jesu Christi.
| Paulus Lautensack | der Elter ein Mahler / Anno 1538. | [Ornaments]

b) Text, pp. 3–50:

Gnadt vnd warhafftige erkenntnus in Gott dem einigen durch die Offenbarung
Jesu Christi. | Erbare Günstige Fraw / dieweil die Welt deß einigen Hauptbuchs
Offenbarunge weder wissen / noch hören will ... welchem sey lob ehr vnd preiß in
Ewigkeit gesagt / zu danck seiner herrlichen Offenbarung vns durch jhme ist zey-
gen vnser Vatterland / in welchem wir mit jm in ewigkeit werden leben / Amen. |
E N D E.

4. a (non-paginated title-page, pagination 3–173)

a) Title-page:

Ander Theil / | Darinn begrieffen die | Erklerung mit Figuren vnd Sprü|chen
Heyliger Schrifft vber vorgehende Bü|cherlein Pauli Lautensacci / einen liech-
teren vnd | völligern Verstandt in gemeldten | Büchern zuerzeichen / ge|stellet
von | M. V. Weigelio gewesenenen Pfarher|ren zu Zschopaw. | Franckfurt am Mayn
bey Lucas Jennis zu finden. / Im Jahr 1619.

b) Text, pp. 3–173:

[Ornament] | Wir wollen alle gern viel wissen vnd können / sonderlich wir
Naturales Scire laudi ducimus, Ignorare & Nescire turpe ducimus, wie Cicero sagt.¹⁹⁸
... daß wir diese Hure kennen lehrnen / vnd von vnser Hurerey lassen / etc.
This text is several times interrupted by new titles but follows one pagination.

This complicated sequence of paginations caused some confusion: not all copies contain all parts, and their order varies.¹⁹⁹ Consequently, some entries in library

¹⁹⁸ Cic. Off. I, 6 (18).

¹⁹⁹ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Theol. Qt. 3972, has, for instance, only parts 2 and 3, thus the original Lautensack texts, followed by another tract published by Jennis. Also Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, G 149 Helmst. 4^o consists only of these two texts. In München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Asc. 542 h, the incomplete part 3 comes before part 2; in Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Will II, 1,287, part 4 is placed before part 2.

catalogues are not very clear (also owing to the fact that some sections do not indicate the date of printing but instead that of the original composition). Pfefferl suggested convincingly that the order as given above was probably the original one.²⁰⁰ Several times these tracts are bound with other theological works published by Jennis at the same time, so they may have been sold together.²⁰¹

Contents:

1 (o): σσ	a58: empty
2 (t): ψψ	a59–100: ψψ
3 (g): ιι	a101–32: ωω
4 (a): αι ττ	a133–49: ααα
a2: empty	a150: empty
a3–12: υυ	a151–66: βββ
a13–15: φφ	a166–69: γγγ
a16: empty	a170–73: δδδ
a17–57: χχ	

2. *Tracts in the Unschuldige Nachrichten (Leipzig: Braun, 1711, print u).*

Volume Title:

Unschuldige | Nachrichten | Von | Alten und Neuen | Theologischen Sachen / ... Auf das Jahr 1711. Leipzig: Braun, 1711.

Heading, p. 587:

X. | Paul Lautensacks Schrift / | ex MSto.

Text, pp. 588–596:

Verzeichnüß / was des Buchs Offenbah-|rung Jnnhalt sey von JEsu Christo endlich zu wissen allen Christen-Menschen / ... dann allein in das Corpus | Christi, in dem einigen Pünctl. leit sie zugleich beschlossen und verleibt &c. | David Ehinger A. suis adjecit.

Of a very different character is the second print of a tract by Lautensack: it appeared in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, a scholarly journal on the history of theology published in the early 18th century. It provided the reader with a mixture of book summaries and editions of unpublished documents, chiefly from the 15th century onward – in this volume not only from Lutheran but also from Roman Catholic (e.g. Ruusbroec or Bossuet) or Anglican (e.g. John Cosin) authors. Antiquarian or liturgical remarks (like on a recent adult baptism by immersion) are included. A considerable part was given to texts related to radical movements,

²⁰⁰ Pfefferl, "Die Überlieferung der Schriften Valentin Weigels," *Teil II, B*, 166.

²⁰¹ This is the case with Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Theol. Qt. 3972 and a copy offered for sale by Jacques Rosenthal (Jacques *Geheime Wissenschaften: Kultur- und Sittengeschichte* (Munich: Rosenthal, n.d.), 27 no. 382; Dr. Eberhard Zwink, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, kindly informed me that it is not identical with the Stuttgart copy, e-mail 25 August 2006).

in the index Lautensack is both listed in this section (p. 1,021 – under the heading *Opus Anti-Fanaticum*) and amongst editions of religious manuscripts (p. 1,008). In this context Lautensack appears as a dissident theological author of the past, whose text might be of some historical interest for contemporary scholarship.

Contents:

u588–92: 8

u592–96: 32

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- . *Practica auff das 1532. Jar ... Auch wirdt nachuolgend von dem nechst erschinen Cometen / wie vnnd in | was gestalt jm gmelter Apianus obseruirt hat: vnd welhe biß her / dero | vil stadt / in jrem schreiben jrrig gefunden / bewerlich angezaygt*. Landßhüt: Apian, [1531]. (VD 16 A 3,105).
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- Das Gantz | Neüw Testament recht | grüntlich teutsch*. Basel: Petri, 1523. (VD 16 B 4,328, Pietsch 14).
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- Das ne|we Testament | yetz klärlich auß dem re|chten grundt Teütscht*. Basel: Wolff, 1523. (VD 16 B 4,329, Pietsch 17).
- Das gantz neuw | Testament recht grünt|lich teütscht*. Basel: Cratander, 1524. (VD 16 B 4,337, Pietsch 56).
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- DAs neüw | Testament / | Recht gründtlich teutsch*. Straßburg: Knoblouch, 1525. (VD 16 B 4,362, Pietsch 75).

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Das new Testament | Teutsch. Nüremberg: Hergot, 1526. (VD 16 B 4,369, Pietsch 95).
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 [Title missing on the only known copy, Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Solg. 89.8°]. Uuitemberg: Lufft, 1526. (VD 16 B 4,371, Pietsch *19).
Das new | Testament | Teütsch. Nürnberg: Gutknecht, 1527. (VD 16 B 4,376, Pietsch 113).
Das Neüwe | Testament / | Recht grüntlich teutsch. Augspurg: Stayner, 1528. (VD 16 B 4,380, Pietsch 121).
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Das Allte | Testa|ment | deutsch. Augspurg: Ottmar, 1523. (VD 16 B 2,889, Pietsch 9).
Das Alte Testa|ment deutsch. Basel: Petri, 1523. (VD 16 B 2,892, Pietsch 15²).
Das Alte | Testa|ment | Deütsch. Augspurg: Ramminger, 1523. (VD 16 B 2,890, Pietsch 10).
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ILLUSTRATIONS

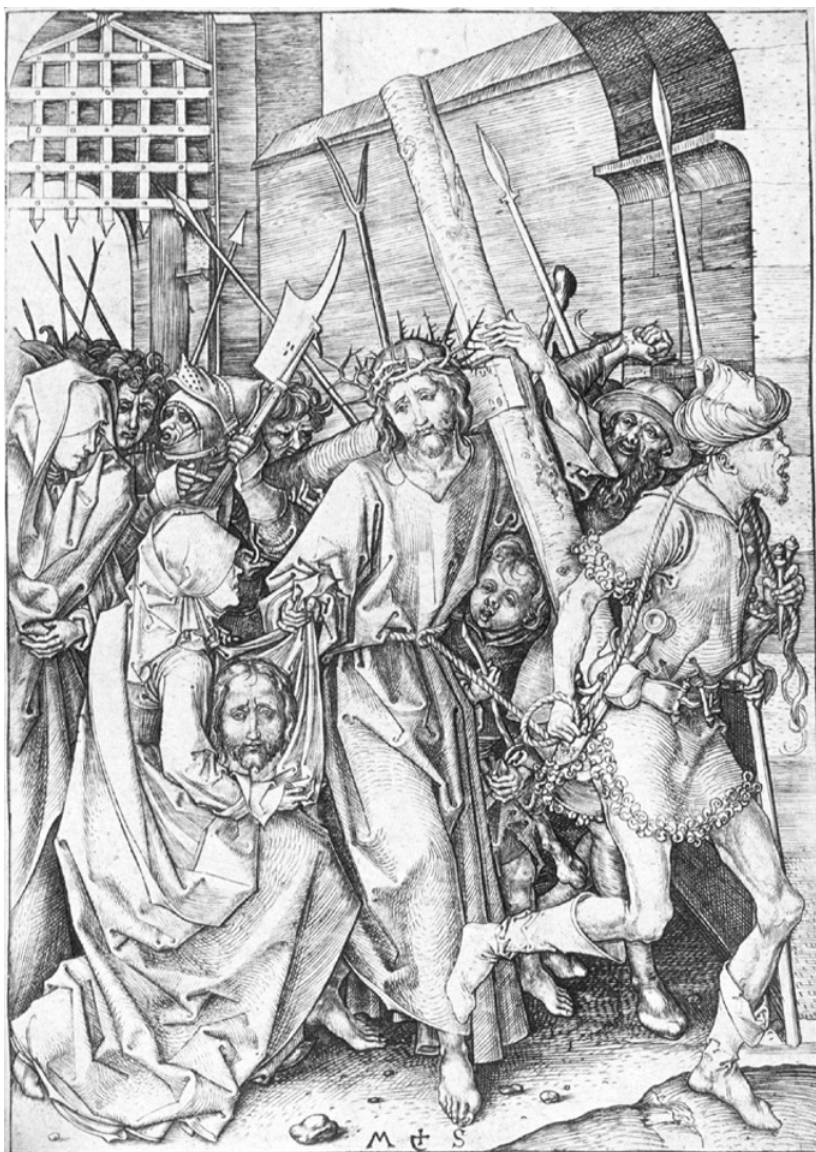


Fig. 1. Martin Schongauer: The Carrying of the Cross (Bartsch VI.126.16).

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Fig. 2. Paul Lautensack: The Carrying of the Cross, 1511. München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. R 56 (on loan to the Staatsgalerie Bamberg).

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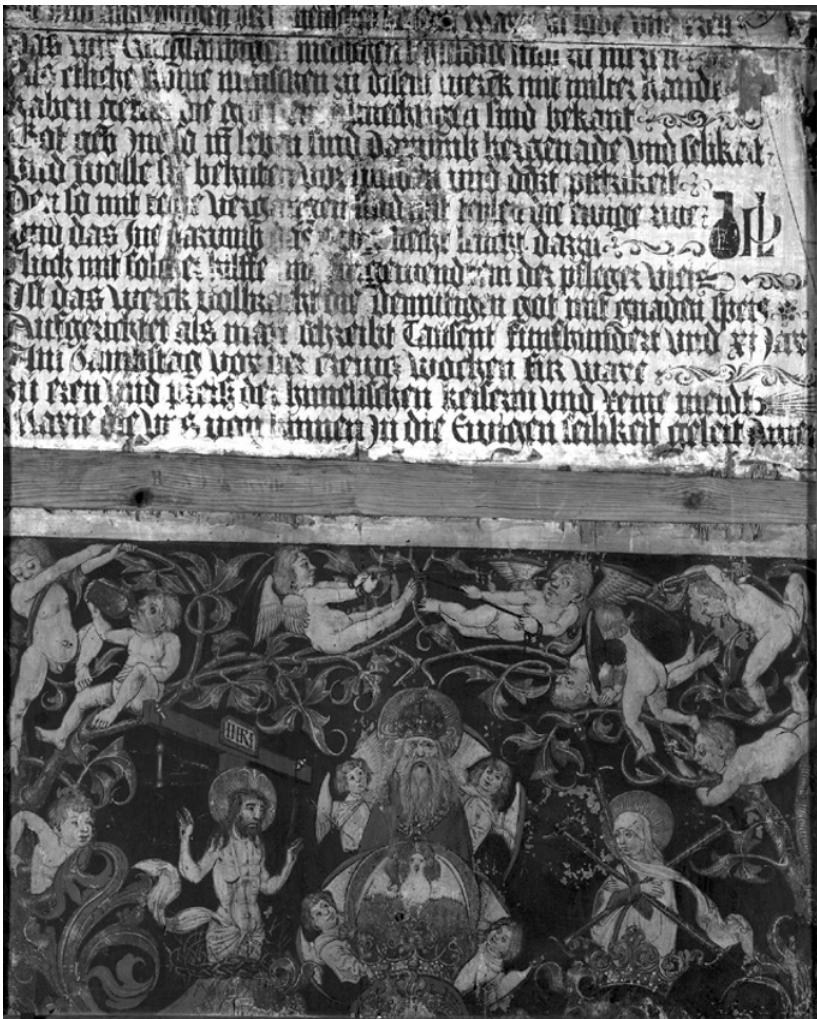


Fig. 3. Paul Lautensack: Heraldic Composition at the back of the wing of an altarpiece, 1511. München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. R 592 (on loan to the Fränkische Galerie Kronach). The lower part, probably displaying a large heraldic escutcheon, is lost. Here are three crests showing the intercession of Christ and the Virgin with the Father. The text above contains Lautensack monogram with a lute ('Laute').



Fig. 4. Paul Lautensack: Ayrer Epitaph, 1551 or shortly afterwards. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. Gm 547. In the midst of several generations of the Ayrer family Christ as the Man of Sorrows stands on the Mercy Seat, with the other Persons of the Trinity above.

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4. Alter Juda. Abia. Zorobabel. Doos. Ezechia. Esajas					
N	Iesse	Gott	34	Israhim pr	Christus
E	Dauid	und ist	35	hababim pr	und ist
O	Israhim	und ist	36	Zophonia p	Christus
M	Israhim	und ist	37	Israhim pr	Christus
P	Manam	und ist	38	Israhim pr	Christus
S	Melea	und ist	39	Malachia	Christus
T	Israhim	Gott	40	3. Buch Esra	Christus
M	Jonam	und ist	41	4. Buch Esra	Christus
O	Joseph	und ist	42	Buch Tobie	Christus
X	Juda	und ist	43	Buch Judith	Christus
P	Israhim	und ist	44	Buch Baruch	Christus
5. Alter Phares. Issa. Abia. Dood. Manasse. Mathan					
A	Israhim	Gott	45	Buch Esra	Christus
B	Manasse	und ist	46	Israhim pr	Christus
E	Israhim	und ist	47	1. Machabier	Christus
D	Ezechia	und ist	48	2. Machabier	Christus
E	Israhim	und ist	49	3. Machabier	Christus
F	Israhim	und ist	50	Israhim pr	Christus
G	Israhim	und ist	51	Israhim pr	Christus
H	Israhim	und ist	52	Israhim pr	Christus
I	Israhim	und ist	53	Israhim pr	Christus
K	Israhim	und ist	54	Israhim pr	Christus
L	Israhim	und ist	55	Israhim pr	Christus
6. Alter Hezron. Josaphat. Esaias. Jesse. Amnon. Jacob					
M	Israhim	Gott	56	Israhim pr	Christus
N	Zorobabel	und ist	57	Israhim pr	Christus
O	Israhim	und ist	58	1. Corinthier	Christus
P	Israhim	und ist	59	2. Corinthier	Christus
S	Juda	und ist	60	Israhim pr	Christus
T	Israhim	und ist	61	Israhim pr	Christus
S	Israhim	und ist	62	Israhim pr	Christus
I	Israhim	und ist	63	Israhim pr	Christus
O	Israhim	und ist	64	Israhim pr	Christus
X	Israhim	und ist	65	Israhim pr	Christus
L	Israhim	und ist	66	Israhim pr	Christus

Fig. 5. 10a:N46v-47r (autograph): Two thirds of a diagram (the first third is on N46r): In the third column the paragraph incipits of Rev. 1-3, in the sixth column accordingly those of Rev. 12-14. These quotations are numbered with the 29 Latin letters (in each field two incipits, from §§ 1-7 and 9-15 of the *Six Chapters* respectively, e.g. in the first block in the third column §§ 4 and 11 with D and M, and in the second block §§ 5 and 12 with E and N). In the first column the 7x11 letters from the Three Alphabets, in the second the names of the 7x11 Ancestors

(Continued)



according to Luke, in the fourth the numbers 1–77, in the fifth the 7×11 Books of the Bible. In the margins the Seven Stars and Candlesticks, between the blocks the Six Ages of the world and the Ancestors according to Matthew in *Broken* order. The penultimate block has the *Two Images* surrounded by four times the ligature *Ao*, above it the Title of the Cross. The last section has the 8th paragraphs of the *Six Chapters*, above parts of John 1:1, and in the margin the Book with Seven Seals.

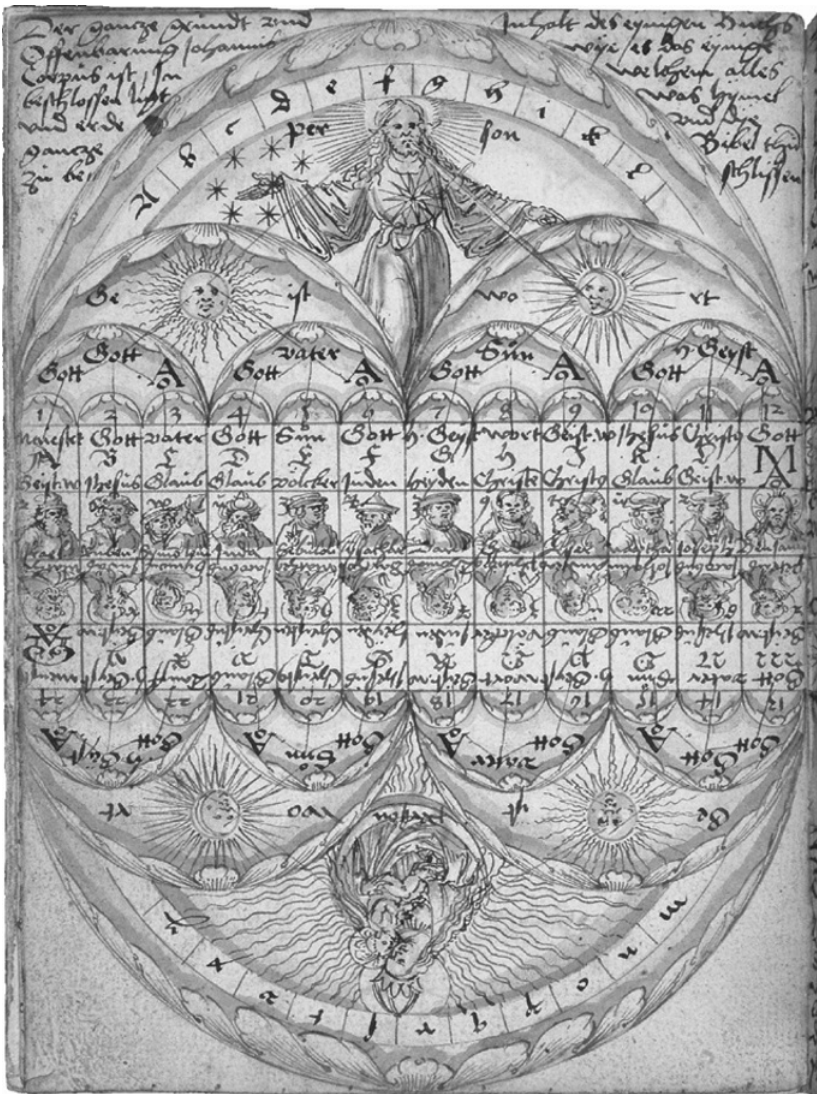


Fig. 6. 5a:A4v (autograph): In the center rows with images of the Patriarchs and Apostles, in the adjacent rows the first 2×11 Latin letters (together with M and Ω) and their Spirits. In the smallest arches the numbers 1–24, in the next level of arches the first 3×4 words from the 'Crosses of the Three Ages' in *Crucified* order, in the next sun and moon labeled with *Spirit* and *Word*, in the largest arches the *Two Images* from Revelation (the vision of Rev. 1 labeled *Person*) and again the first 2×11 Latin letters.

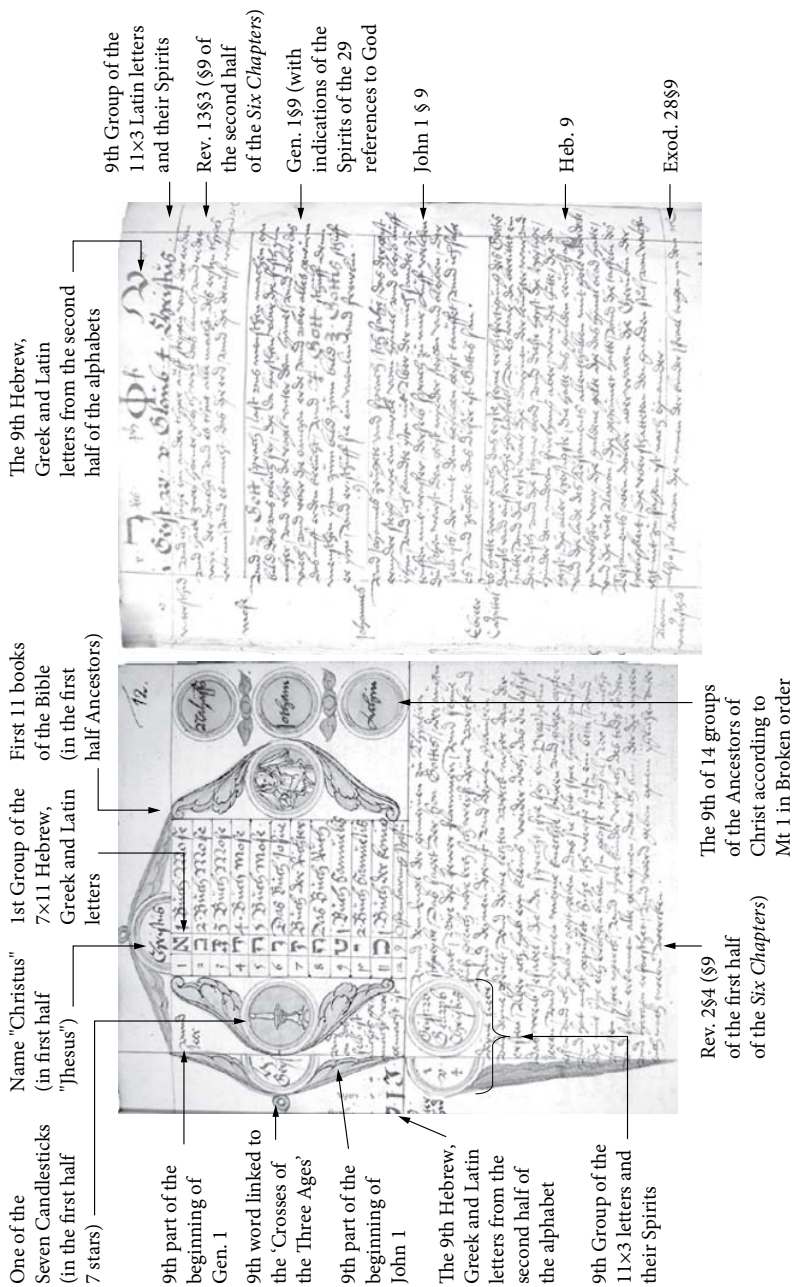


Fig. 8. Structure of tract 3, demonstrated on L121r-v (These pages form the 9th group overall and the first group of the 2nd half.)
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Fig. 9. 26:S84v: Gen. 1 divided into 29 parts, each beginning with a reference to God (separated from the text, in the left column). In the right column 29 letters and their Spirits and, unusually, at the left also the 2×11 Hebrew letters, with some lacunae. At the top the image of Rev. 1 between sun and moon, representing Spirit and Word. At the left margin in circles the letters M and Ω with Gott and Wort; the letters of GOTT and WORT also permuted next to the 29 references to God. In top left bracket A (in different scripts). At the right margin sun and moon, once flanking a star, once the Mercy Seat, combined with the first words of John's Gospel and six days (probably the days of Creation).



Fig. 10. 5a:A5v–6r (autograph): The 2×11 Chapters of Rev., with the Two Images at the end, forming two groups of twelve items, one half upside down. At the margin twelve Stars and Candlesticks with the words of the 'Crosses of the Three Ages' in Crucified Order (since there are 15 words only, some are repeated towards the end), in the next column the Persons of the Trinity, each followed by a Permutation of the Aspects with their celestial bodies, as in the Arsawu diagram (Fig. 20). In the next column in the left half the Twelve Patriarchs, in the right

(Continued)



half the Twelve Apostles, each with one of the 11 last of the 77 letters. The next column has the Spirits of three of the 33 Latin letters, in *Broken* order (in the last lines instead parts of John 1:1), and the last column before the incipits has the first 66 of the 77 letters, also in *Broken* order and distributed over both sides, at the left the first halves of the alphabets, at the right the second halves.

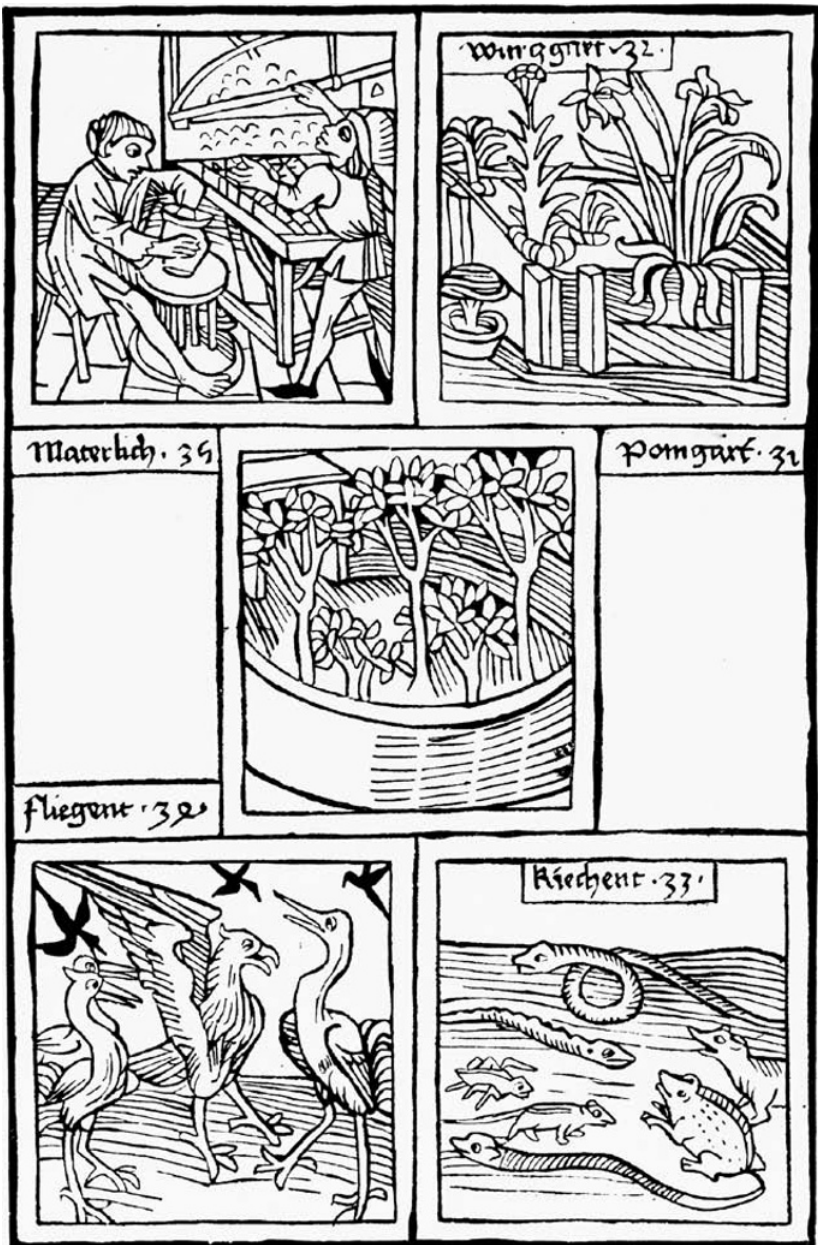


Fig. 11. Image from an *Ars memorativa* with a quincunx arrangement similar the 'Crosses' used by Lautensack for permutation.

Ars Memorativa ([Augsburg: Bämle, ca. 1480], GW 2569), 11th leaf, v.

Reprinted from Schramm 11, plate 365 no. 3,955

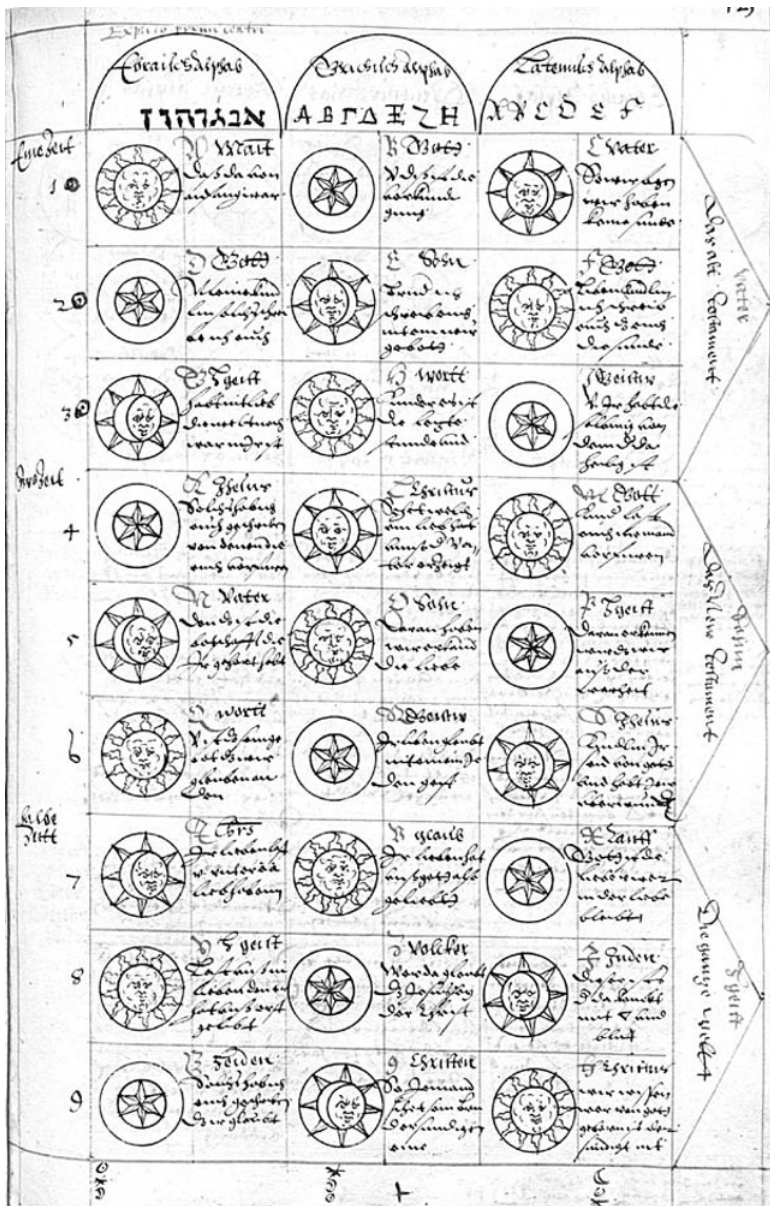


Fig. 12. 17:U125r. The 27 chapters of 1 John, inserted in the diagram line by line, thus as 1–2–3 | 4–5–6 | etc., each with a letter and its Spirit, next to them the Three Celestial Bodies in permutations, at the top references to the Three Alphabets, at the right margin to the Persons of the Trinity and the Three Ages, at the left margin to the Three Times.

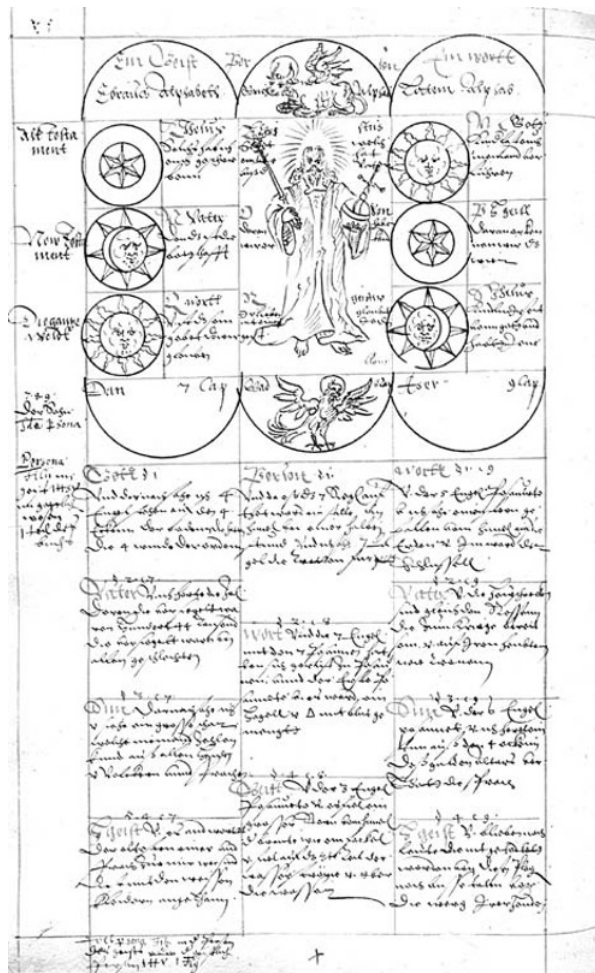


Fig. 13. 17:U128v: This is the second of three plates emerging from the preceding diagram. Its upper part reproduces its 4th, 5th and 6th rows and therefore contains the 10th–18th paragraphs of 1 John (they are quoted in full on the following three pages). In the center, an image of Christ has replaced the celestial bodies. Beneath, three of the Patriarchs are mentioned. It seems that the Symbols of Luke's and John's Gospels, which should mark the 3rd and 4th paragraphs of 1 John (linked to Luke and John as the 3rd and 4th Books of the New Testament) were placed here by mistake. The lower half contains the paragraph incipits of Rev. 7–9 (the second of three parts of the first half, not counting Rev. 1–3, which belong to the *Six Chapters* and are quoted on Fig. 14 and U121v), the incipits start at different levels since these chapters have a different number of paragraphs; according to their numbers they are linked with theological terms like the Persons or the *Aspects* of the Trinity.

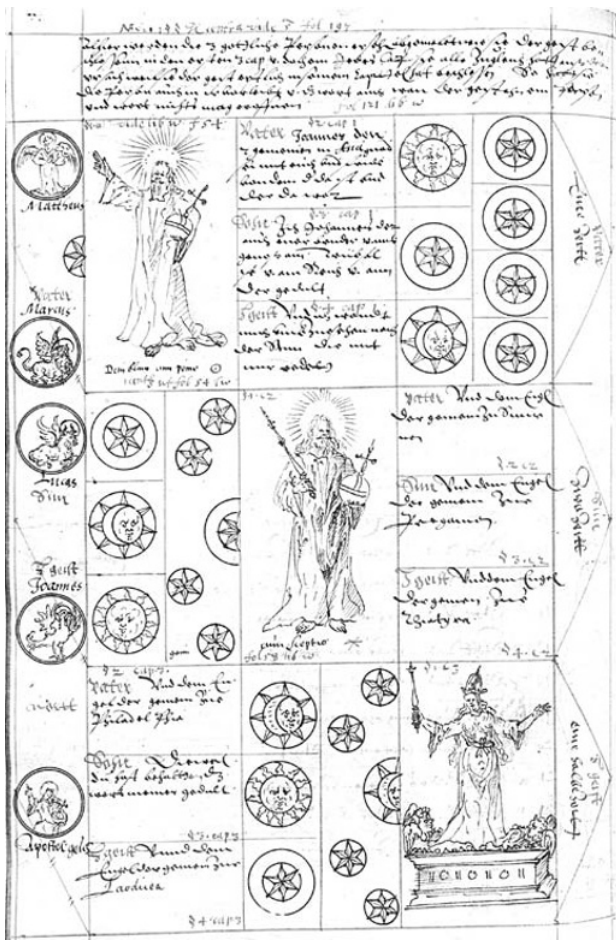


Fig. 14. 17:U124v: This is one of the introductory pages of the diagram partially reproduced in Figs. 12 and 13. Here, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th paragraphs of Rev. 1–3 (the 1st and 5th paragraphs are on U121v) are combined with three images, permutations of the Three Celestial Bodies and the Twelve Stars from the vision of Rev. 12. In the margin are the Symbols of the Evangelists, unusually with only one pair of wings, and an image of God below, with a reference to the Acts of the Apostles, which stands together with the Gospels in the ‘Crosses of the Three Ages’. This page contains some short Latin texts, probably instructions for the draughtsman. According to them, the celestial body next to the figure at the top left should have been a sun, not a star. However, also the author of the instructions made some mistakes: if the figures stand for the *Aspects* of the Trinity the image with the Mercy Seat should represent *Person*, in this case it should carry both scepter and orb and be placed next to the star in the central field.



Fig. 15. 10a:N59v (autograph): Diagram for the *Breaking* of the Seals: Each quarter contains the numbered 77 letters of the Three Alphabets: both quarters at the left-hand side with the 77 Ancestors, both at the right with the 77 Books. Read along the long axis they give the normal order of these groups, read along the short axis the *Broken* arrangement. The short axis contains the Seven Stars and Candlesticks from Rev. 1, the longer 11 stars and 11 moons, probably alluding to the vision of the Apocalyptic Woman in Rev. 12. In the margins are the four quotations containing "A vnd o" and references to weekdays, planets, months and signs of the zodiac. The connecting line leads to the crucified Christ in N6or (Fig. 61).



Fig. 16. 5a:A2v (autograph): The 77 letters of the Three Alphabets with their transcriptions (Hebrew and Greek alphabets) and names (Latin alphabet) respectively; the 3×11 Spirits of the Latin letters are not placed with them but in a block below the last row. At the bottom the Seven Stars and Candlesticks numbered 1–7 and 9–15, according to their link with the paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* (the number 8 stands isolated), at the right 11 stars. At the top is an image of God between M and Q, the 12th and 24th Greek letters missing from the scheme below. At the left arches with the *Aspects* of the Trinity and their celestial bodies; an incomplete fourth arch has merely “Gott.” In small semicircles the words from the ‘Crosses of the Three Ages,’ in *Crucified* order, in the corners the Title of the Cross.

¶ FIGVRA OMNIVM LITERARVM.

Vaf o ʾ & u cōf.	He h uʾ o ʾ	Daleth d ʾ	Gimel g ʾ	Beth b ʾ	Aleph o ʾ
Lamed l ʾ	Caph c uʾ ch ʾ	Iod i uʾ o ʾ	Theth t ʾ	Cheth ch ʾ	Zain z uʾ f d ʾ
zadik z ʾ uel tz	Pe p ʾ	Aain c ʾ	Samach s ʾ	Nun n ʾ	Mem m ʾ
		Taph t h uʾ f t ʾ	Schin s ʾ & sch	Rees r ʾ	Kuf k ʾ

Fig. 17. Table of a Hebrew alphabet from a textbook, giving the letters with names and transliterations.
Capito, *Hebraicarvm Institutionvm Libri* (1518), Biv
© Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (4 L.as. 119)

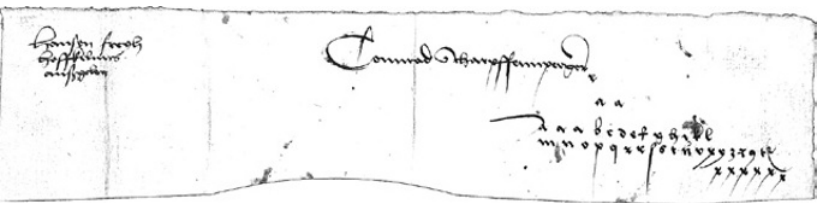


Fig. 18. Back of the invoice of a Conrad Scharpfenegger, a contemporary of Lautensack in Bamberg, with a scribbled alphabet containing three forms of the A, two of r and s, u and v as separate letters, and the abbreviations [et], [con] and [tur].
© Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Rep. A 231/I, no. 2,086, prod. 133, v.

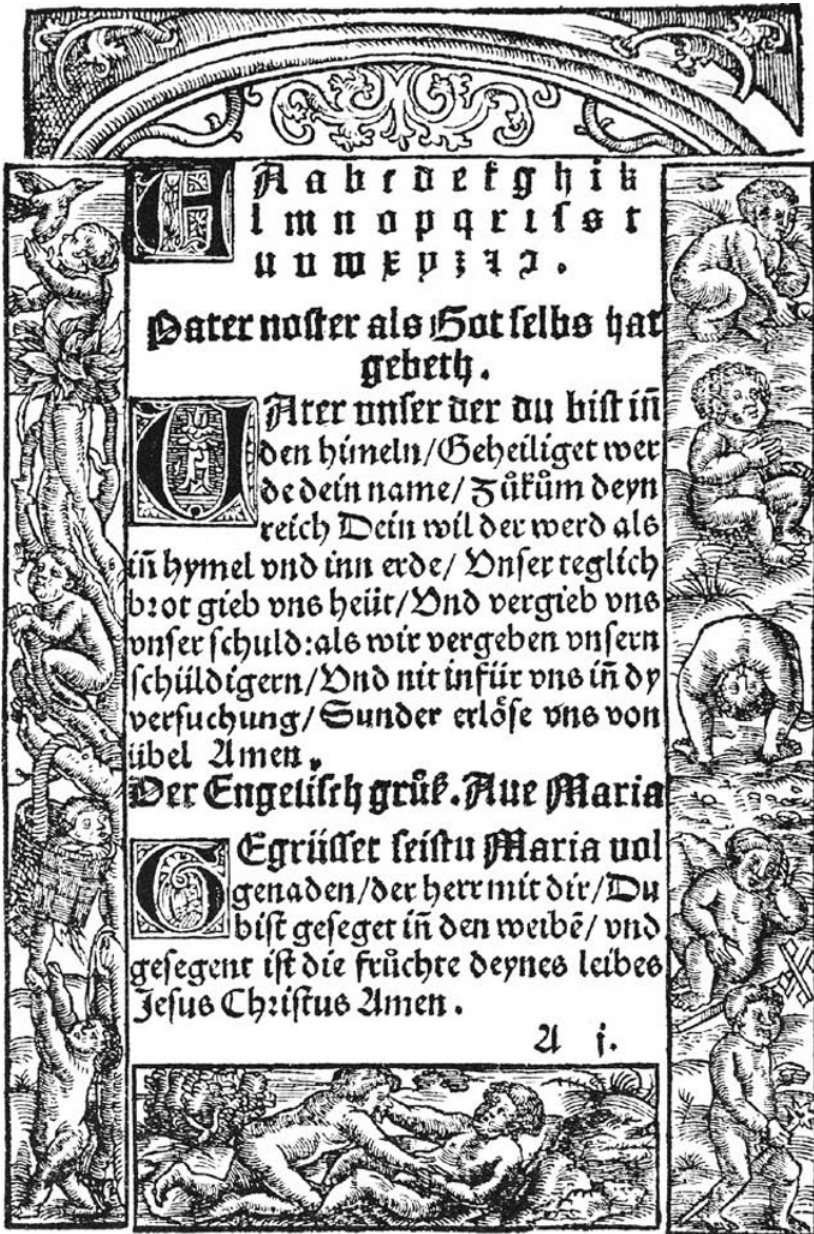


Fig. 19. The beginning of a Primer printed ca. 1520 (VD 16 A 1), showing at the top a Latin alphabet with two forms of the *A*, *r*, *s* as well as *v*, *u* and *w* as separate letters, at the end abbreviations for [et] and [con].

Reprinted from Härwig, "Ein Abc-Druck," 161 fig. 1

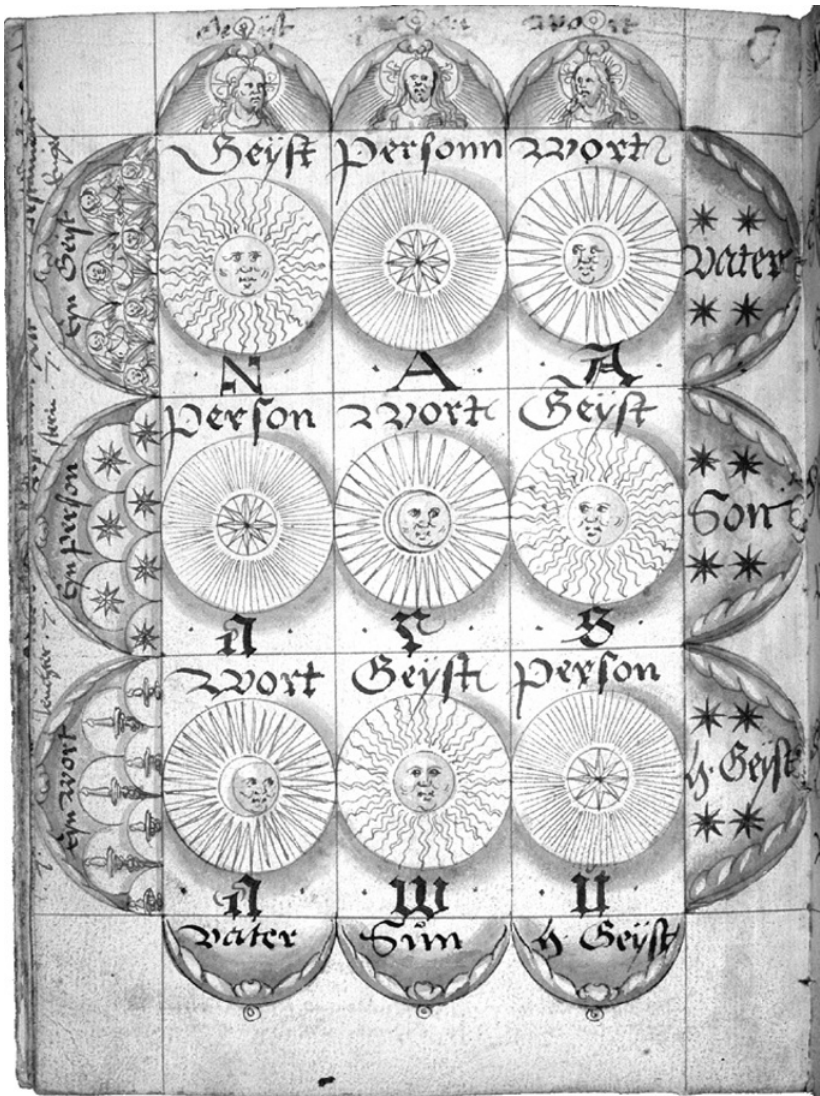


Fig. 20. 5a:A7v (autograph): The first letters of different alphabets and the additional letters *Arsawu*, together with permutations of the *Aspects* of the Trinity and the Three Celestial Bodies. In the left margin Seven Angels, Stars and Candlesticks, in the right the Twelve Stars in three groups. At the top and left the *Aspects* of the Trinity, at the right and bottom the Persons of the Trinity.



Fig. 21. 9a:N7r (autograph): The title-page of tract 9 shows in the central register the *Two Images of Revelation* next to each other, in the corners the letters Ω and M normally linked with them, and beneath an excerpt from John 1:1. The lower register displays the two columns in front of the Temple (cf. 1 Kings 7:15), as reproduced in contemporary Bible editions, labeled with the contrasting words “Jhesus” and “Christus,” in the center a star labeled “morgen=stern” [morning star].

Tractatus Tertij
Tabula Alphabetorum ⁊ numerorum huius artis:












1	KALM.	A		Auca Agatha Antonius
2	IO.BLE	B		Buffo bela bernardus
3	HERB	C		Coruus cecilia conradus
4	GRE.HE	D		Draco druda dominicus
5	GRE.PV.	E		Erius elisabeth eberhard
6	SESSICV	F		Falco fya fredericus
7	ANTO.D.	G		Gracul' gertrud. godesfred
8	PLE.BA.	H		Harpia heluich hericus
9	ANÆ.EC.	I		Ibis ike ioannes
10		K		Kusché katherina karolus
11	 KAL	L		Lagos lyschen leonardus

Fig. 22. Diagram for the Ars memorativa, combining numbers, letters, words and small images, from Johann Romberch, *Congestorium Artificiose | Memoriae* (Uenetiis: Sessa), 1533, 55v.

Reprinted from Volkmann, "Ars memorativa," 170 fig. 183



Fig. 23. Diagram of Nicholas of Flüe, with and without figures, from *Bruder Claus* [Nuremberg: Wagner, 1489–90] (GW 7,076), a3v (above) and a5v (beneath). Reprinted from Schramm 18, plate 79 nos. 602 and 600 respectively

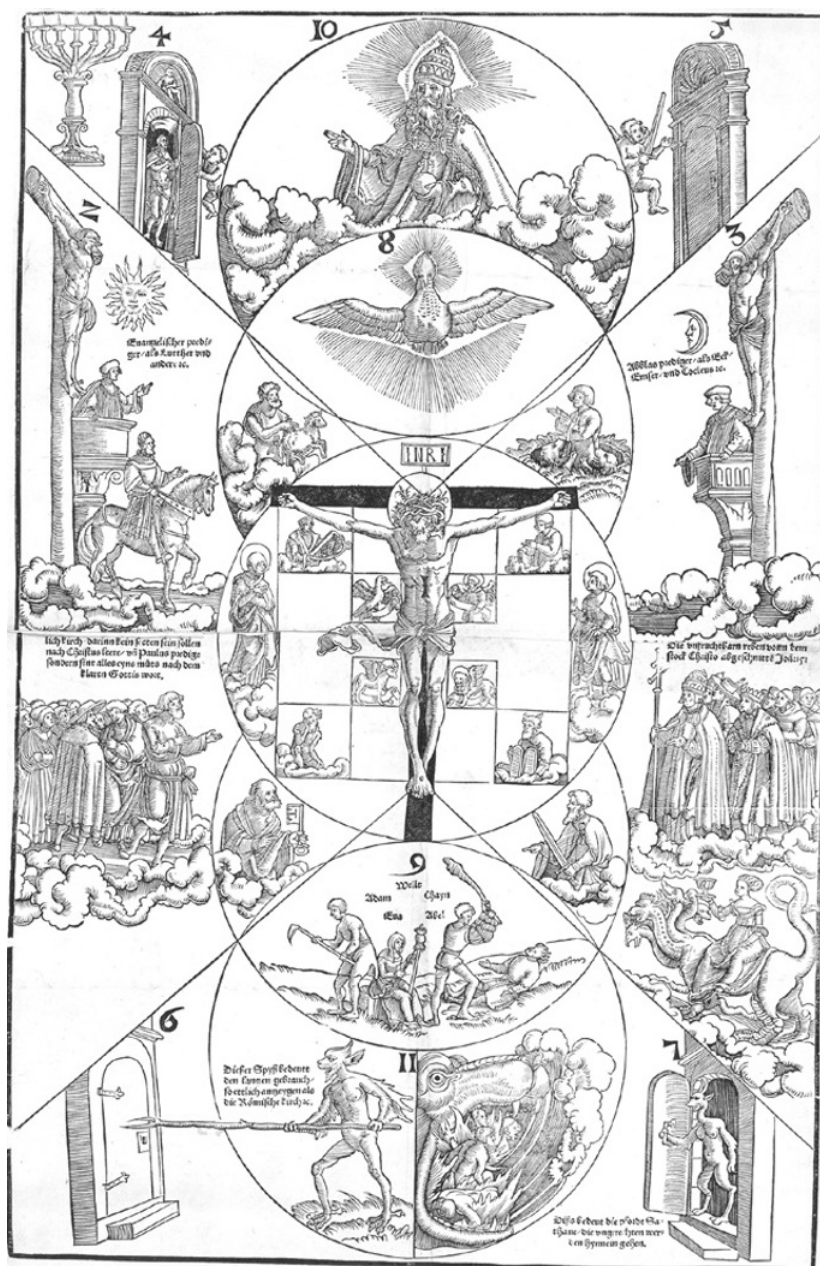


Fig. 24. Monogrammist H: Woodcut with the Crucifixion, the Evangelists and other scenes, probably illustration for a lost broadsheet, 1524.

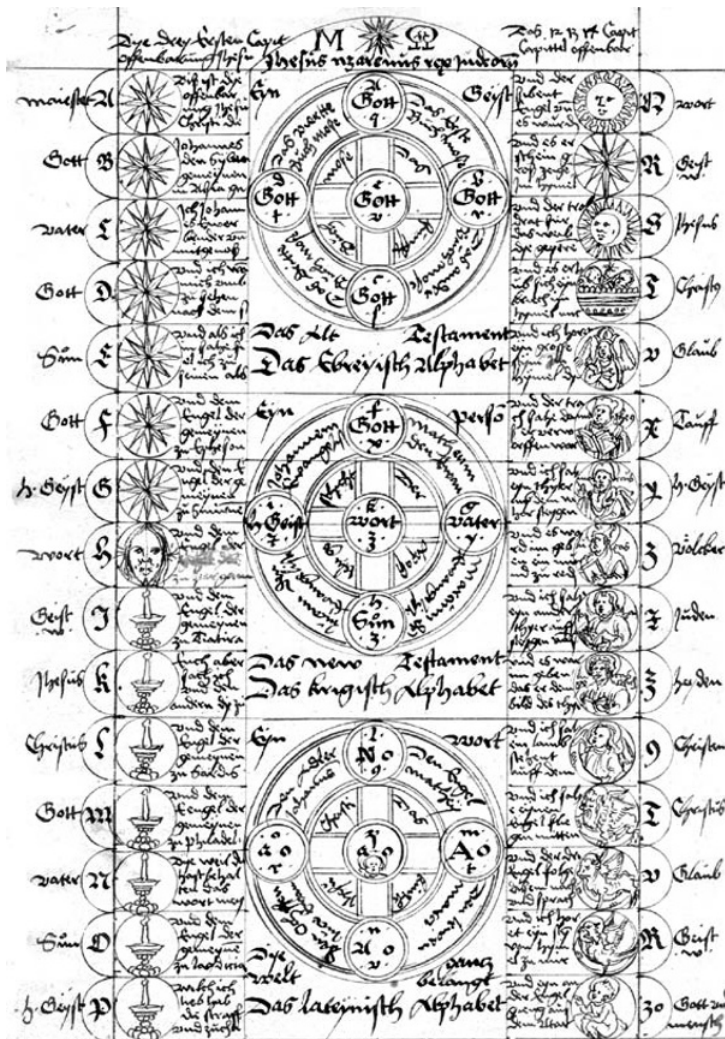


Fig. 25. 10a:N52v (autograph): At the sides the 2×15 paragraphs of the *Six Chapters* in their natural order, in the semicircles the 29 letters and, outside, their Spirits (in the 30th field instead the number 30 and “Gott vnd mensch”), in circlets at the left-hand side the Seven Stars and Candlesticks with an image of Christ in the middle. In the central column the ‘Crosses of the Three Ages’ with their Books written on the rim (the last ‘Cross’ has instead references to the symbols of the Evangelists) and the letters and Words in the circlets. Each ‘Cross’ comes with references to one of the Three Alphabets and Three Ages. The images related to the ‘Crosses’ are placed in the circlets on the right, opposite the Seven Stars and Candlesticks.



Fig. 27. D1,033 (autograph): This is a typical example of Lautensack's early drawings that fill the surface with many small scenes only linked together by a vaguely common topic. Traditionally this composition is called 'Gluttony,' but it shows different types of respectable merriment and does not seem to criticize them.

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Fig. 28. D847 (autograph): The second image of the 'Evangelists' series shows in the center St Mark as a lecturing academic. Above, God's *Spirit* (as signified by the sun and the orb) is adored by Mark's lion and a group of angels. Next to the Evangelist a crowd is listening to a Lutheran preacher and throwing away the paraphernalia of the old faith, beneath, an apocalyptic dragon watches a Catholic ordination.

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Fig. 29. D849 (autograph): The fourth scene of the 'Evangelists' has John in the center and above the incarnate *Person* of God as Man of Sorrows, furthermore identified through a star and Mary as the Apocalyptic Woman. In the middle register a family meal and a painter at work represent the godly life of the Lutherans, beneath the emperor kisses the feet of the pope who is parodied by an enthroned dragon.

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Fig. 30. 1a:D853 (autograph): The topic of this fourth image of the Our Father is *Thy will be done*. The upper half freely copies relevant elements from the typical New Testament woodcut to Rev. 4/5: God with the Seven Lamps and the Four Living Beings. In the center, the fourth of the furnishings of the Tabernacle, the seven-branched candlestick, is flanked by one of the Seven Stars and Candlesticks from Rev. 1. At the bottom a crowd listens to an angelic preacher, the left-hand group release a prisoner from his shackles (cf. Fig. 31a–c).

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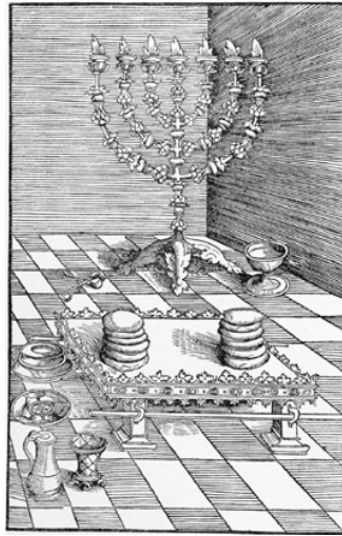


Fig. 31a (top left). Barthel Beham: illustration to Rev. 4/5, used by the Nuremberg printer Hans Hergot between 1524 and 1526. Lautensack copied from this or a similar composition God, the Seven Lamps and the Four Living Beings but not the Lamb opening the book (which appears instead in D854, illustrating Rev. 5).

Reprinted from Geisberg, *Deutsche Buchillustration*, vol. 1, plate 202 fig. 401

Fig. 31b (top right). The Table of the Shewbread and the Seven-branched Candlestick from Luther's first translation of the Pentateuch (1523).

Reprinted from Schramm, "Illustrationen der Lutherbibel," plate 34 fig. 48

Fig. 31c (bottom). Petrarch Master: Release of a Prisoner, from Cicero, *Officia*, 48r.

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Fig. 32. 1a:D857 (autograph): This was probably the last composition of the original Our Father series. Here, the lower, 'terrestrial,' zone depicts the faithful ambushed by devils – probably an illustration of the *But deliver us from evil* originally at this place, and not of the *And lead us not into temptation* written above. The monk worshipping the she-devil is probably one of the polemical elements introduced when the original series was extended. Between several objects from the Tabernacle (Mercy Seat, Ark, Table of Shewbreads and Candlestick) Christ is nailed to an eagle-cross, with the serpent at His feet. He is flanked by Mary, John, and personifications of *Spirit* and *Word* (with sun and moon). At the top is the Lamb surrounded by the Seven Lamps of Rev. 4:5.

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Fig. 33. 1b:L40v (autograph): The eighth image of the Our Father from the London manuscript. Here, the Eagle-Crucifix is extended into a double-eagle and placed on the Mercy Seat, it is flanked by Mary and John only. As usual in this manuscript the header contains a group of letters from the Three Alphabets (here the 19th letter of each alphabet since this is the 19th image of the Credo and Pater combined) and three of the 11×3 letters with their Spirits (here the 8th group, since this is the 8th image of the Pater); at the left margin is one of the subtotals of chapters in the Bible. Beneath appear quotations from Luke 1–3, each again combined with the 8th group of the 11×3 Latin letters, and at the bottom the quotation from the Our Father. The permutations of the letters *Arsawu* with the *Aspects* of the Trinity and one of Its Persons at the left margin marks the 4th and 8th parts of a series. Some texts are written over a red background to indicate that this page belongs to the third quarter of the Our Father. Further images of the Eagle-Crucifix are in Fig. 50.



Fig. 34. Martin Hering (attributed): Relief with the badge of Otto Cardinal Truchseß von Waldburg, ca. 1555, Dillingen, Castle, Chapel of St Francis de Sales.

© Bildarchiv Foto Marburg

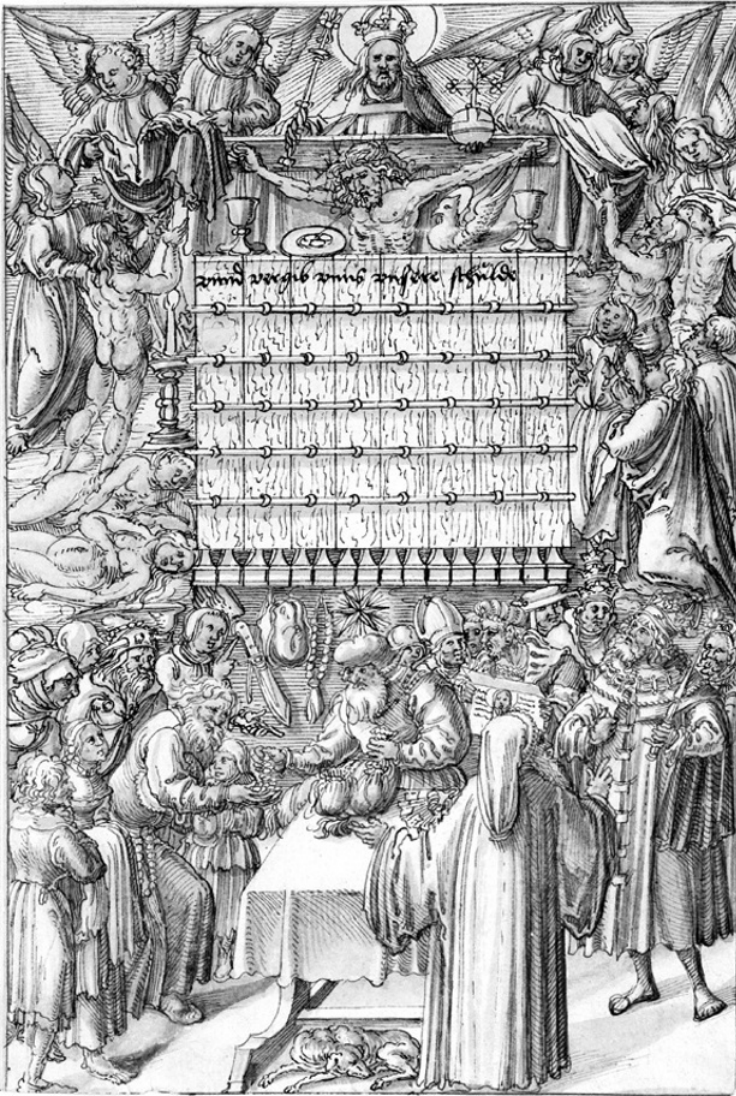


Fig. 35. 1a:D855 (autograph): The upper half of this image is the original 6th part of the Pater noster series. To the Clothing of the Souls, one of the illustrations to Rev. 6, and a large piece of paneling, the 6th object from the Tabernacle, Lautensack added God holding the crucified Christ whose blood drips into chalices, and whose mouth is connected with hosts on a paten. The scene beneath belongs to the additional sections of the Pater noster: here *And forgive us our trespasses* is illustrated by contrasting almsgiving with idle Catholic clergy and a man presenting what is probably a print with the Vernicle and indulgenced prayers.

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Fig. 36. 1a:D859 (autograph): This is one of the additional scenes of the Pater noster, which lack the regular structure of its main part. In this 10th sheet the phrase *For Thine is the Kingdom* is visualized through the Anointing of David (after Bible illustrations) and the deposition of a ruler (after the Petrarch Master). Above, the Triumph of the Lamb from Rev. 14 (probably chosen because the woodcuts illustrating Rev. 10 are not symmetrical) is linked with the last of the furnishings from the Tabernacle, the Altar of Incense, and the Christ Child seated on the Lamb.

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Fig. 37. 1a:D861 (autograph): This last image of the Pater noster shows (probably) two of the *Aspects* of the Trinity as winged figures: one above, holding an orb, surrounded by four angels carrying books, a rainbow and the 24 Elders, one beneath, with a scepter, on the throne of Solomon with its 2x7 lions; the steps are labeled with the Spirits of letters. Lines connect the mouth of the lower figure to the two Lutheran sacraments: Communion (the image does not show the administration of Communion, as usual, but rather the minister praying with a host in his hands, as if saying the Words of Institution) and Baptism, attended by Moses.

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Fig. 38. **1b:L42v** (autograph): Like Fig. 36 this page illustrates the 10th section of the Our Father. As typical for manuscript L the earthly scene visualizing the text of the prayer is omitted. The background scene is here related to Rev. 21, the chapter quoted on the recto of this leaf; Lautensack by then no longer insisted on a symmetrical composition. The fountain should have appeared in the preceding image but was moved here because there was no space there – hence the altar shown in Fig. 36 that should have been included in this image was displaced to L43v. For the marginal elements see the description of Fig. 33 – here the 21st and 10th parts of the alphabets appear. The background of some of the texts should be green (it was by mistake colored in yellow), which refers to the 4th quarter of the Pater noster.

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Fig. 39. 1d:A43v (autograph): This is a typical page from the Pater noster in manuscript A, like Fig. 35 it illustrates the sixth part of the prayer. As in Fig. 38 nothing in the central image illustrates the text *And forgive us our trespasses*, and the furnishing of the Tabernacle is moved into the background (most parts of the series omit it altogether). However, the quotations from the Revelation woodcuts in Bibles have been increased – Lautensack no longer picked few elements for a hieratic, symmetrical composition but tried to combine the narratives of the (altogether three) compositions illustrating Rev. 6 in Luther's New Testament: the Apocalyptic Riders, the Clothing of the Souls, and perhaps also the Earthquake. Here the 6th letters from the Three Alphabets (*ı*, Z, F, labeled with the *Aspects* of the Trinity) are placed in the spandrels and the center bottom of the image, the Spirits of the 6th group of the 3×11 Latin letters in the heading-like cartouche at the top. The bottom register has, from left to right, the 6th subtotal of chapters in the Bible, the 6th paragraph of Jacob's blessing, an image of its principal figure, Issachar, the 6th section of the Our Father and beneath the 6th paragraph of the Sealing of the Tribes from Rev. 7 and finally the 6th of the eleven last Latin letters and its Spirit. The lower margin has an *a* from the permutations of *Arsawu* and the star this letter is linked with. At the left and right margins are quotations from the *Six Chapters*.

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Fig. 40. **1d:A44r** (autograph): This is one of the diagrams combined by Lautensack with the images of the Pater noster and Credo cycles, it goes together with Fig. 39. As there, it shows the 6th items of several series, beginning with the 6th Latin letter, *F*. The right-hand half of the grid beneath shows the 6th group of the 7×11 letters in *Broken* order, and the Ancestors of Christ that are linked to them. In the left half only the first six rows are filled in, because Rev. 6 is divided into six paragraphs. The first row has the 6th group of the 3×11 Latin letters in *Broken* order, the other rows the 2nd–6th groups, corresponding to the paragraph numbers. Beneath, the paragraphs of Rev. 6 are quoted, and next to them are again the corresponding groups of the 3×11 Latin letters, this time with their Spirits. At the left margin is again the 6th group of the 7×11 letters with the Ancestors of Christ, at the right-hand side are instead the Biblical Books (in the second half of this series, which is linked to the Creed, the Ancestors and Books change their places everywhere). The *Person* at the lower margin is linked with the permutations of *Arsawu* on the preceding page (Fig. 39), and the sun beneath it belongs to a quadripartite system sun/star/moon/star and denotes that the first quarter of tract **1d** ends here.

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Fig. 41. **1d:A49v** (autograph): This is the last and most complex page from the Our Father series, here many standard elements have been displaced by additional items. In the smaller-than-usual main image the Apocalyptic Woman refers to the corresponding chapter Rev. 12 (the Mercy Seat had been connected to the 12th image of the series through the rearrangements that took place in manuscript L, cf. p. 219 Table 10) the adoring figure at the left is Benjamin, the 12th Patriarch. His prophecy and the quotations from the Our Father and the Sealing of the Tribes are placed beneath a grid with the first 11 Hebrew, Greek and Latin letters that probably point to the preceding 11 sections. A diagram at the bottom supplies the numbers 47–50 with letters and their Spirits to the 46 paragraphs of the first half of Revelation quoted on the preceding rectos. The quotations in the margins are much reduced in order to make space for the Spirits of the first 2×11 Latin letters – those at the right-hand side are linked with the 12 stars mentioned in Rev. 12. “Got” and “Mensch” are added as the 12th and 24th Spirits, they also appear instead of the Spirits in the heading because this is the 12th image and thus not linked to any group of the 11×3 Latin letters. For the same reason, *A* and *O* and the ‘mystical’ Greek letter *M* replace the letters of the Three Alphabets. Similar to the sun on Fig. 40, here the star indicates the end of the second quarter of tract **1d**, the *u* next to it comes from the permutation of *Arsawu*.

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Die wort

GOT VND MENSCH

1. maichet
2. Gott
3. water
4. Gott
5. Sinn
6. Gott
7. h. Geist
8. wort
9. Geist. 20
10. Ihesus
11. Christus
12. Gott

und dem lange
der gemeinen
menschen
wird das
sach. men
der vrens zu
menschen
gung. der an
hang der ore
vorn Gatt
15. wocp

Wen
und
kinn
leben
me



A **O**

N E F T T T T T U I D
A B Γ Δ E Z H O I K Λ
α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ

M

Person

Hundert und eysf Capittel zu zeugen

47	8	4	3	Sinn	wort	Wohden
48	f	r	7	Gott	Geist. 20.	Indenn
49	8	9	3	h. Geist	Ihesus	hey dem
50	h	t	9	wort	Christus	Christen

Wohlt das

2. wort
* Gott
* Vater
* Sinn
* h. Geist
* wort
* Geist. 20
* Ihesus
* Christus
* Gland
* Lauff
* h. Geist
* menschen

der me
das die
kalt mens
ein list. 20
das die kalt
oder was
menschen
die aber
list. 20
menschen
kalt
menschen

Dritte teyl von der offenbarung Ihesu Christi.

II.



Fig. 42. Munich Creed Block-book, 6v: The first image of the Creed is accompanied by the prophet Jeremiah with his prophecy (in this case exceptionally a sentence attributed to Jeremiah that does not appear in the Bible) and St Peter who presents the article *I believe in God, the Father almighty, Creator of heaven and earth*.



Fig. 43. 1a:D862 (autograph): This first image of the Creed shows the world as an orb surmounted by Christ on the Cross and flanked by either Father and Son or *Spirit* and *Word*. The tables above and beneath the scene indicate the Spirits of the first of the 3×11 letters – some added words integrate the third Spirit into a sentence. Beneath are at the left Jacob with the first paragraph of his blessing and the first pair of the 2×11 Hebrew letters (i.e. the 1st and the 12th), at the right Peter with the first two of the first 2×11 Latin letters and the first paragraph of the Creed (some of the texts are written in red and therefore pale in the photograph).

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Fig. 44. 1d:A50v (autograph): The corresponding image from the Augsburg manuscript only shows the three *Aspects* of the Trinity. Lines linking their foreheads, mouths and chest with sun, moon and star above identify them as *Spirit*, *Person* and *Word* (these lines may be inspired by medical diagrams as in Fig. 51). For the frame cf. the explanation of Fig. 39. Here, the Hebrew, Greek and Latin letters come from the second half of these alphabets because in manuscript A the Creed comes after the Pater noster. The lower register contains (from the left) the first subtotal of paragraphs, a comment on the first name of God, an image of St Peter, the first sentence of the Creed and finally Peter's name with the first of the last 11 Latin letters. The bottom has here the beginning of the *Arsawu* series that consists of an image of God and the word *Gott* (cf. p. 150 n. 164).



Fig. 45. 1a:D864 (autograph): This image, illustrating the third article of the Creed, shows both Annunciation and Nativity. Mary with sun and moon is adoring the Child lying on a star, whilst Gabriel and Joseph kneel at the sides. For the elements in the margins cf. the explanation of Fig. 43. Here, the Patriarchs Simeon and Levi appear together (because they are mentioned in the same paragraph of Jacob's blessing), the Apostle is Philip, and the letters are the third pairs from the Hebrew and Latin alphabets.

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Fig. 46. 1a:D866 (autograph): This fifth drawing for the Creed illustrates the Descent into Hell and the Resurrection. Whereas the former is relatively conventional, the Resurrection above contains numerous narrative elements; at the right-hand side, above the Mouth of Hell, are the personifications of Sin, Devil and Death lamenting their defeat. For the margins cf. the explanation of Fig. 43. At the bottom are Issachar and Philip with the fifth groups of letters.



Fig. 47. **1d:D872** (autograph): The penultimate page of the Creed shows the *Resurrection of the Body* taking place in the lower semi-circle. In its center is a Mouth of Hell dominated by a crouching pope-devil. His counterpart is God in the upper half of the image, holding a sickle as described in Rev. 14. For the margins cf. the explanation of Fig. 43. At the bottom are the Egyptian Joseph and St Jude with the 11th and last groups of letters.



Fig. 49. 1b:L31v (autograph): For *Forgiveness of Sins* Lautensack shows Baptism (center) and Confession (left), above are the *Aspects of the Trinity*. Analogous to the Pater noster series in this manuscript the header contains the 10th Hebrew, Greek and Latin letters (since it is the 10th section overall) and the 10th Group of Latin letters with their Spirits (since it is the 10th group of the Creed) – the color of their background (which should have been green but was mistakenly painted yellow) refers to the 4th quarter of this text. Beneath are Naphtali and Simon.

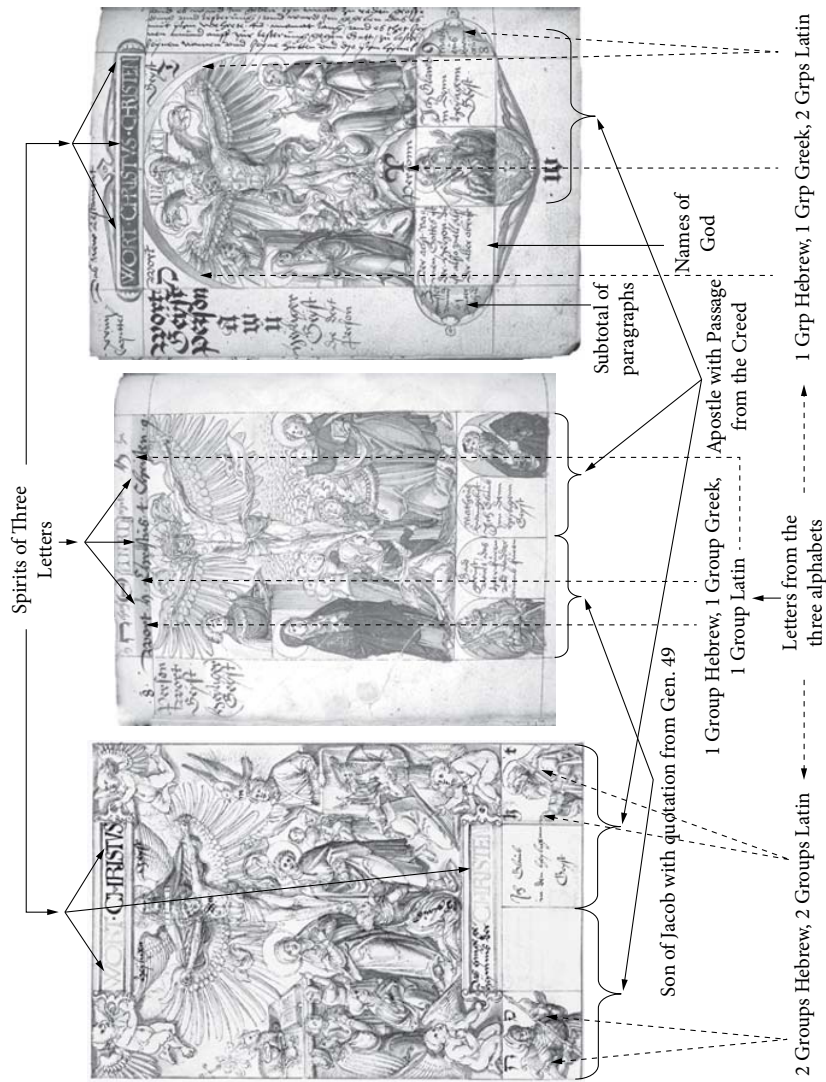


Fig. 50. 1a:D869, 1b:L29v, 1c:A57v
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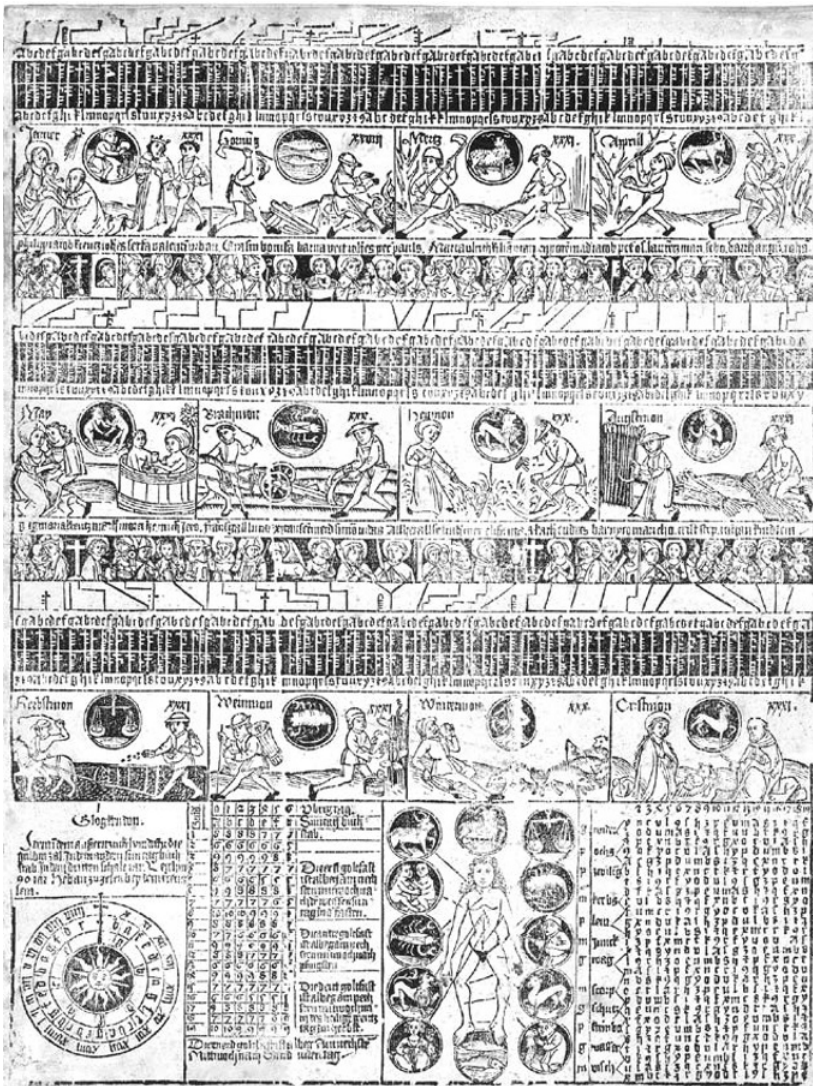


Fig. 51. Block-Book Calendar from 1493, published in Nuremberg by Georg Glockendon, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. HB 14,913, Kapsel 1,240. This calendar shows in the upper half the twelve months of the year in three registers (much of the top register is missing). Each register has from the top a 'gallery' of busts of Saints, the Dominical Letters, the signs of the runic calendar, a series of 27 letters indicating the position of the moon and finally the labors of the months with zodiac signs in circles. At the bottom are a circular diagram for the Dominical Letters and the Golden Number and a medical image with lines linking body-parts with the signs of the zodiac that govern them.

© Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, Photo: Monika Runge

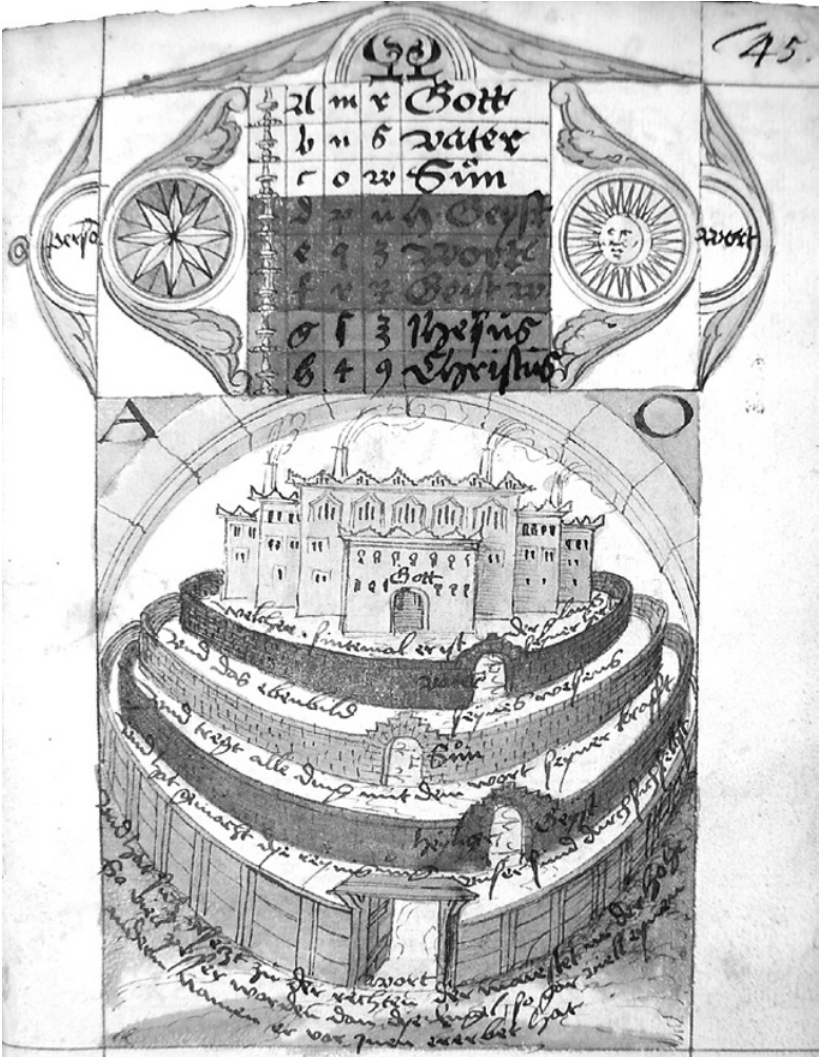


Fig. 52. 1b:L45r (autograph): This is one of the images added at the end of the Revelation series. Beneath a diagram of the first eight groups of the 3x11 Latin letters and the Spirits of the letters in the second column, Solomon's House of the Forest of Lebanon is depicted after models from Bible illustrations, its terraces are labeled with the five quotations from Heb. 1§2.

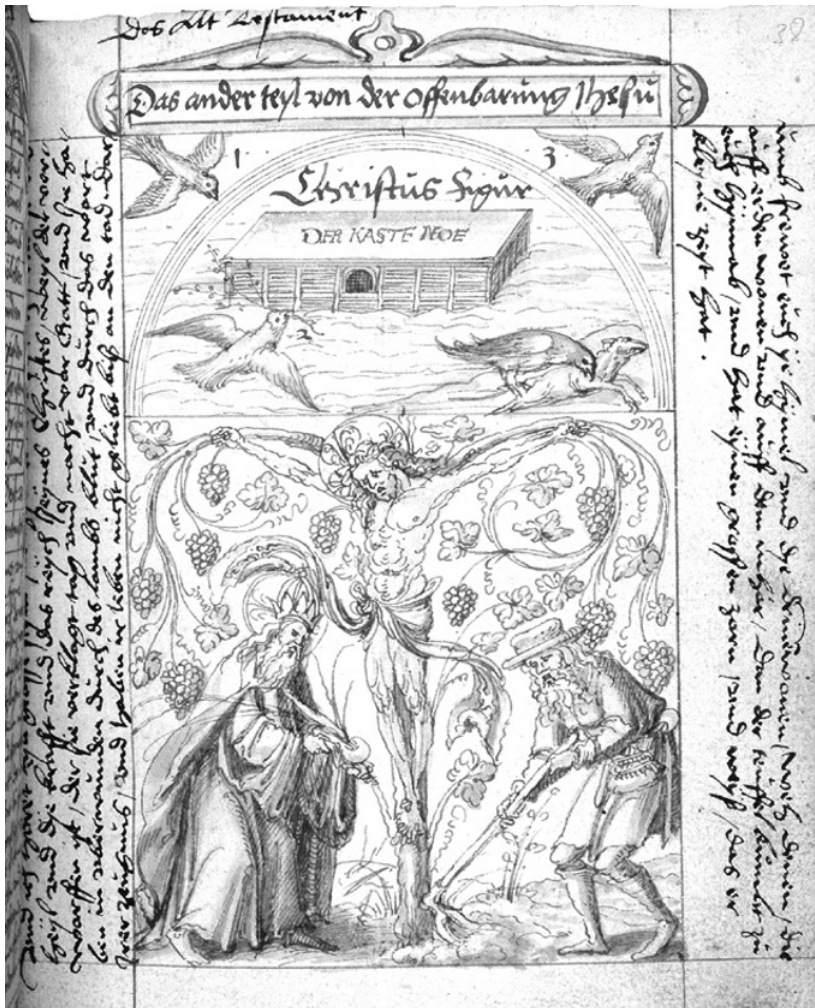


Fig. 53. 1d:A38r (autograph): The title-page of tract 1d shows at the top the Ark of Noah surrounded by the birds sent out by Noah during the Flood, beneath God and a man (Noah?) are tending the Cross-vine.



Fig. 54. Christ crucified to a vine tended by God the Father and the Virgin, clay mold, formerly Mainz, Städtisches Altertumsmuseum (destroyed in World War II). Reprinted from von Bode and Volbach, "Mittelrheinische Ton- und Steinmodel," plate 4 fig. 6



Fig. 55. 2:L19v (autograph): The first of Lautensack's heraldic drawings has in the shields twelve stars and twelve moons, with a sun and a moon in the inescutcheons. The Seven Stars and Angels from Rev. 1 surround two mirrors in the crests. Their reflections represent *Spirit* and *Word*, which are accordingly linked to the central *Person*. Above are the first of a series of quotations from Heb. 1 and the incipits of Rev. 1 and Rev. 14, and at the left margin a reference to Rom. 12, the first of the Four Pauline Chapters. Lautensack failed to write these texts on the yellow background that elsewhere signifies the first part of four.



Fig. 56. 2:L2or (autograph): Here, shields and crests together contain the Seven Lamps of Rev. 4:5 and the candlesticks of Rev. 1:12. Additionally, the inescutcheons show scepters and orbs, the crests Lamb and Dove. The texts are the second quotation from Hebrews, the first of the sentences with 'A and o' and, at the side, a reference to 1 Cor. 12, the second of the Four Pauline Chapters. The blue background color indicates the second part of four.



Fig. 57. 2:L21r (autograph): This large shield combines most motifs from L19v and 20r. Added are Christ as Man of Sorrows and the Arma Christi in the central quarterings, and the bust-like crests that stand both for *Spirit* and *Word* and for Father and Son. The texts are a fourth quotation from Heb. 1, the third of the sentences with 'A and o' and 2 Cor. 12, the last of the Four Pauline Chapters. The green background signifies the fourth part of four.

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Fig. 58. 2:L20v (autograph): Here the dexter (left) coat of arms has the Evangelists, the Book with Seven Seals and the Christ Child holding the Brazen Serpent, whilst the sinister presents the Tablets of the Law with Sin, Death, Devil and Hell, and Adam in the crest; in the top center the Christ Child sits on the Lamb. The inscriptions are the second quotation from Heb. 1, the third sentence with 'A and o' and a reference to 1 Cor. 15, the third of the Four Pauline Chapters; the (pale) red stands for the third part of four.



Fig. 59. Lucas Cranach: Woodcut showing Law and Grace, ca. 1529. The left half of this image shows in the left background the Fall, and in the foreground how Man is confronted by the Law (the Tablets hold by Moses) and driven by Death and Devil towards Hell. In the opposite half a prophet, probably John the Baptist, points Man to Christ on the Cross whose salvific blood is already cleansing him. In the background appear the Brazen Serpent and the Incarnation, at the very front Christ triumphing over Death and Devil.

Reproduced from Max Geisberg, *Der Deutsche Einblatt-Holzschnitt in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Schmidt, 1923–30), no. 615.

Fig. 60. **5b:A2r** (autograph): This title-page shows Christ crucified on the cross-vine emerging from the Mercy Seat and supported by God. He is flanked by Mary and John but also by a minister behind a Communion table and Moses with the Tablets of the Law standing next to a font. Lines link the divine persons and show how Christ's wounds bring forth the sacraments and defeat Sin and Law.

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zum ewigen Leben. Amen.
welches allein in Ihesu Christo stet

Offenbarung Ihesu Christi. Durch
sich selbst (Nach dem Geist) dar-
zu in durch die ganzen Bibel
one glos vom menschen. Sonder
der heylig Geist. Dyz werck selbst
mehrigkeit ist. Handen und zu be-
weisen wider alle seine feinde. Den
welche. in verfolgen und verachten





Fig. 61. 10a:N6or (autograph): This composition is similar to the preceding image but includes additional elements from the Law and Grace iconography: the Fall and the Brazen Serpent. Conversely, the connecting lines have been simplified (the long line leading to the left downwards connects Christ's chest with the center of the diagram on the opposite page, here reproduced as Fig. 15).

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. u. v. w. x. y. z.

Das Erste Buch Moyses Schrifttaltt Genesim Buchtaltt das Buchtaltt offentlichung.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
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| 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 |
| 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 |
| 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 |
| 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 |
| 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 |
| 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 |
| 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 |
| 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 |
| 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 |
| 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 |
| 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 |
| 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 |
| 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 |
| 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 |
| 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 |
| 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 |
| 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 |
| 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 |
| 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 |
| 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 |
| 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 |
| 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 |
| 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 |
| 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 |
| 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 |
| 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 |
| 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 |
| 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |

Fig. 62. 26:W8ov: Simplified diagram showing the 450 paragraphs of Gen. and the 2×50 paragraphs of Rev., the first paragraph of each chapter contains its number. At the top of the columns the 3×11 letters in *Broken* order.

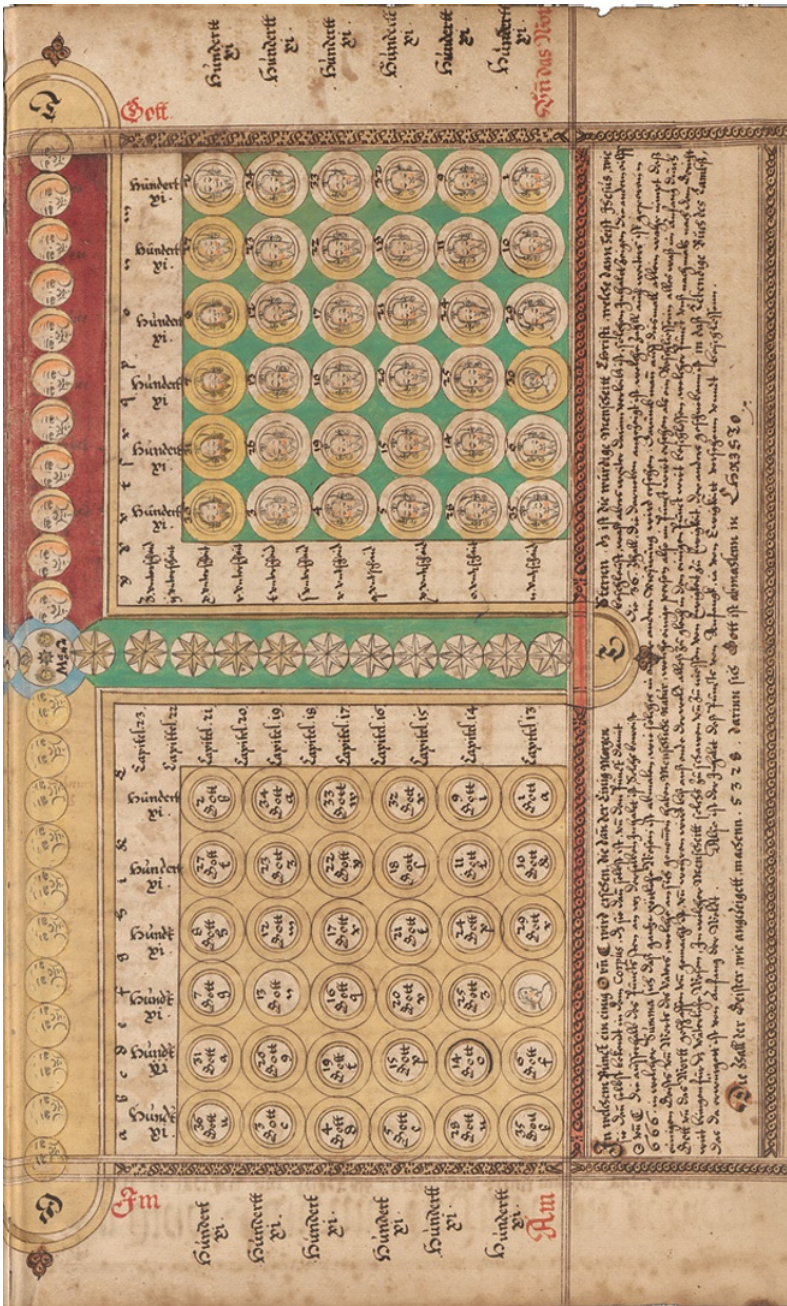


Fig. 63. 27a:Q2v-3r. System of four magic squares, separated by a large cross with 11 suns, stars, moons and busts of Christ with *GOTT* at the ends. The first magic square (at the top left) has celestial bodies, the second letters and their Spirits, the third busts of Christ and the last 36 times "Gott," at the margins appears the sum 111 multiple times.



Fig. 65. 12:V171r: The image of Rev. 12 is placed within four rings that contain (from the outside) the Spirits of the first 2×11 Latin letters, the first 6×11 Hebrew, Greek and Latin letters, the numbers 1–24 with stars and crescents and the last 11 Latin letters and their Spirits. It is surrounded by a diamond that has the Four Celestial Bodies and four times *Ao* in the spandrels and the four sentences containing ‘A and o’ between them; outside are the Symbols of the Evangelists and references to the Ascending Quarters of Revelation.



Fig. 66. 4c:A19r (autograph): This is one of the several title-pages in manuscript A (cf. p. 221). Like others it shows at the top the last article of the Creed. Beneath is a framed title and in the lower half a diagram dominated by an eight-point compass-rose, the texts on the wheel are the four sentences containing 'A and o,' in the center and the spandrels are five times the *Ao* ligatures. Added in darker ink are the smaller *As* in different scripts as well as a text based on the beginning of John 1 in three parts of the wheel.



Fig. 67. Xylographic Easter Table from Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1189 Helmst. Folio, 2r (old foliation 181r), showing the Golden Number with the Symbols of the Evangelists.

© Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

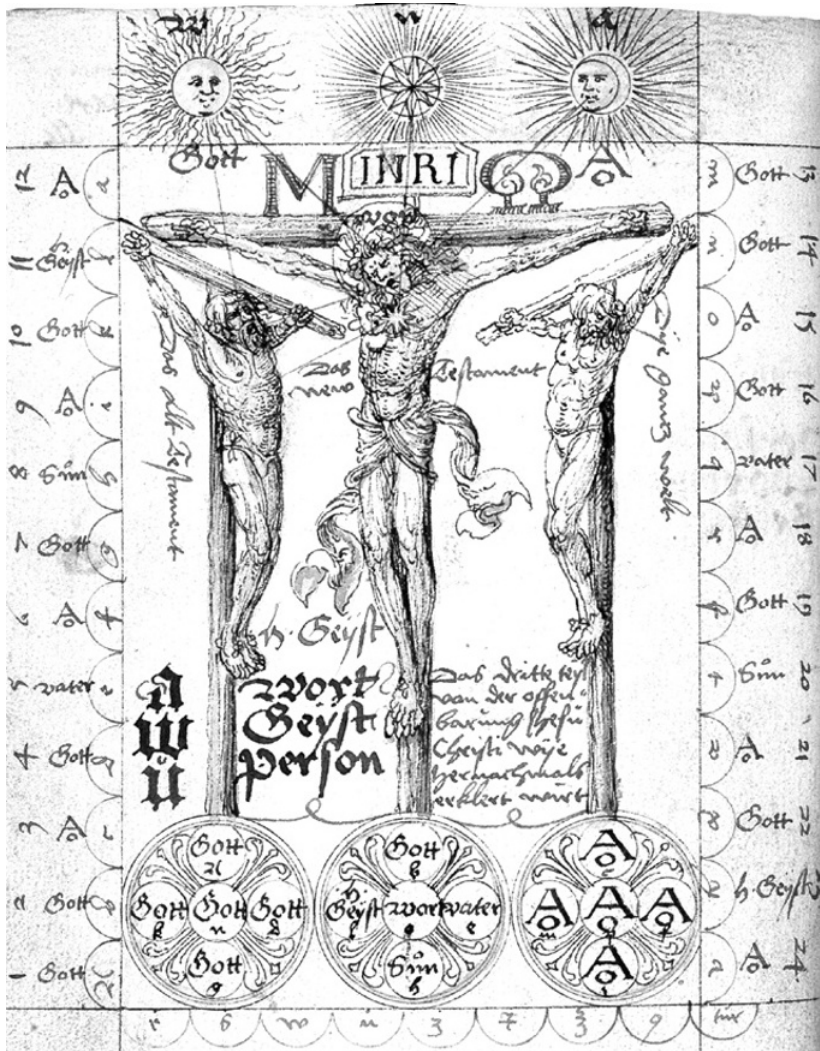


Fig. 69. 5a:A16v (autograph): The three small diagrams of the 'Crosses of the Three Ages' with their letters and Words are surmounted by Christ between the Thieves on three actual crosses. Whereas the repentant thief is linked to God's Spirit, Word and Person, the bad thief remains alone. In the margin appear the letters and Words from the 'Crosses' in *Crucified* order. Between the stems of the crosses the contents of the third row of the *Arsawu* are displayed, corresponding to the first row in Fig. 68.

Fig. 70. 17:U104v: Diagram with the Four Celestial Bodies sun/star/moon/star, inserted into a grid with the letters and their Spirits. The horizontal beams contain twice the standard 23-letter Latin alphabet, whilst the vertical beams repeat the letters *NOPQ*. Probably, the copyist had here misunderstood a 4×6-part alphabet as used in some of Lautensack's later tracts, cf. p. 257 n. 158. The continuation of this diagram on U105r is left unfinished.

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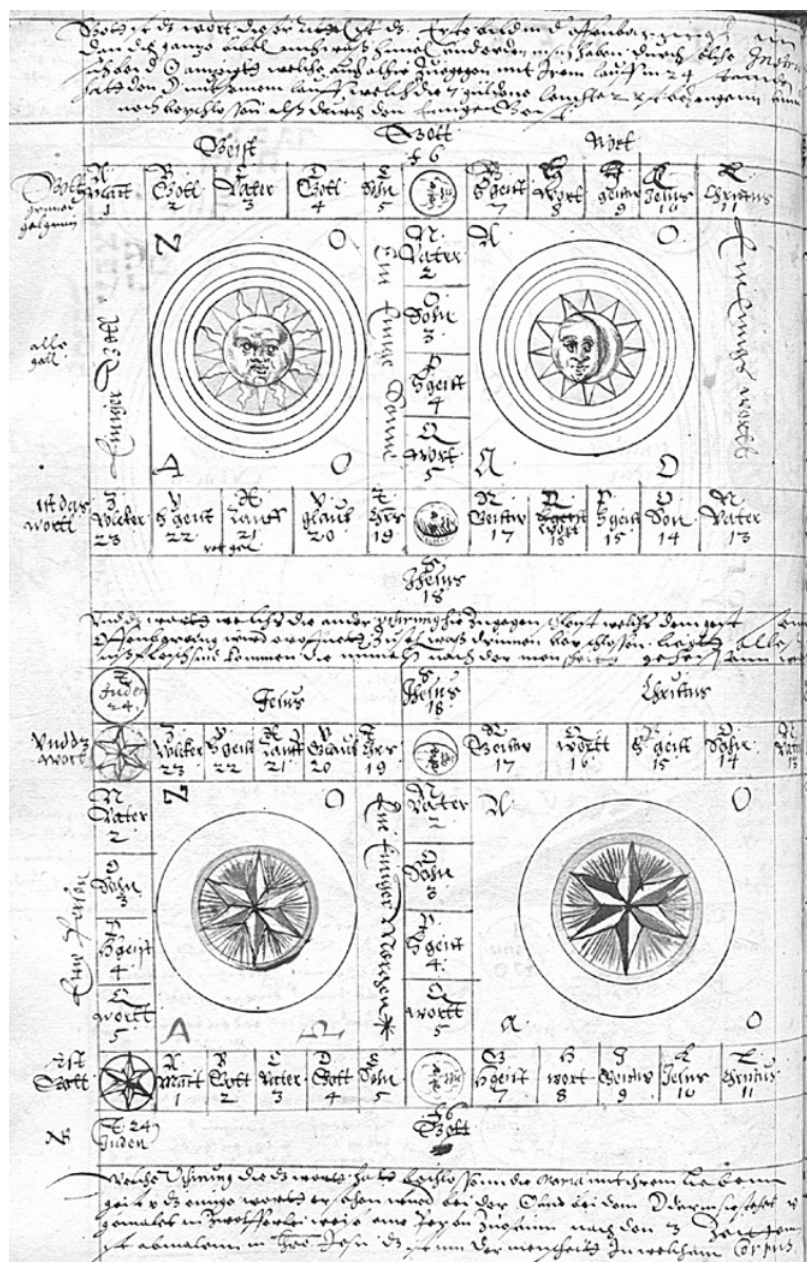


Fig. 71. 45:E16v: In the top and bottom sections the 2×8 parts of Heb. 1§1 and 1§3 respectively, together with references to the first four of the 4×5 Books, *GOTT* and *WORT*. In the center a diamond surrounded by four circles that contain the eight parts of Heb. 1§2, again with *GOTT* (in the upper halves, with “Gott” and the Persons of the Trinity) and *WORT* (lower half, with “Wort,” “Geistwort,” “Jhesus” and “Christus,” an unusual series). The diamond consists of small circles, filled with (from the ends) “Gott” and “Wort” respectively with the Persons of the Trinity (instead of “Sohn” a blank circle in the center), 6 times “Geist” and “Wort” respectively, then *GOTT* and *WORT*, the Persons of the Trinity flanked by “Gott” and “Wort,” the six days and six nights of the week and the Seven Stars and Seven Candlesticks. Above and below explanatory texts.

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Photo: Lutz Edelhoff

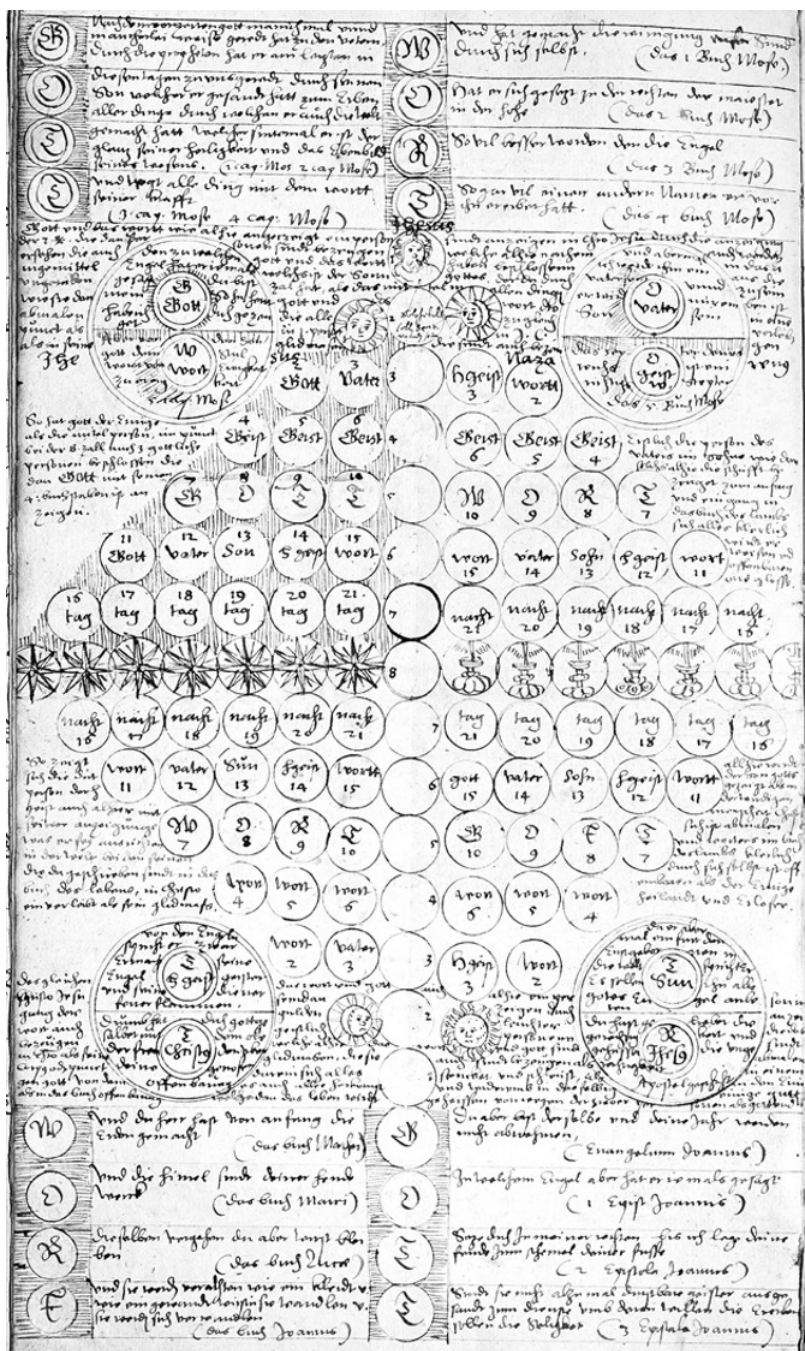


Fig. 72. *λλa:Km120* (a very similar diagram is in tract 37): Complex grid, in each of the three principal columns one of the Quarterings of Revelation (Descending with Rev. 18§1, 12§1, 6§1, 1§1, Ascending with Rev. 6§6, 12§6, 18§6 and 2§1, Unexplained with Rev. 3§2, 3§4, 12§3, 13§4), each with the Four Celestial Bodies. At the top images of the three comets with their dates and the quotation from Isa. 44:6. At the left margin *GOTT*, the Title of the Cross, the Patriarchs (divided into 4×3, not permuted) and the Hebrew letters as 6+5+6+5. At the right margin the Four Numbers, the Apostles, Greek letters, and finally *WORT*. The last Ascending Quarter has a reference to Ephesians, which is elsewhere paralleled with the first quarter (e.g. Fig. 73).

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|---|
| | Im 31. Jahr
Reiniger Ernte | Im 32. Jahr
Reiniger Ernte | Im 33. Jahr
Reiniger Ernte | |
| Jeser
Nieder
Seymen
Lette | 1 dist. Cap 30.
und der nach dem
an dem vordern
Lette vordern
Lette vordern | 2 dist. Cap 6
und der nach dem
an dem vordern
Lette vordern | 3 dist. Cap 3
und der nach dem
an dem vordern
Lette vordern | 12. 6. 0. 4.
Peters
Johannes
Johannes |
| 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12 | | | | 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12 |
| Vorderer
Reiter
Lette | 1 dist. Cap 12
und der nach dem
an dem vordern
Lette vordern | 6 dist. Cap 12
und der nach dem
an dem vordern
Lette vordern | 4 dist. Cap 3
und der nach dem
an dem vordern
Lette vordern | 32. 0. 3.
Andreas
Philipp
Egon |
| 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12 | | | | 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12 |
| REX.
Dau
Dau
Dau | 1 dist. Cap 8
und der nach dem
an dem vordern
Lette vordern | 6 dist. Cap 30
und der nach dem
an dem vordern
Lette vordern | 3 dist. Cap 3
und der nach dem
an dem vordern
Lette vordern | 12. 6. 0. 4.
Berthold
Matthias
Jacob |
| 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12 | | | | 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12 |
| Vorderer
Naphtali
Jeser
Beniam | 1 dist. Cap 3
und der nach dem
an dem vordern
Lette vordern | 6 dist. Cap 10
und der nach dem
an dem vordern
Lette vordern | 4 dist. Cap 3
und der nach dem
an dem vordern
Lette vordern | 6. 0. 0. 0.
Simon
Johannes
Matthias |
| 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12 | | | | 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12 |

Fig. 74. 24:B62r: Copy of the broadsheet that had informed Lautensack about the Parhelia in Eschenbach in February 1534.

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Leitzung die gründ der dreien göttlichen personen
in **Christo** darbey vnd darvntz sie sich im abmalen
als geistlich vnd im lichte personen im lichte des
Lebens

Flawer zaitung geschehen zu Eßlingen



In diesem M.D. XXXIII Jahr am Weissen Donerstag
Vollst ist gewest den 22 februar; zu mittz 3 vnd 4 auf der
Kleinon der nach mittztag; sind also 3 sonnen vnd 2 regene
gekommen vnd in der zutammen gethe; halbe stunde gesten
worden zu Eßlingen; vnd auß an wese auß; vns für dem
oben der zaitung ist; wie das von eitlich viel geschick; mind
auf vnd schick; glückseligen leuten zu Nürnberg angezeig
ist vnd; was aber diese zaiten bedekten; ist gott dem stant
allein vns; der wol waltet zum besten vns.

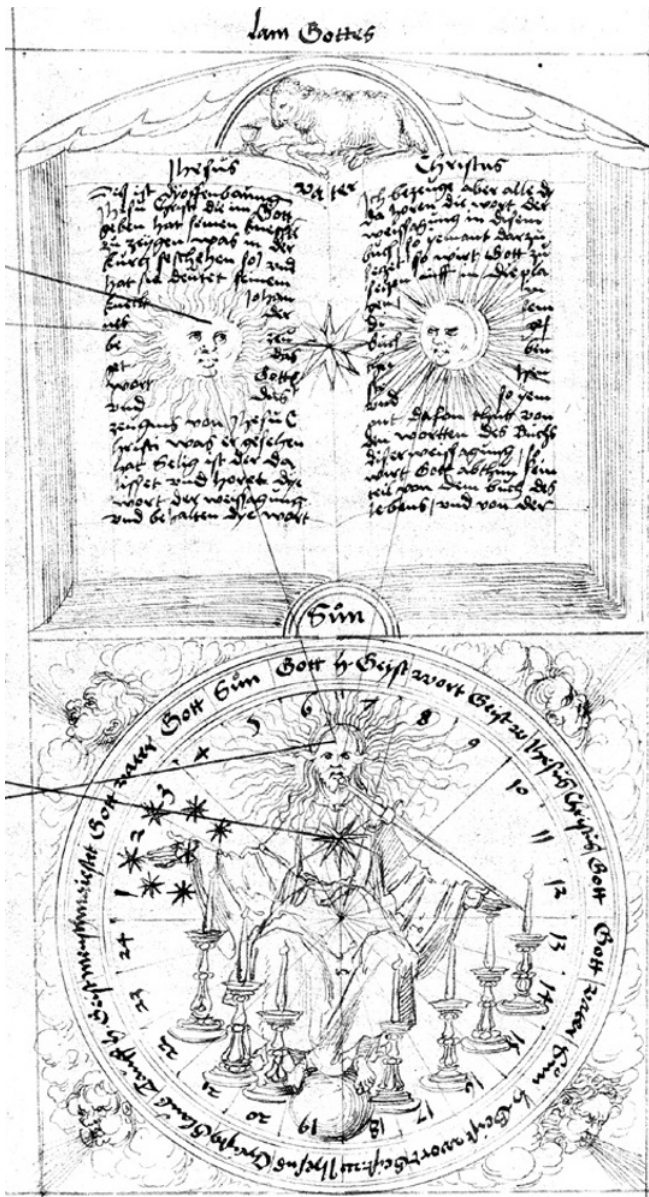
Luce am 21 Cap.

Bewunden zaiten geschien; an der D vnd D vnd * * * vnd
auf end; vnd den leuten lange sein; & sie nicht wissen wasmaße

Die drei sonnen vnd die drei regene personen mit zuweisen nach zuoffenbaren

52

Die drei sonnen vnd die drei regene personen mit zuweisen nach zuoffenbaren in der



connected with the Image of Rev. 1 surrounded by the first 24 Spirits of the Latin letters and "Gott" and "mensch" in the 12th and 24th places, in the spandrels the four winds, all labeled "Sun" [Son]. As usual, the suns are linked with other suns and with foreheads, the stars with other stars, the moon with Christ's mouth.



Fig. 76. 10a:N39v-40r (autograph): At the left-hand side the 1534 Parhelia (three suns, beneath two half-halos opposite each other) and the 1533 comet (between the halos), labeled "heylicher Geyst" [Holy Ghost] linked with the Image of

(Continued)



Rev. 12 on the Ark of Covenant, surrounded by the first 2×11 Latin letters with M and Ω in the 12th and 24th places, 12 stars and 12 moons, in the spandrels the Ao-ligatures. At the top one of the short quotations of Heb. 1§1.

© Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg



Fig. 77. 24:V34r: The Image of Rev. 12 between two half-halos and that of Rev. 1 in a circular halo with the second third of Isa. 44:6. At the sides quotations from Deut. 6§2 and 18§6 and from Acts 6§1 and 6§2, a precursor of the Concluding Paragraphs. At the top the Three Celestial Bodies, at the bottom the Mercy Seat between the two Cherubim.



Fig. 78. 42:B189v: The structure of this diagram incorporates the halos of the Parhelia from 1533 (circle) and 1534 (two half circles). Between them are the images of Rev. 1 and 12, the Christ Child and the Lamb on the Book, the white circle is labeled with the apparition years of the comets and hence probably should have contained stars. The four parts of the circular halo have *GOTT*, "Gott" and the Persons of the Trinity with explanations, the half-circles *GOTT* and *WORT* respectively with references to the chapters of Rev. divided into 2×4 groups of three chapters (chapter 12 is counted as both the end of first and the beginning of the second half, and erroneously there is a 'chapter 23' at the end). At the bottom are the Seven Candlesticks. The 4×6 wings in the colors of Lautensack's rainbow allude to the Symbols of the Four Evangelists and the Quarters of Revelation; in the corners is the Title of the Cross.

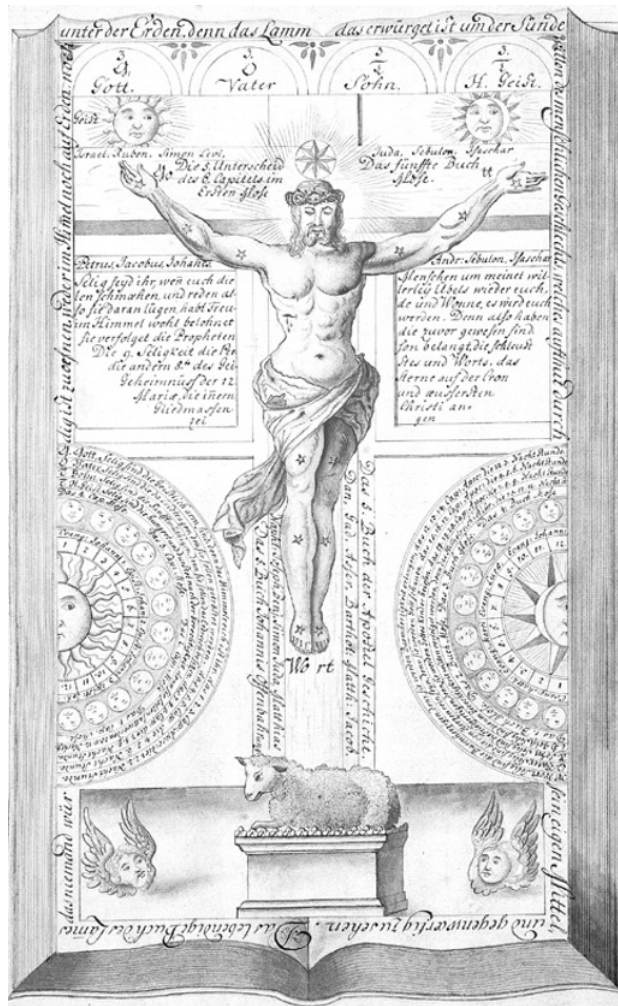


Fig. 79. $\lambda\lambda$:Wm115 (a very similar diagram is in tract 37): An open book displays the Mercy Seat with the Lamb on it, flanked by the Cherubim. Raised behind it is a cross carrying Christ. His limbs are marked with 4×3 stars, written along them are the names of the 12 Patriarchs and Apostles, furthermore the last four of the 4×5 Books. At the sides appear the two half-halos from the 1534 Parhelia, the left with a large and 12 small suns, *GOTT*, "Gott" with the Persons of the Trinity and the first four Beatitudes, furthermore the 1st and 4th group of the first four of the 4×5 Books. The right half-halo has moons, *WORT*, "Wort" with the Persons of the Trinity, the 5th–8th Beatitudes and the 2nd and 3rd groups of Books. Tablets under Christ's arms quote the 9th Beatitude. At the top stand sun and moon with "Geist" and "Wort," *GOTT* with "Gott" and the Persons of the Trinity.

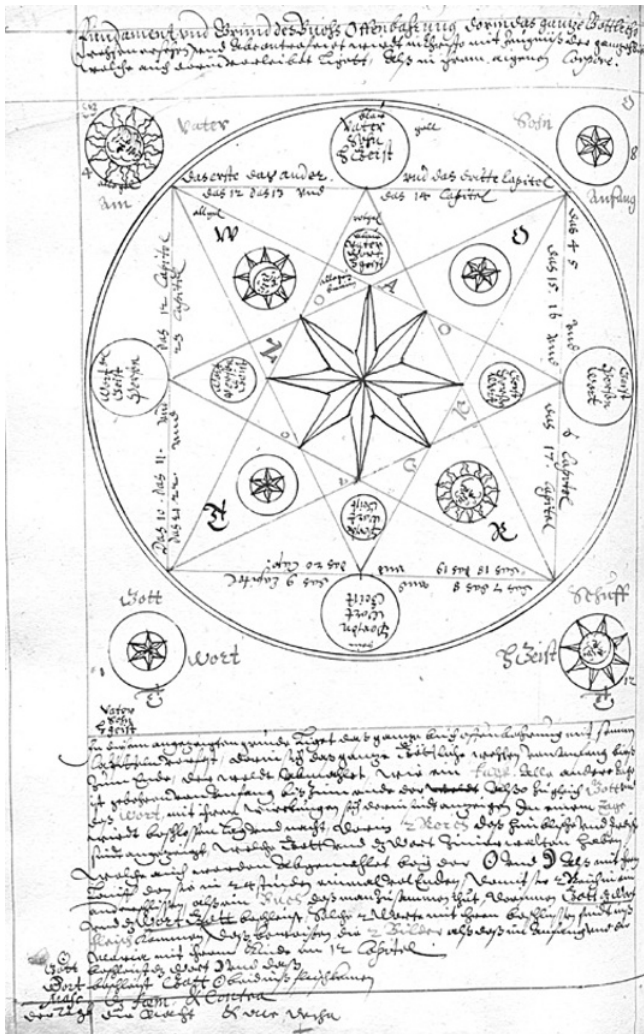
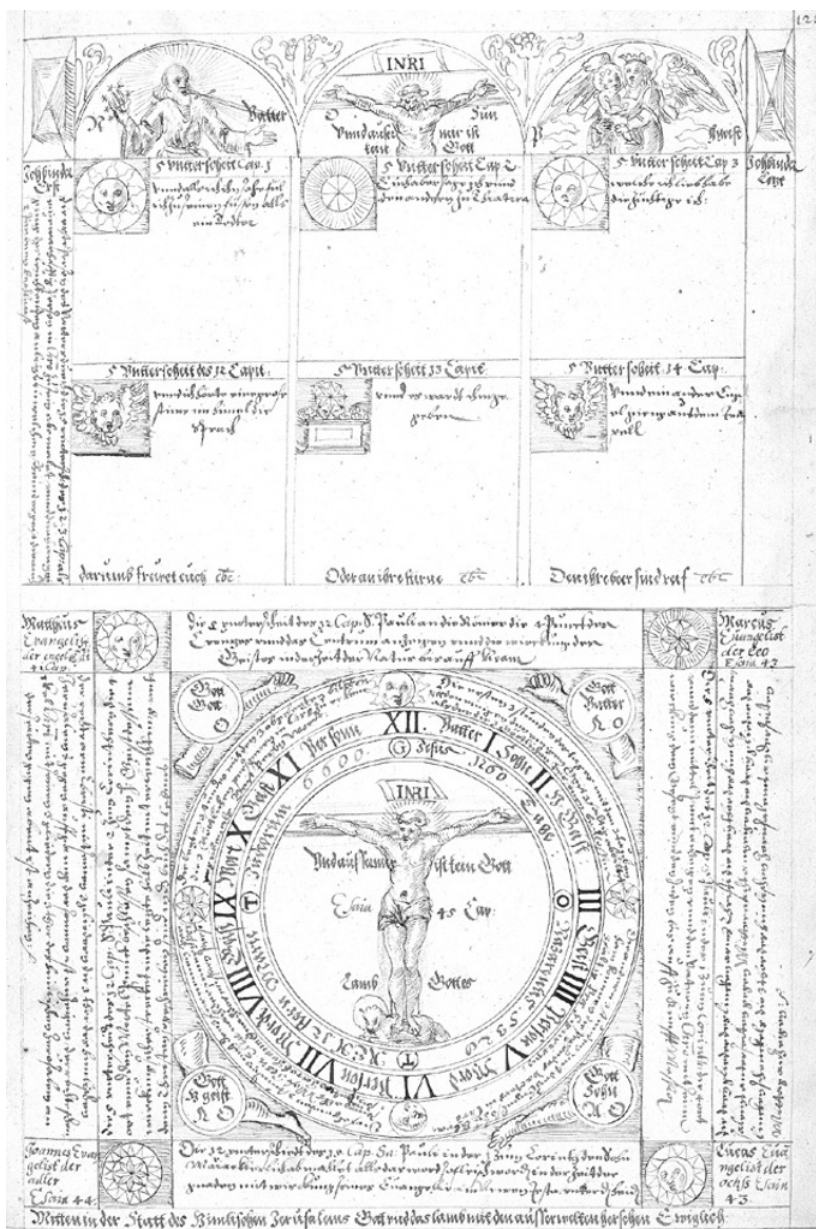


Fig. 80. 34:U154v: A star similar to an eight-point compass-rose surrounded by four intersecting triangles forming an irregular eight-point star inscribed into a square that is in turn inscribed into a circle. In the inner spandrels the letters *AO* in different alphabets, in the points *WORT*, "Wort" with the Persons of the Trinity and permutations of the *Aspects* as well as the Four Celestial bodies. Along the square are references to all chapters of *Rev.* in groups of three, in circlets outside the circle three sets of permutations of the *Aspects* and once the Persons of the Trinity with indications of the four colors, in the outer spandrels again the Celestial Bodies with *GOTT*, the Persons of the Trinity and "Wort" as well as the first words of *Gen. 1*.

Fig. 81. $\lambda\alpha$:Km121 (a very similar diagram is in tract 37): The upper half combines Christ on the Cross between the *Two Images* from Revelation with Isa. 44:6 in three parts, beneath are the last paragraphs of all of the *Six Chapters* (with Rev. 12§5 instead of 12§6) with the Three Celestial Bodies and the Mercy Seat between the Cherubim. The lower half shows Christ on the Cross with the last part of Isa. 44:6 surrounded by (from the inside) *GOTT* with the Title of the Cross and the Four Numbers, then the Roman numerals I–XII as on a clock-dial with the Persons and the three sets of permutations of the *Aspects* of the Trinity, then the Four Celestial Bodies with a text linking the times of day with the Manifestations of the Trinity, in the spandrels Christ's arms and legs, in the margins references to the Four Pauline Chapters, in the corners the Four Celestial Bodies and references to the Evangelists, their Symbols, and Isa. 41–44.

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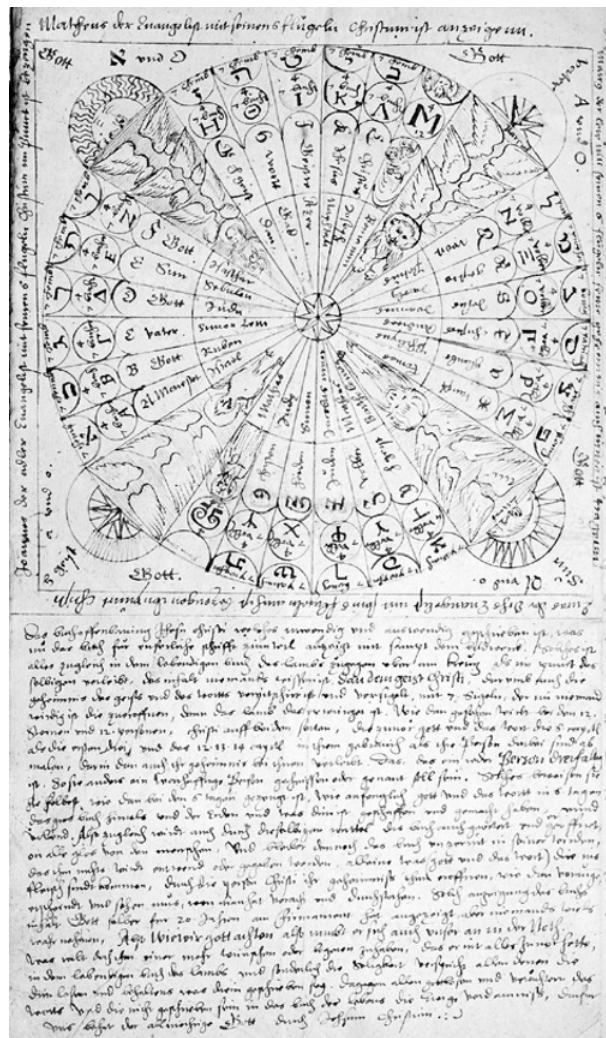


Fig. 82. 45:E28v: Circular diagram showing (from the inside) a star, the 12 Patriarchs and 12 Apostles, 22 of the 27 Latin letters (*NOP* missing, furthermore *M* and *[tur]* replaced with the *Two Images*) with their Spirits, the 24 Greek and the 22 Hebrew letters (the latter with the *Two Images*, only one executed). Furthermore, each of the first 11 Hebrew letters refers to 7 Cherubim, each of the last 11 to 7 Ancestors; accordingly, the 2x12 Greek letters refer to 11x7 Books and Peoples respectively. In the diagonals four wider sectors, each with the Symbol of one Evangelist and its six wings, at the end one of the Four Celestial Bodies. In the spandrels "Gott" with the Persons of the Trinity and *Ao* in different alphabets.

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Fig. 83. 26:V113r: Diagram of the Heavenly Jerusalem. In the center God with the book and the Lamb surrounded by a round halo in rainbow colors with *WORT* in the spandrels. In the arches of the twelve gates, twelve busts of Christ with the Three Celestial Bodies, in the corners the Symbols of the Evangelists with *GOTT*.

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Fig. 84. 26:B81v: At the bottom the Mercy Seat with the Lamb of God sitting on it; between the two Cherubim rises the Cross with Christ. Behind Him an open book with eight sections of Heb. 1§2, separated by busts of Christ, under the hands of Christ sun and moon.



Fig. 85. $\lambda\lambda$ b:Lm8r: Drawing in the format of a book-cover showing Christ with the orb and a star on His chest surrounded by Isa. 44:6. In the background the Mercy Seat, and the Cherubim labeled "Geist" and "Wort." Beneath them are the letters *Arsawu* and their Spirits.



Fig. 86. 25:S66v: Heraldic achievement, on the escutcheon the four Symbols of the Evangelists surrounding the Lamb of God, in the crests three busts of divine persons with (equal) crowns and stars, behind them the halos from 1533 and 1534, above the Three Celestial Bodies labeled with the *Aspects* of the Trinity, at the top GOTT in permutation, labeled with the Persons of the Trinity.

Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz

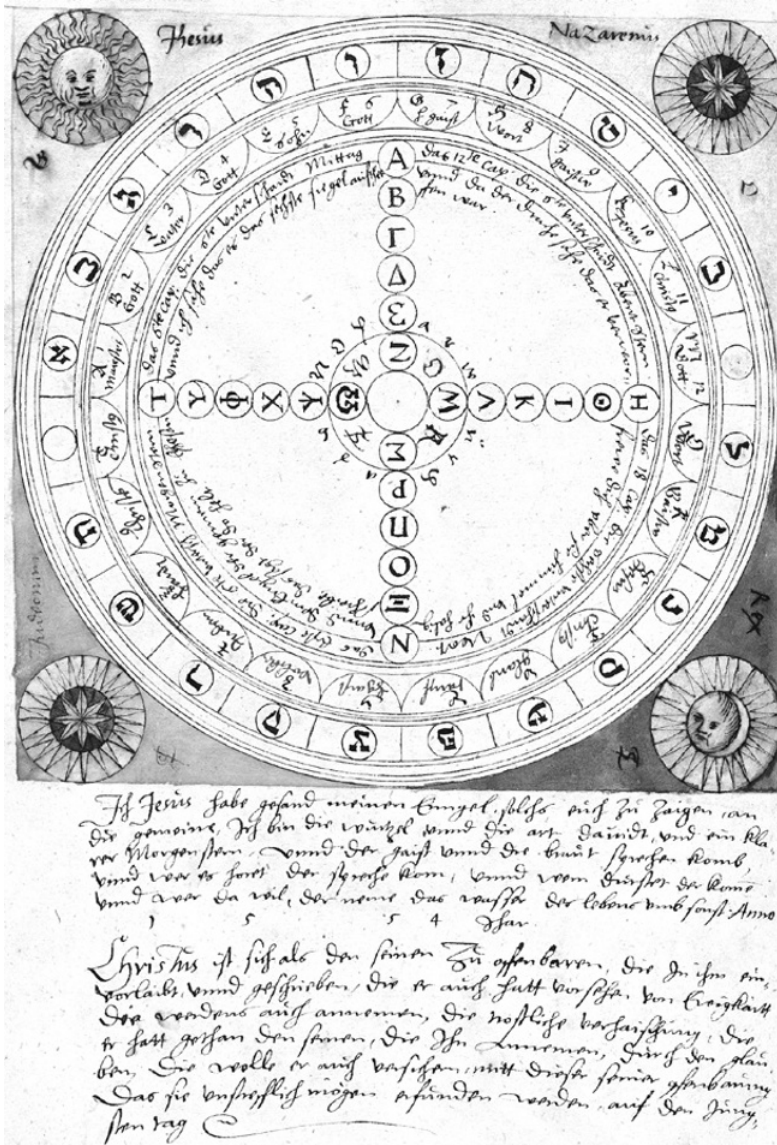


Fig. 87. 42:B19ov: Cross formed by the 4×6 Greek letters, surrounded (from the inside) by the Ascending Quarters of Revelation, the 4×6 Latin letters (the 29-part alphabet without NOP and the final UR) and their Spirits and the 4×6 Hebrew letters (including two voids). Around the center the previously omitted nop, ur (with an additional sign like “dele”) and the letters arw asu, in the central circle WORT. In the outer spandrels the Four Celestial Bodies, the Title of the Cross, and GOTT.

Photo: Staatsbibliothek Bamberg

Fig. 88. 34:U153r: Diamond-shaped arrangement similar to Fig. 71. Here, the vertical bar contains 14 busts of Christ, and in the center are the letters M and Ω as well as *a* and *o*. The squares (21, with one additional field at the top/bottom) contain four alphabets: Hebrew, Greek, Latin Fraktur and Antiqua. In the corners are four stars (later corrected to show the Four Celestial Bodies) and the sentences containing 'A and o,' again using four different alphabets (Hebrew, Greek, Latin majuscule and minuscule).

Photo: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle (Saale)

Fig. 89. 45:E8r: In the top half cruciform diagram with God and the Lamb in the center and the first words of Gen. 1 and John 1 in circlets, together with six repetitions of "Gott" and twelve stars, at the sides of the Cross 4×6 Latin letters (from the 27-part alphabet, by mistake not omitting *NOP* but *OPQ*) with the names of the Patriarchs and Apostles. In the spandrels quincunx-like arrangements of the 4×5 Books, with the last Books in the center, surrounded by four fingers and toes (unusually not paralleled with the Four Ages but with the older system of Time, Times and Half Time linked to parts 2–4). In the lower half the beginning of Gen. 1 and Rev. 1 with 2×15 Latin letters and their Spirits and the 2×15 limbs of Christ, at the Margins *GOTT* and *WORT* with five quotations from Heb. 1§2 and the Confession of Nathanael respectively.

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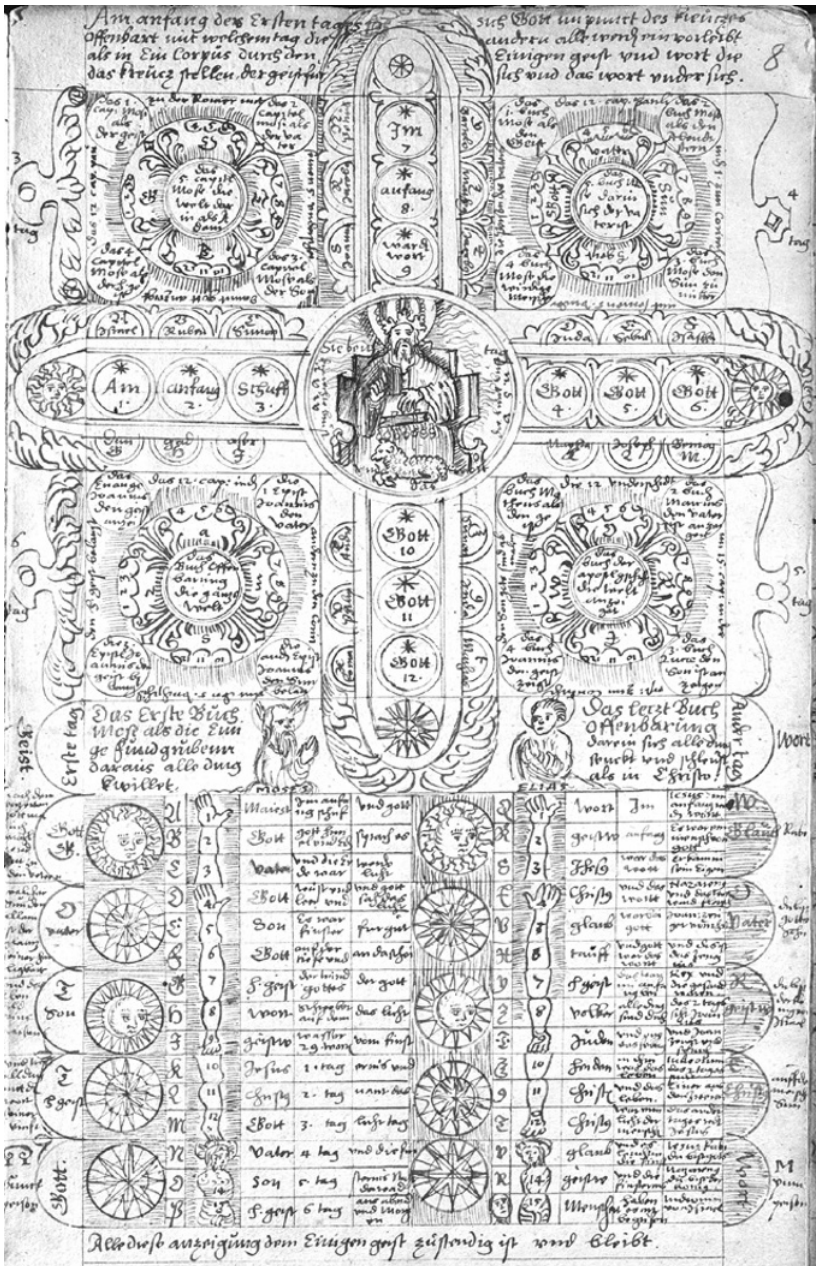


Fig. 90. 45:E27r: Four-part diagram quoting in the central sections some of the Concluding Paragraphs of the 4×5 Books (Gen. 5§1, Deut. 6§2, Acts 6§1 and, unusually, Rev. 22§4), framed by references to these quotations (right), to parts of Christ's torso (top), to the last of the 4×5 Books (left) and to the Confession of Nathanael (bottom), above the Dove of the Holy Ghost. In the semicircles (to be read at the left downward, at the right upward) twice the Four Celestial Bodies, *GOTT* and *WORT* (the second half combined with "Gott" and the Persons of the Trinity, the first half partially with the Spirits of the letters of *WORT*). Here are furthermore references to the chapters of Rev. and the *Aspects* and Persons of the Trinity. At the left-hand side four references to the number 1,332 (the sum of a magic square), quotations from John 1§1, the Title of the Cross and the Four Numbers (but with the year 1532 instead of 6,600 in the last place), and in the narrow column references to the 3×36 Psalms. At the right-hand side the four limbs of Christ, with altogether 12 numbered stars and furthermore numbered finger joints, the Four Ages and (in the wide fields) references to the 77 Cherubim, Ancestors, Books and Peoples, each with the overall sum of 308 (4×77), references to the limb of Christ and the Manifestation of the Trinity related to each Age (cf. p. 260 Table 11), and to Peoples, Jews, Pagans and Christians. In the frame a complex arrangement of alphabets: the 4×6 Greek letters are in the left margin, the 4×6 Hebrew letters (including 2 voids) in the top sections of the boxes, starting at the bottom. The first 3×5 Latin letters are in the bottom sections of the first three boxes (starting at the top), the next 3×5 in the right margins (interrupted by the Hebrew alphabet), the letters *Arsawu* at the bottom of the last box, resulting in altogether 36 (35 + void at place 30) Latin letters.

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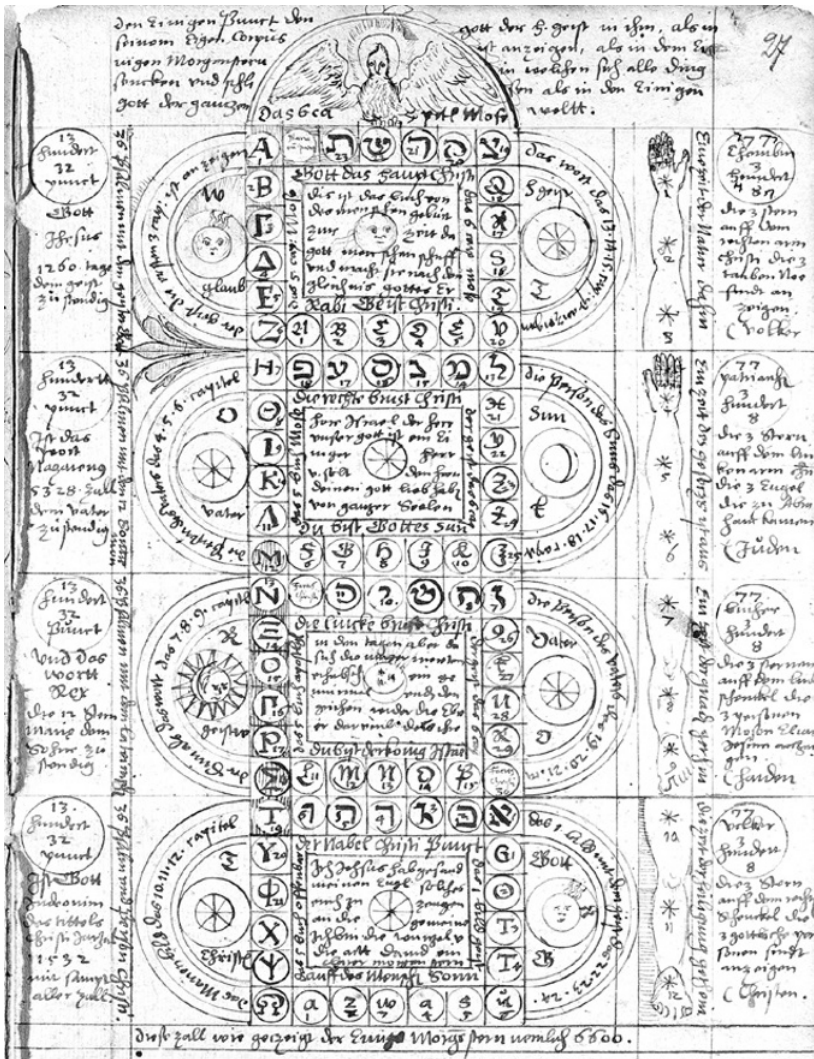


Fig. 91. 45:E12v: In the center Christ in saltire, the three comets on His torso, flanked by sun and moon (both in profile), with two parts of the Confession of Nathanael, and Isa. 44:6 in three parts. Christ's limbs (with twelve stars and "Gott" with the Persons of the Trinity) are flanked by the Manifestations of the Trinity (Three Doves, Three Angels, Christ between Moses and Elijah, Crucifix between the *Two Images* of Rev.). Text-blocks contain the Concluding paragraphs (Gen. 5+6, Deut. 6§2, Acts 6§1 and, unusually, Exod. 6§1 for the last section) with the Title of the Cross and the Four Numbers. At the cardinal points are the Four Celestial Bodies (the last with the Lamb), in the spandrels the Symbols of the Evangelists with the names of the Patriarchs and Apostles on their 4×6 wings (incomplete). Above and beneath four magic squares, the first with "Gott," the second with the Celestial Bodies, the third with Spirits of the letters, the fourth with busts of Christ. Each has at the top the 4×6 Latin letters (omitting *NOP*), at the right margin the six wings of the Symbols of the Evangelists, at the left and the bottom the number 111, in the corners *GOTT* and *WORT* respectively. Next to them references to the first four of the 4×5 Books, with the fingers, toes and references to Peoples, Jews, Pagans and Christians (with some variants, probably by mistake), and the Four Celestial Bodies, at the top normal and mirrored, at the bottom permuted and mirrored.

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Fig. 92. 45:E10v: In the center Christ on the Cross standing above the Mercy Seat. His limbs marked with stars (only eight of the usual twelve visible). At the sides in four columns (in the order 1, 2, 4, 3) Christ's limbs, marked with altogether 12 stars (altogether eight fields, four show one, four two of the altogether twelve limbs). Between the limbs are the Manifestations of the Trinity, each divided into three sections: at the left the Three Doves and next to them the Three Angels, at the far right Christ, Moses and Elijah and to their left Christ on the Cross between the *Two Images* of Revelation. On the titulus of the cross a reference to the chronograph for 1532, besides Christ's knees the chronograph of 1533, on Christ's chest a quotation from Isa. 44:6. The squares in the corners contain the Four Celestial Bodies, their frames have references to the first 4×4 of the 4×5 Books, each accompanied by one of Christ's fingers or toes with its joints numbered. A similar scheme in front of Christ's body has in semicircles 4×6 letters of the 29-part alphabet together with one of Christ's thumbs and big toes per group (inscribed with *GO TT* and *WO RT*) and *WORT*. In the spandrels are the omitted letters *nop* (left) and *ur* with the number 30 (right), and the letters *arw asu* at the top and bottom. In the margins the letters of the 29-part alphabet with their Spirits and with twice Seven Stars and Candlesticks, at the outer left margin references to the first three weekdays, three times 1,000 years and images of Christ between the *Two Images* from Revelation (the other three weekdays and millennia are on E11r), on the outer left side the letters M and Ω.

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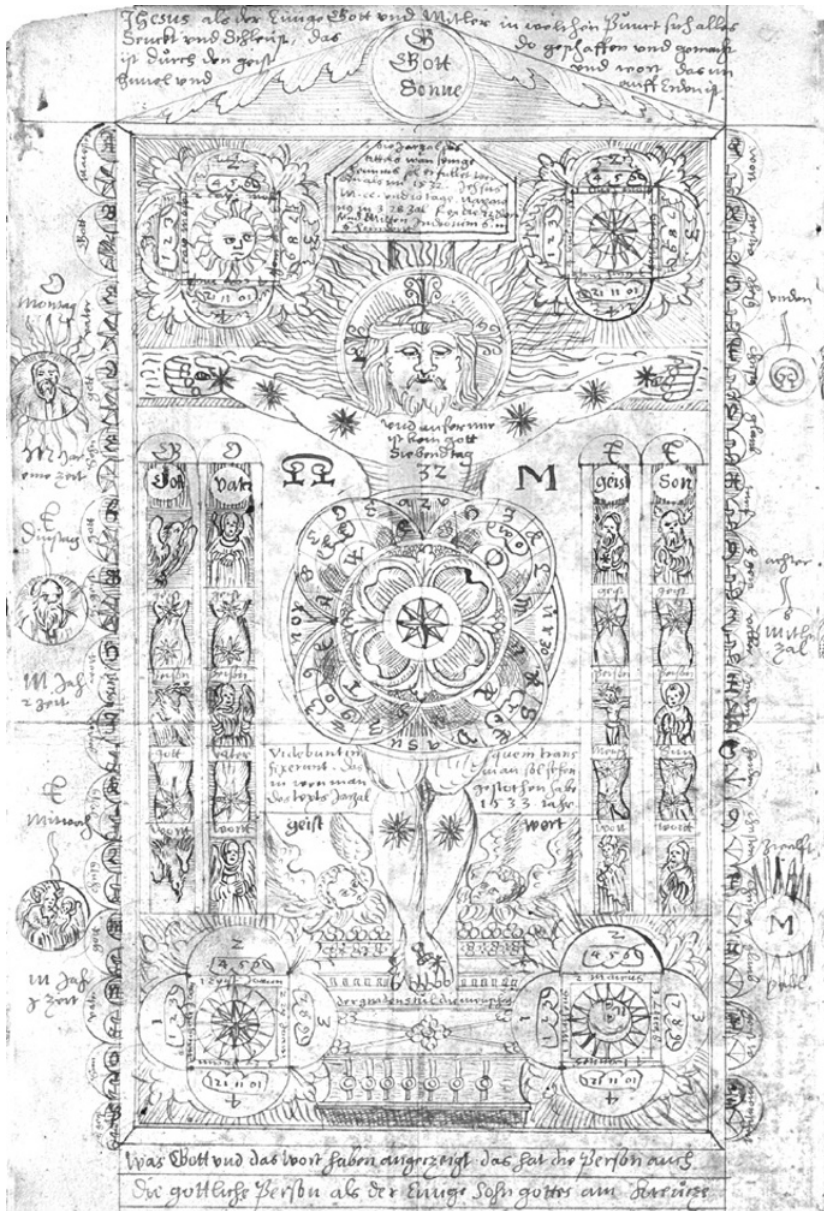


Fig. 93. 44:R131v: In the top third the 2×15 limbs of Christ with 29 letters, relating to *GOTT* and *WORT*, beneath the six week-days, Three Celestial Bodies in normal and mirrored order, 6×1,000 years, references to 6×24 Psalms, incipits of the last six Psalms, the *Two Images* from Revelation (once mirrored) flanking depictions of God and the Lamb. In the bottom third the round halo of 1533 showing God and the Lamb, with the 1534 half-halos referring to “Gott” and “Wort” above and below and the Four Celestial Bodies in the spandrels. At its right the letters *Arsawu* with their Spirits, the Three Celestial Bodies (once mirrored) and the 4th, 8th and 12th paragraphs of both halves of the *Six Chapters*. In the margins the three comets with Isa. 44:6 in three parts and permutations of the *Aspects* of the Trinity.

Photo: Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden

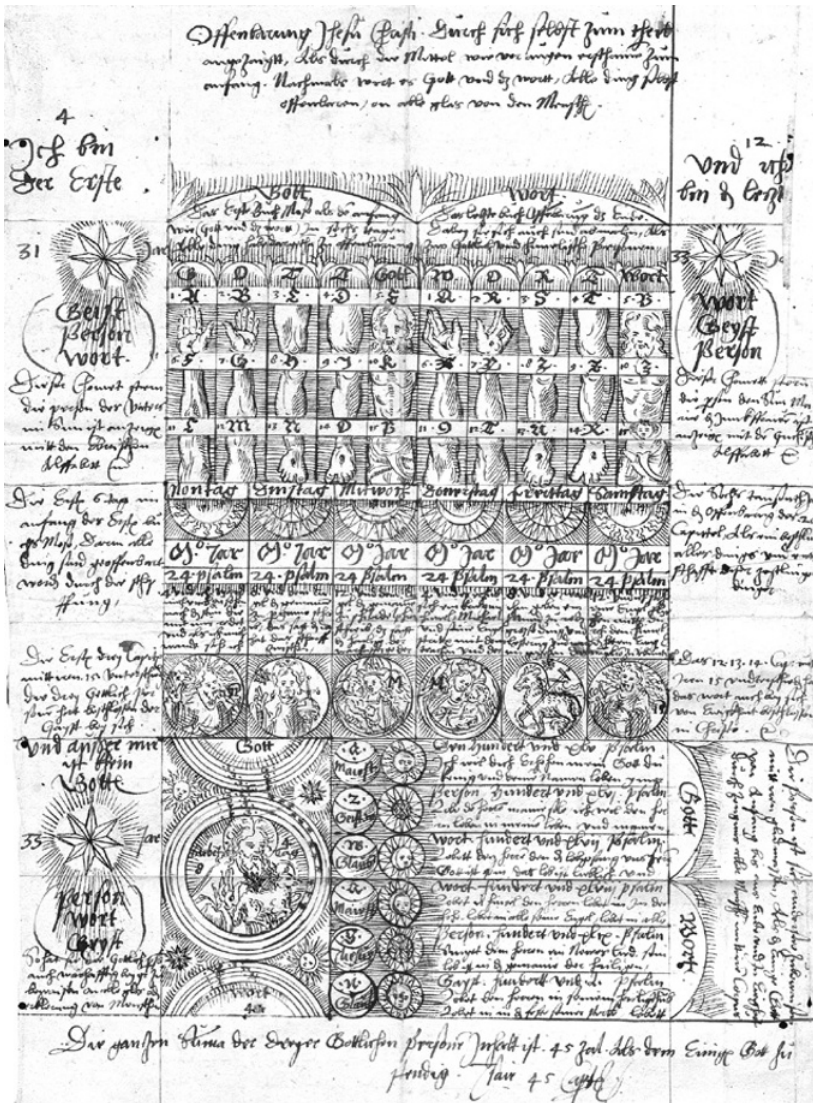


Fig. 94. 45:E25v: Christ's torso in three parts, breasts and navel labeled with the Persons of the Trinity and a quotation from Exod. 3:14. The parts of the torso are separated by the 'Crosses of the Three Ages,' the Words related to them stand in semi-circles at the right-hand side. Each field in the left-hand column contains the incipit of the last paragraph of a chapter of Rev. 12–14, one of the Parhelia (the second only sketched, the third missing - the three comets are in the margin) and an explanatory text. The small column between the two halves contains the Ancestors according to Matthew in *Broken* order. The small circles on the right-hand side contain the 1st, 6th and 11th Latin letters, those on the left the 21st and 26th letters and a void. They are linked in an unusual way (probably a mistake of the copyist) with Spirits (left) and Biblical Books (right).

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[illegible]



Fig. 95. 47:B128v-29r: Images of Christ, inspired by the Man of Sorrows showing His Wounds. The left-hand image numbers the fingers (1-5, 11-15) and the wounds

(Continued)



(6–10), the right-hand drawing the toes (1–5, 11–15) and again the wounds (6–10). In the corners the Four Celestial Bodies. The opposite sides of these leaves depict the covers of a book.

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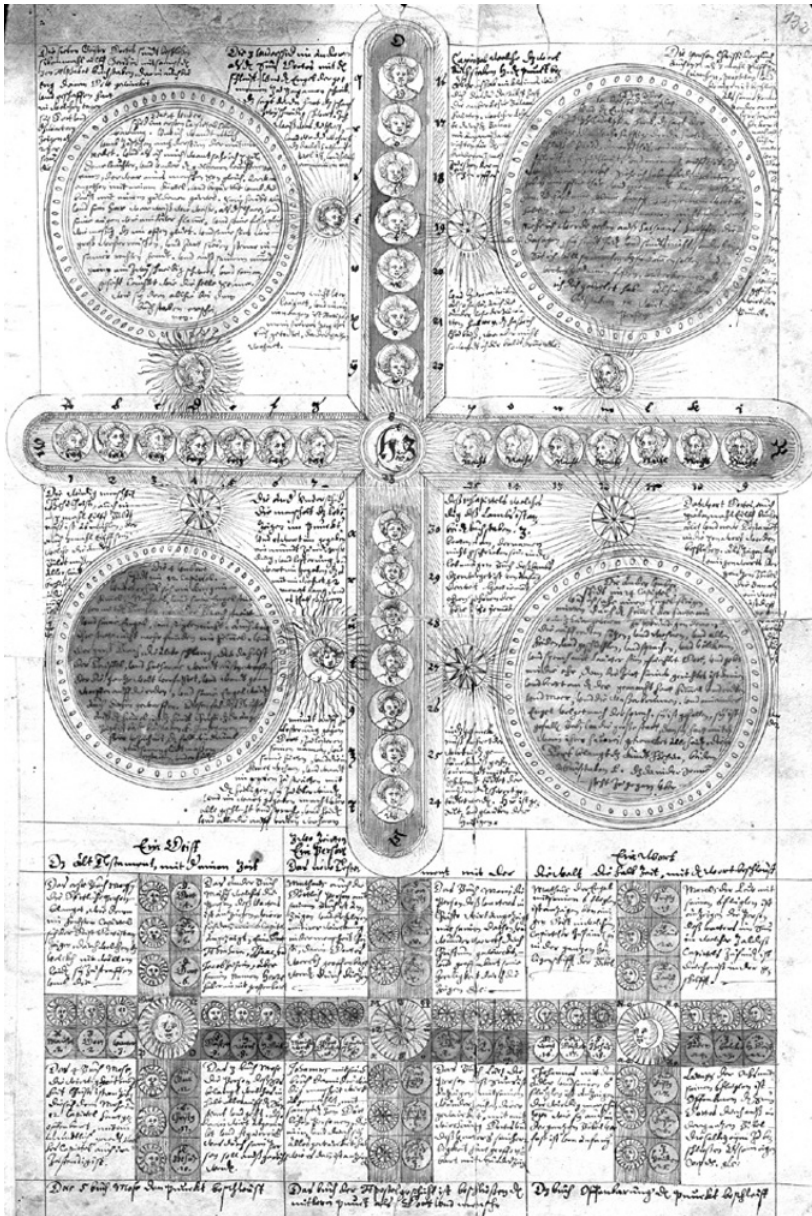


Fig. 96. Peter Dell the Elder: So-called Allegory of the Christian Order of Salvation, 1548 (lost, formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum).

© Skulpturensammlung Berlin

Fig. 97 (facing). ♀:T132r: Diagram using Lautensackian material in an unfamiliar way: at the top a cross filled with roundels with busts of Christ, surrounded by the 29 Latin letters (with *a* instead of a void in the 30th place). The circles contain the 4th and 12th paragraphs of each group of the *Six Chapters*, the texts written between them and the cross-beams are the 8th paragraphs (they have to be read across the vertical beam). The celestial signs do not follow any common arrangement. Beneath are three smaller crosses linked to the *Aspects* of the Trinity, the Three Ages and Time, Times and Half Time. The crosses contain the Three Celestial Bodies together with the Latin letters and their Spirits and are surrounded with references to the 3×5 Books (four in the spandrels, the fifths beneath), but the spandrels of the third Cross refer to the Symbols of the Evangelists rather than to the first four Johannine Books.

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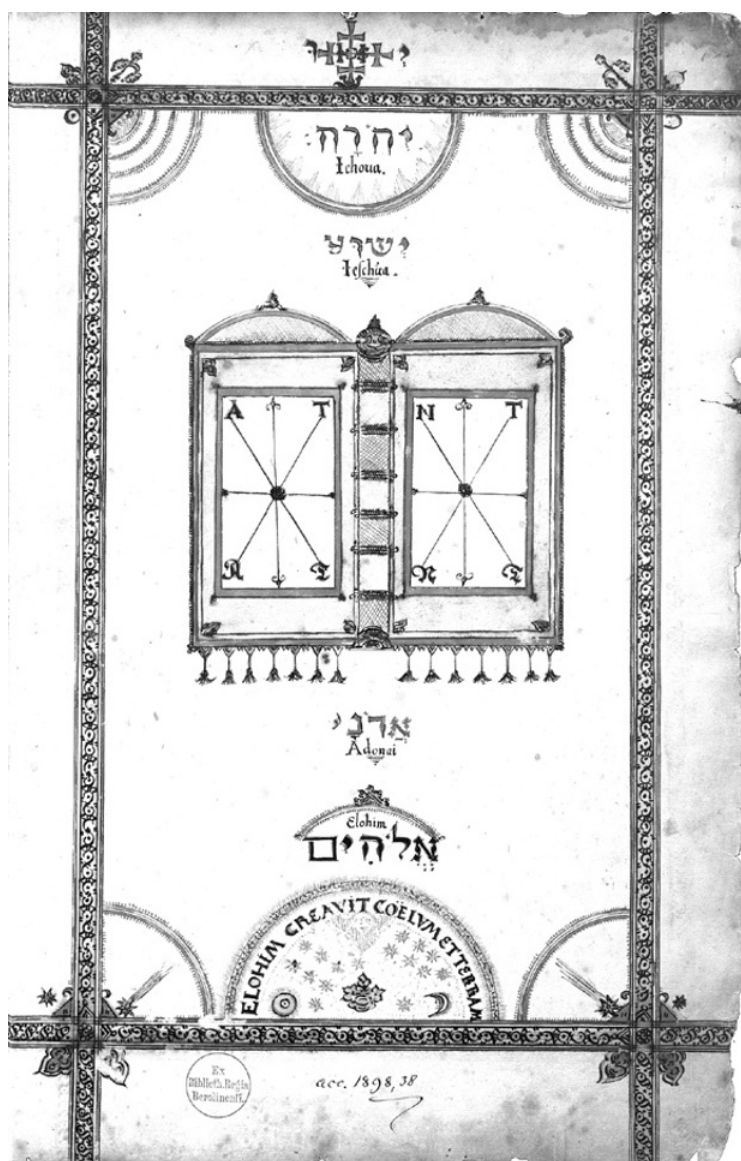


Fig. 98. 99:Qir: This pastiche combines some elements from Lautensack's tracts, such as the comets in the bottom corners and the open Book with Seven Seals labeled on covers with single letters in different styles (although they are *A T* / *N T*, abbreviations for "Old Testament" and "New Testament," rather than Lautensack's *A o*). Lautensack's sun and moon are combined not with one but with numerous stars, and the beginning of Genesis, which he quoted frequently, is here rendered in Latin. Unrelated to Lautensack's theology are the Hebrew names of God.

Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz



Fig. 99. λ a:Wm, title-page: This title-page of Meffert's 'Clarification' of Lautensack is similar to the title-pages of Bm and Wm. The frame of its lengthy baroque title shows Christ, the Two Images of Apocalypse and the Mercy Seat, the Symbols of the Evangelists and the Four Celestial Bodies.

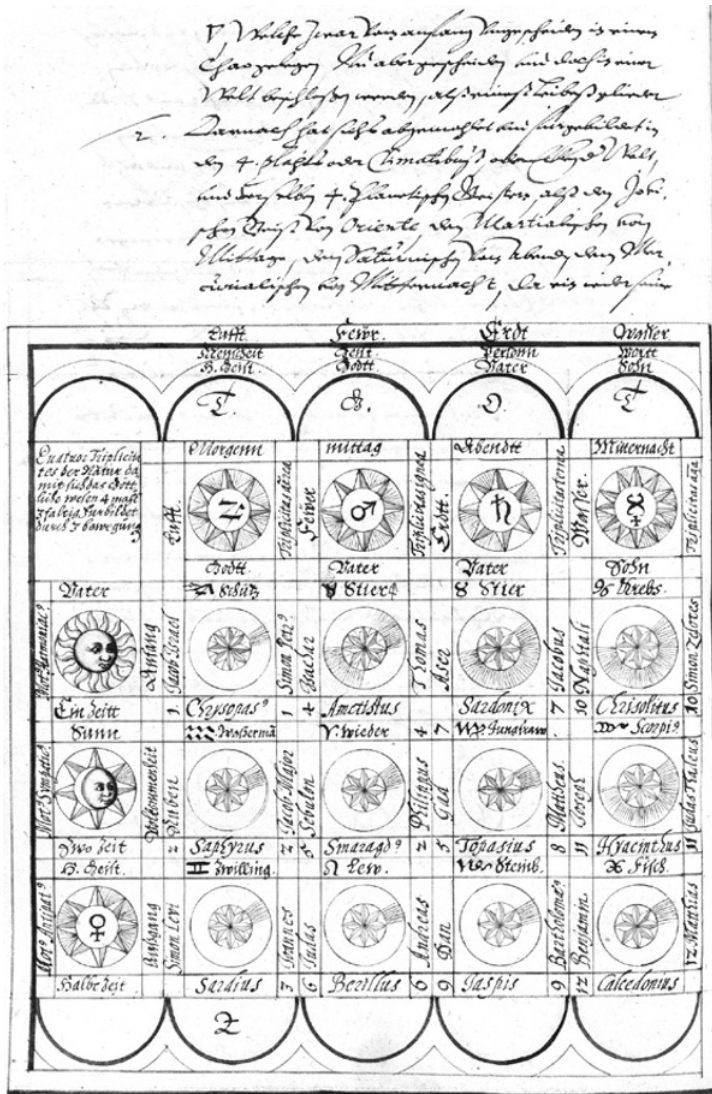


Fig. 100. λ a:Bm97v: This diagram from Meffert's editions probably does not go back to Lautensack. It combines the Three Celestial Bodies and many of Lautensack's familiar terms like the letters of *GOTT*, the names of the Patriarchs and Apostles, the *Aspects* and Persons of the Trinity and Time, Times and Half-Time with elements that very rarely appear in his authentic works (such as the stones of the Heavenly Jerusalem and the signs of the zodiac) and terms from natural philosophy that are alien to the painter's works (like the Four Elements at the top and different types of movement in the left margin).

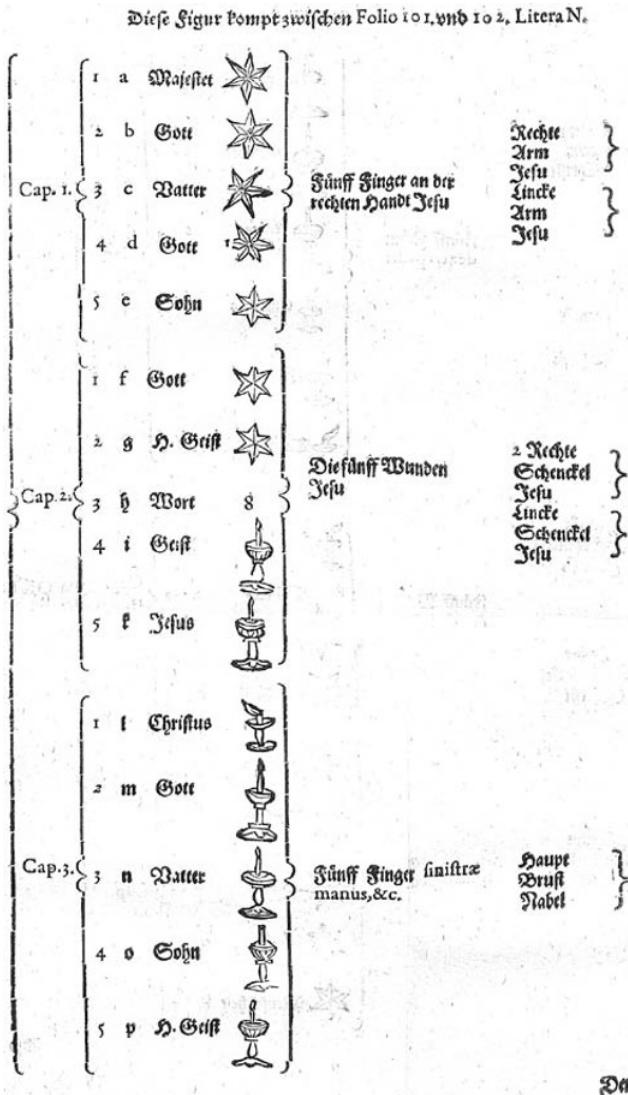


Fig. 101. ωω: Diagram before a101, r: This diagram, made by Pseudo-Weigel, links the paragraphs of Rev. 1–3 with stars and candlesticks and, in two different ways, with the limbs of Christ. In the middle column the items are joined together into three groups of five and paralleled with the five fingers at Christ's right hand, five wounds and five fingers at the left hand (similar to the left half of Fig. 95). In the right column these 15 paragraphs are paralleled with Christ's arms, legs and the torso, thus five elements. On the verso a similar diagram links the paragraphs of Rev. 12–14 with Christ's feet.

Fig. 102. pp:Kk206r: A Diagram from Paul Kaym's introduction in Lautensack's works. The central sections show the 2×12 parts of Revelation together with the groups of 11×7 Ancestors and Books, the twelve Sons of Jacob (not in Lautensack's arrangement, cf. p. 210 n. 225) and the Apostles, at the sides is additional information on the *Aspects* of the Trinity. Virtually all images are replaced by descriptions such as "Adler" for the image of an eagle. The model of this diagram does not survive, it was similar to but more complicated than 17:U119r.

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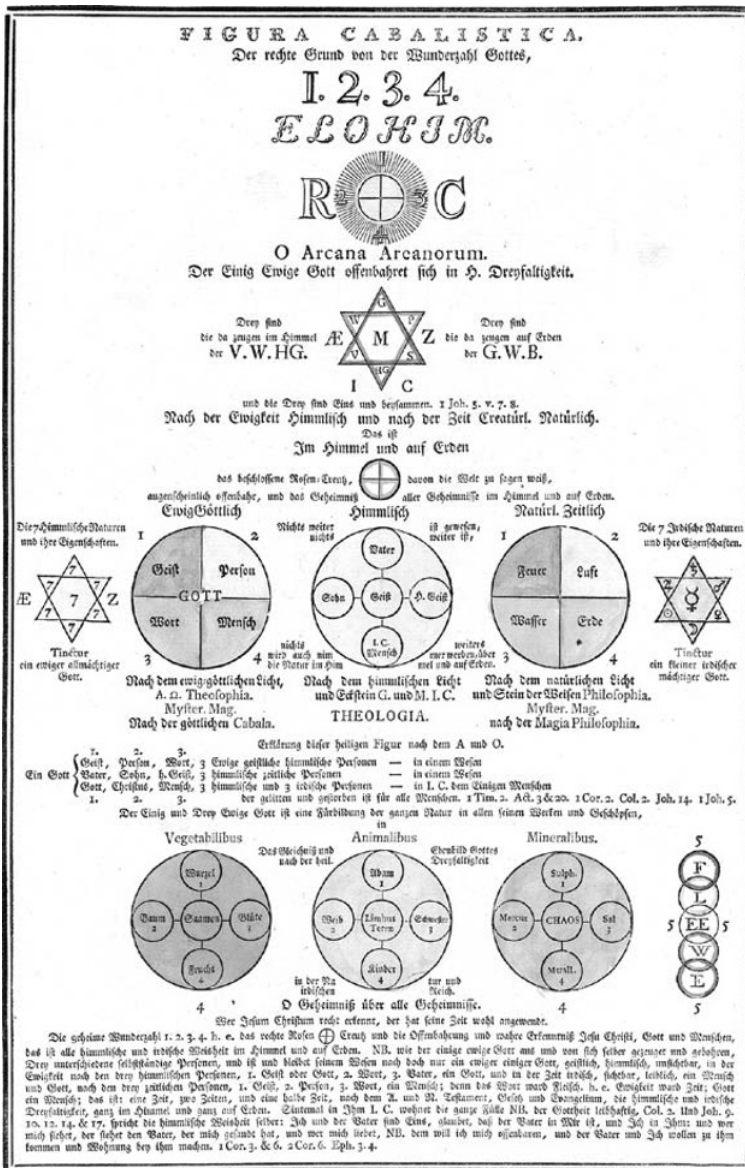


Fig. 104. *Geheime Figuren der Rosenkreuzer* (1785–88), vol. 1, image 4: “Figura Cabbalistica.” Several diagrams on this page are loosely related to Lautensack’s Cross-in-Circle compositions (cf. Fig. 25). The left four-colored circle contains the *Aspects* of the Trinity (with “Mensch” instead of the more familiar “Menschheit” in the last quarter), they have the same colors as Lautensack’s rainbow, but not in the same order.



Fig. 105. Johann Adam Raab (?): Paintings in Thurnau Parish Church: St Lawrence on the Gridiron with the star and the text "In the beginning was the Word" (chancel arch) and the vision of Revelation 12 with "And God was the Word" (North side).

Photo: author